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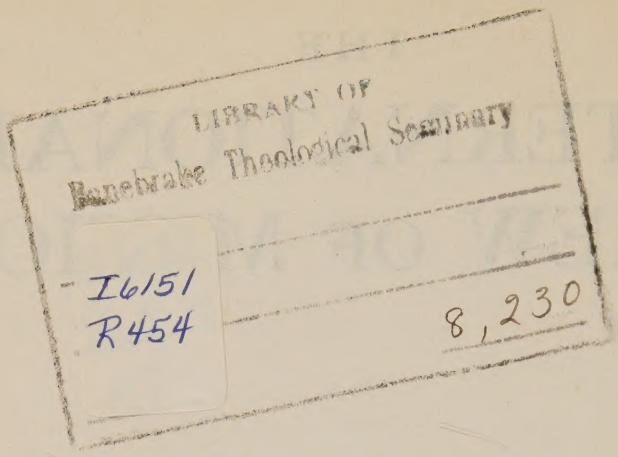

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THE
INTERNATIONAL
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ISLAM IN AFRICA

THE SEQUEL TO A CHALLENGE

By W. H. T. GAIRDNER

In the October number of this Review for 1920 there appeared, over the name of the Rev. Roland Allen, a remarkable article entitled 'Islam and Christianity in the Sudan.' To it was appended an editorial note: 'This article will be made the basis of an inquiry into the subject of which it treats, and the results will be published in subsequent numbers of the Review.'

The inquiry was made; but up to the present the promise of publishing the results thereof has not been fulfilled. Though the time that has elapsed is long, it is not so long that it is no longer useful to continue the subject. For one thing, the article itself has not been forgotten. It was too challenging and radical, and its echoes have often been heard since its sound went forth. For another thing, the subject is just as interesting, grave, and, *ex hypothesi*, pressing as it was in October 1920. Therefore, the Editors of the *International Review of Missions* have entrusted the present writer with the task of condensing and presenting the results of the extensive inquiry which was made among missionaries in Africa after the appearance of Mr Allen's article. This he was very willing to do. For although

he is not qualified, and does not feel called to judge, or express an opinion in the case as submitted, it does seem to him unthinkable that the matter should be left undiscussed, or that all available light should not be brought to bear on this great, indeed vital matter.

Mr Allen's article, by its title, seemed to confine the area under discussion to 'the Sudan,' which term was in the text defined as 'that great stretch of country from Gambia and Nigeria to the Nile.' But as the implications of the article obviously extended to all great districts in the African continent where Islam and Christianity are competing, or may to-morrow compete, and as the questions of missionary polity which the article raised concern Africa between the Equator and the Zambesi every bit as much as Africa north of the line, it seemed best to broaden the scope of the inquiry. The answers that have been received represent three main areas: Eastern Africa, including Nyasaland, Livingstonia, British East Africa, Kenya and Uganda; Central Africa, that is to say the parts about the headstreams of the Congo and the Nile, which are so absolutely in the heart of the continent that they cannot be thought of as either eastern or western; and Western Africa, including Sierra Leone, North and South Nigeria, Calabar, etc.

It will be advisable, first, to summarize the most important of Mr Allen's contentions.

The writer made no claim to have travelled in Africa or to have first-hand knowledge of the subject. His remarks were based on the striking similarity between the notorious contentions of Dr Blyden in 1887 (in his anti-missionary book—as it was generally considered—*Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*) and the statements of Professor Westermann in 1912 (in his pro-missionary article in the *International Review of Missions* for October of that year). These contentions and these statements involved a disquieting contrast between the progress of Islam and the progress of Christianity among African negroes; between the *methods*

of Islam and the methods of Christianity; and between certain of the *results* of Islam and those of Christianity. Mr Allen accepts the positions of these two writers as proved, partly because they bear each other out; partly because Professor Westermann's authority seems unimpeachable; partly because the latter was never contradicted; and partly (it is evident) because the contentions of Dr Blyden and Professor Westermann bear out so strikingly the strong impressions already formed, through his own study and meditations, by the author of *Missionary Methods—St Paul's or Ours*. Accepting then these positions as proved, Mr Allen finds them highly discouraging and profoundly grave for all who love Christianity and believe in its missionary message and work.

What then are these positions that are taken as proved, and that so disquietingly challenge Christian mission workers at home and abroad to do some thinking? They are (*a*) the more rapid advance of Islam in pagan Africa even in regions where Islam and Christian missionary effort meet; (*b*) the power of Islam to penetrate virgin regions rapidly while Christian missions move with painful slowness; and (*c*) the fact, upon which Professor Westermann says 'all reports agree,' that it is the more intelligent part of the population which is favourably disposed to Islam.

'How is this?' asks Mr Allen. 'What is there in Islam that so powerfully attracts the African? Is it something that Christianity cannot and will not offer?'

These painful facts are accounted for in Mr Allen's opinion by a number of considerations, which are in every case drawn from Dr Blyden and Professor Westermann's joint testimony.

1. Islam offers the African a distinct social advancement.

2. Islam gives to the African a new sense of dignity, self-respect and self-reliance.

3. Islam brings education and intellectual enlightenment to the African, in distinct if partial measure.

4. Islam is propagated spontaneously and voluntarily; it is maintained by

self-support: it imposes no restrictions whatsoever on those who become Moslems—all are welcomed; and thus it forms a true *African* Church.

5. The negro's conviction of the social superiority of Islam rests upon a religious basis, which is—one God, and all believers all over the world an equal fraternity.

6. The attitude of Europeans generally, and administrators particularly, is far more favourable to Islamized than to Christianized Africans.

It will be observed that the logical relevance of these contentions is not quite on the same plane in every case. For in regard to the first three no one denies, and Mr Allen does not deny, that Christian missions also do very much along all these lines. The direct importance of (6) is questionable, as a commendation of Islam and a condemnation of Christian missions. The real gravamen is found in (4). It is the methods of Christian missions that are wrong, that are conceding to Islam a desperate handicap, and that moreover are productive of certain infinitely disappointing results. For Christianity in Africa, Mr Allen finds, is not propagated spontaneously and voluntarily; it is not maintained by self-support; imposes too many and too advanced restrictions on those who would enter; and for these reasons, and because it is wholly and entirely propped up by foreign workers, foreign direction, leadership and command, and foreign gold, it is not succeeding in the supreme work of forming a true African Church. Rather do missionaries, by a propaganda which puts white missionaries first, 'destroy the African's civilization and substitute their own,' and thus are 'in danger of turning the Negro into a mere caricature of the European.'

Mr Allen sees no hope of victory or of a satisfactory future till these things are reversed. The whole attitude of missionary policy, and even of missionaries, to the African must be altered. Perpetual missionary superiority and perpetual African inferiority breed characteristics both in missionaries and in native Christians which are undesirable in themselves and which ensure unfruitfulness and sterility in the work. Mr Allen does not clearly and definitely draw

the practical conclusion, which, however, is clearly implicit in all the foregoing, and which he has since elaborated in uncompromising fashion : namely that the methods of the foreign societies with their perpetual *imperium ab extra* are radically wrong : African Churches should be organized as self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating institutions *from the first* : sincere desire and the simplest faith should qualify for immediate baptism : and the Holy Spirit should be trusted, unreservedly and fearlessly trusted, to carry these immature converts forward into maturity ; to preserve and stabilize the Church ; and to bring it through the inevitable stage of danger, of heresies and moral collapses, which were not evitable in Corinth and will not be evitable in Africa, but which were dealt with in Corinth by quite a different method from that which seems to be considered the only possible method in Africa to-day.

Such is the gist of Mr Allen's contentions. It is unthinkable that such radical thought-work, such mental sweat, yes, not untinged with blood, on the part of one who passionately desires the victory of the Saviour in Africa, who is an out-and-out believer in the Christian evangel and in Christian evangelism to Moslems and heathen alike, should be merely ignored and allowed to fall without effect. The Churches are not so rich in thinkers, especially thinkers to whom their thinking is not a mere hobby but a veritable travail of the soul, as to refuse to examine their ideas, even were they mistaken or exaggerated. And what if they are not mistaken ? or not wholly mistaken ? or, if exaggerated, what if they contain a message and a warning which we should only ignore to our bitter loss ?

Obviously therefore, the real virtue of such an article as we have summarized can only be extracted by debate. ' Truth is the daughter of inquiry ' as the Arabic proverb has it. The one crime, after such an article, even if it were all wrong together, is to say nothing. The ball once started must be kept rolling. Not Mr Allen's article as it stands, nor the comments upon this which are now to be given, will

settle the great issue raised. But the free play of thought that only desires to arrive at God's truth will doubtless lead to something which the Holy Spirit desires to teach the Church of to-day.

The writer of the article may here repeat that he conceives his function at this time, therefore, may very usefully be limited to setting forth the thoughts of those who were asked to comment on Mr Allen's article.

I

(*a*) The first of Mr Allen's premisses (the more rapid advance of Islam in pagan African even in regions where Islam and Christian missionary effort meet) is directly challenged by not a few, from widely different parts of Africa. For example Mr Niels H. Bronnum writes from the Yola province of Nigeria :

> It is difficult, however, to state one's opinion on this subject without first of all challenging the postulation that Islam progresses more rapidly than Christianity when both meet the same pagan tribe. Our experience in the Yola Province of Nigeria points in the opposite direction. Our most important tribe is divided into two : the Bachamas and the Battas, who although they speak the same language own allegiance to different dynasties. The Battas were conquered by the Fulani invaders about a century ago, and have since been under Mohammedan rule. Yet they have never taken seriously to the Mohammedan religion, and few, if any, in the ordinary Batta villages 'pray.' Mohammedan traders had established themselves amongst the Bachamas at least eight or nine years before Christian missionaries arrived ; yet, barring those who, having become soldiers, find it necessary to perform Mohammedan rites, none have been converted. On the other hand, we in our eight-year-old work have a number of promising converts, several of whom have received baptism. As far as one can see, Islam has little or no chance in this tribe, while young people are especially attracted by Christianity. This would show, it seems to me, that when both have equal chances Christianity wins the field.

Uganda is also cited as a clear instance that in a virgin field simultaneously approached by both Islam and Christianity the former has not a chance. A similar impression is gained from other parts of Africa.

On the other hand the Rev. A. W. Banfield, of Lagos, points to the advance of Islam in Southern Nigeria, in spite of the fact that the country was strongly occupied by missions long before Islam reached it.

(*b*) We come to the second premiss of Mr Allen, that Islam reaches virgin districts before Christianity, and advances in such cases much more rapidly. Mr Niels Bronnum says, immediately after the words quoted above :

> Still, the fact remains that Islam is advancing by leaps and bounds in regions as yet unoccupied by Christian missions. If these regions were open to white missionaries one might argue that mission stations should be established right across the continent as was the plan advocated years ago. But *most of the important tribes east of Yola are closed by the responsible governments.*[1] At the same time, it does not appear that they are closed to Mohammedan traders.

The italics are ours. The opposition of governments to Christian work in certain districts is a factor mentioned by Mr Allen himself. As regards the last sentence Mr Allen would probably write in the margin : ' Would they be closed to Christian traders, if these entered and spontaneously sowed the Christian religion ? '

Mr Bronnum sees in this *non possumus* attitude of western governments a great confirmation of Mr Allen's thesis, though one not exactly to the discredit of Christianity. But none the less the fact that western governments do bar out Christian missions from the central Sudan convinces him, equally with Mr Allen, that new methods must be sought, by which Africans will be able to evangelize such districts themselves, without the help of westerners on the spot.[2]

Without specifying districts or countries Rev. A. W. Banfield, of Lagos, Southern Nigeria, says :

> That Islam is advancing in West Africa and advancing rapidly and in all quarters cannot be denied . . . Islam is advancing faster than Christianity.

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[1] He himself applied unsuccessfully to the French Government.

[2] His own contribution to the practical solution is given at the close of this article, p. 24.

On the other hand, Mr H. G. Farrant, writing of South Nigeria, of which the Lagos territory is part, says :

> In Southern Nigeria people are pouring into the Christian faith in such numbers that European missionaries cannot cope with the movement. This is a natural spread from village to village. There are, no doubt, many more Moslems in Southern Nigeria than there were a few decades ago, when Southern Nigeria was almost entirely pagan. At the same time, in these same few decades, the character and impulse of the South has become definitely Christian. Christianity is rooted as firmly in the South as Islam is in the North. If Europeans—official, trader, missionary—were swept out of Nigeria, the only sign of their stay in ten years' time would be Christianity.

Similarly Mr T. E. Alvarez points to the astonishing advance of the Onitsha Church and asks : 'Where, in Mohammedanism in the West Coast, can anything to compare with this be pointed out ?'

'Southern Nigeria' is in fact a very large term, and statements that are true of one part may not be true of another. Writing of the Qua Iboe district Mr R. L. McKeown says : 'Islam has not yet penetrated to the natives of our part.' And in the Ibo-speaking districts of the Delta Bishop Tugwell 'reports 39,787 catechumens and inquirers. In these districts Islam holds no sway and as yet no instance is known of an Ibo or Ijau becoming a follower of Islam.' Another says : 'The Ibo Church by its vigorous life has made it impossible for Islam to get a footing at all, while the Yoruba Church is far ahead of Islam socially and spiritually, though the latter may be numerically holding its own.' On the Gold Coast, Archdeacon Morris, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, says that the Mohammedans in that country are foreigners, and do nothing among the indigenous Africans of Ashantiland. In British East Africa, the Rev. G. W. Wright, now Bishop of Sierra Leone, emphasizes the failure of Islam, after nine centuries, to influence certain great tribes. In the Kikuyu country the Mohammedan trading communities do not influence the neighbouring Africans. 'In British East Africa,' he thinks, 'Islam is not only not advancing but is losing force and ground.'

In seeking to get clear and balanced ideas about this premiss of Mr Allen's, we must remember the rapid way Christianity, too, has spread and is spreading in its virgin districts. Livingstonia, Uganda, Southern Nigeria and other historic regions are familiar examples. It is true that Mr Allen is talking only of the Sudan. But behind the particular issue is the general one of the ability of Christianity to run very swiftly in Africa in general.

Similarly in the Congo regions, 'In our Stanleyville area there are large settlements of Mohammedans, but there has been no growth of the influence of Islam.'

(*c*) Mr Allen's third premiss was, 'It is the more intelligent part of the population which is favourably disposed to Islam.'

Though Professor Westermann says that 'all reports agree in this,' it would seem that the claim needs considerable modification. If Ashantiland is considered part of the 'Sudan' it is quite clear, from the explicit report of Archdeacon Morris, that the precise contrary is the case. For the Gold Coast natives Islam does not even represent a higher stage of social organization than heathenism, let alone Christianity, and for Moslems 'there is a good deal of humorous contempt.'

This premiss is also met by the Rev. G. W. Wright of British East Africa with a direct negative for his district. The ancient and historic prestige of Islam under the Arabs, who preceded the Christians by centuries, has now ceded to the Christian message, book, and culture.

From Nyasaland the Rev. T. Hannay writes as follows :

> Islam does not attract the more intelligent part of the people, e.g. the Taos are its mainstay here. Quite definitely as a tribe they are inferior in intelligence to the Atonga and Nyasas, among whom it has little hold.

In one district of Uganda, the Rev. H. B. Ladbury found that Islam attracted the elder men especially the chiefs, who

> would however have all preferred Christianity if they had been allowed to be baptized without the trouble of learning to read and having to give up their

many wives . . . They therefore took the line of least resistance. Not so with the young unmarried people, of whom in the year 1917 there were upwards of 10,000 in our schools in this one district alone.

II

We now come to the alleged causes which Mr Allen cited to account for the greater success of Islam, as compared with Christianity, in winning the Sudan.

1. *Social advancement.* Perhaps this point may be passed by as irrelevant. That Islam gives social advancement to its converts is evidently not universally true, especially on the eastern side of the continent. In many parts of the West and the Sudan it is admitted. Still, the relevance is not obvious, for it appears to be certain that the social advance of Christian Africans is far greater. Probably under this head neither Mr Allen nor Professor Westermann was instituting a comparison.

2. *Dignity, self-respect, self-reliance.* Here again, reports from the east side of the continent are on the whole decidedly negative. On the western side Mr Farrant, of North Nigeria, says :

> I wholly agree, and in experience have found that the presence of these virtues has made for friendship between the missionary and the Moslem. One frequently finds in pagan villages that the few Moslems present consider themselves the natural allies of the missionary in virtue of their superior religions.

The question again is, Is a comparison to the disadvantage of Christianized Africans intended ? If so, it is clear from practically every reply received from every quarter that the insinuation could not be allowed. It does seem, in truth, that Bosworth Smith's remark made in 1874 might, after its fifty years of hard service, be allowed a long rest or rather a gentle decease; namely, that 'the Mohammedan acquires at once a sense of the dignity of human nature not commonly found even among those who have been brought

to accept Christianity.' It is perhaps enough to say that this appears to be false to-day.[1]

In so far as the question touches on the subordination of the Christian African to the Christian European, the consideration of this aspect of the matter will come later.

3. *Educational and intellectual enlightenment.* Here there is clearly no idea of urging the superiority of Moslem to Christian Africans under this head. Blyden was evidently grotesquely lyrical here. Mr Allen refers to Professor Westermann's more judical statement, and is clearly only concerned to note that Islam does bring a certain educational enlightenment to its converts. The reports from the various districts show clearly that the amount of this varies very much, ranging from nearly zero in some parts of East Africa to a considerable degree of learning — strictly of the mediaeval Islamic type—in parts of the West.

4. *Self-propagation, self-support, self-maintenance.* We have already seen that the crux of the whole contention is here. We shall therefore take this aspect of the matter last.

5. *Religion and morality.* At this time of day nobody maintains that any great unifying and welding force, like Islam in Africa, can exist without a religious and moral something at the back of it; and one or two of our correspondents expressly allow this claim.[2] It would of course be absurd to compare the actual results of Christian teaching with those of Islamic. There are simply two entirely disparate standards, and therefore between African Islam at its normal best and African Christianity at its normal best there can be no comparison: to institute one would be an insult to African Christianity, a cruelty to African Islam.[3] The aspect that Mr Allen was probably thinking of here is the unfettered sense of every African Moslem that he is an equal unit in a great world-wide fraternity. African

[1] Grant Allen's 'Rev. John Creedy' does seem to have sunk into an unlamented grave.

[2] Notably Mr H. G. Farrant of North Nigeria.

[3] By 'African' is throughout meant 'Negro,' not Arab.

Christians possibly have to dwell on the mystical fact, unity in Christ, rather than on any visibly realized *unitas fratrum* in the world.

In connexion with this paragraph it would not be right to omit the repeated and measured assertions, from several parts of Africa, that Islam, in taking over whole sections of native animistic superstitions and practices, has fixed the religious standard fatally low; and, secondly, that in several regions the sexual morality of Islam is altogether a retrogression from the stricter tribal morality which it displaced. This serious, but grave and perfectly definite charge is made by responsible men, on the eastern and the western sides. The following, from one who writes from observed fact, is worth weighing in this connexion:

> So far from being a hindrance, the moral standards of the Christian religion are, I think, its great attraction. Nothing disgusts the pagan more than the unutterable immorality of the so-called Mohammedan 'missionary.' The Bachamas for instance knew nothing of venereal diseases until the Mohammedans arrived. Virginity is respected and guarded with great care. The Christian standard may appear somewhat lofty to them at first, but they know in their hearts that it is right, and they long to attain to it, aye, labour pitifully to attain. Yet, they often fail.

6. *European attitude to African Islam and Christianity respectively.* Here again it is difficult to see the logical bearing of this aspect with the main question, which is 'Must there not be grave mistakes in a policy and method which make Christian missions move so slowly, and by avoiding which Islam moves so fast?' Mr Allen does indeed prove the painful fact, which is corroborated by more than one correspondent, that the attitude and policy of British officials in certain parts openly and flagrantly favours Islam and disfavours Christianity, and therefore actively promotes that and discourages this. But if the reasons for their doing so are not discreditable to Christianity, one can only see in this painful fact an unfair handicap, indeed a scandal which by prayer and by protest should be removed. One probable reason, a neutral-tinted

one, which we do not remember seeing suggested, is that in regions like North Nigeria the Government adopts the old Roman Empire policy of encouraging the local cult and working through and by the local organization, if it is a fairly firm and working one. Such persons dislike heterogeneous elements which do not fit easily into a nice simple scheme, and which cause thought and trouble. We all dislike thought and trouble, as the great Lord Salisbury, speaking from his personal, Christian soul at an S.P.G. meeting, once said of his official, foreign-office soul. As one of our correspondents puts it, ' There is an element in Islam which dislikes change, whereas Christianity brings an eagerness and restlessness which ever press on ' : this restlessness must be quite a worry to the minds of those officials who are all for a quiet life.

One correspondent points out that the cordon which some administrations make against Christianity shows that Islam needs to be protected and Christianity to be repressed, which is hardly an argument for the superior suitability of the former over the latter.

Then again there is the nervousness of the administrator about the turbulence of Islam, which leads him to close certain regions to missionary effort. But we are not to suppose that either this trait in Islam or this attitude in the administrator is particularly to be admired. Finally, the following takes us into far deeper waters :

> We disapprove because the Christian African copies our western dress. We approve because the Moslem African copies an eastern dress. It is like a gentleman incensed because his valet dresses like him but quite happy if he dresses like some other gentleman.
>
> The patronising attitude of the white man for the African . . . is the very spirit which leads to the attitude expressed by the European officials towards Islam, namely, that it is a religion which helps the Government by maintaining law and order but does not put its members on an equality with the official himself. Such men avowedly treat Mohammedanism as an inferior religion suitable for inferior races, and one useful to their rulers on account of the support which it affords to an arbitrary and anti-democratic system of government.

Deeper still :

> The steamer tied up alongside the beach in the evening. Soon the Mohammedans went ashore to perform their ablutions and worship. Two government officials on the upper deck immediately commended them for their sincerity, and pointed out to me that Mohammedanism makes ideal citizens, and that this religion is the best and the most suitable for the Africans. About an hour later, some native Christians on the lower deck began to sing hymns. The two officials at once stamped on the deck and called out to them to stop their noise. Needless to add they were treated to a lengthy flow of abusive words such as 'hypocrites, liars, apes.' Even a bush native can see which religion is in favour. Few Europeans, except missionaries, encourage Christianity. Few would make a convert.

It is impossible not to recognize in this sort of thing an evil conscience, as well as fanatical colour-prejudice. Both, indeed, point to real failures of Christianity at the home base, and of course if that comes within the scope of the present issue both are relevant : if not, they can hardly be used to the discredit of Christian missions or the credit of Islam, in Africa.

III

We thus come to the real core of Mr Allen's contentions. Are not the methods being used radically wrong ? Are they producing, can they ever produce, a self-supporting, a self-propagating and a self-respecting, because autonomous, African Church ? Must the reply not be in the negative, and does not this negative supply the reason why Christianity is losing the race in the Sudan against Islam, which, whatever its demerits spiritually and ethically, is self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-respecting because autonomous and African ?

The reader is referred to the development of Mr Allen's argument on these points in his article in the Review.

Certain missionaries representing some of the larger and more flourishing fields in Africa, notably Livingstonia, Uganda and Nigeria, roundly reply that, in fact, Christianity in these parts is all that Mr Allen says it is not. They

show, conclusively for these very considerable districts, that Christianity is self-supporting; that it is self-propagating; that it is not de-Africanized just because it is absorbing Christian civilization in a way that Islam cannot do; that its self-respect is increased not diminished thereby; and that, if it is not yet autonomous, this is simply because the present plan of a thorough training to fit the Churches for autonomy is superior to the plan proposed by Mr Allen. The latter, they say, is problematic, and would in their opinion lead to sheer ruin (the Ethiopian and 'Prophet' movements show the sort of thing that happens when Christianity is allowed to 'grow wild' in Africa). The existing methods have at least produced the existing results, which are great in themselves and are expanding very rapidly.

To some of this Mr Allen would probably reply that his article concerned the Sudan, where there are no big missions, where Christianity is not advancing, and where Islam is. It is precisely the fields that are closed to organized effort, either absolutely or virtually closed, that need to be sown with a more natural and spontaneous sowing. Islam, let us say, floats its seed over every artificial barrier, on the wings of God's winds. Like thistledown it speeds unnoticed and falls unheeded—to spring up where and as it falls. How is it that Christianity cannot do the same?

Before leaving the reply of the big successful missions, it is worthy of note that almost every response, even when it consisted in a radical refusal to recognize the validity of Mr Allen's positions, admitted that the existing method of European direction and superintendence did make for dominance, and for the faults of attitude, manners, and spirit which are apt to go along with that. Europeans have often still much to learn in their dealings with their African colleagues and brethren, we are told, along the lines of real brotherliness and 'I must decrease, but they must increase.' Such things, however (we are to understand), are merely the attendant temptations of the system. They can be

overcome. By many they have been overcome. They give occasion for reform, but not for revolution.

The question of de-Africanizing is strongly discussed by many. It is pointed out that, every bit as much as Christianity, Islam is a foreign religion; that Islam robes are just as foreign and un-African as Christian suits of clothes; that Islam breaks up tribalism and tribal custom just as much as Christianity; that it imposes an un-African book, un-African words; and that as for its being independent of foreign governments, if it were not for foreign governments it would not have a chance in these modern times. These governments often make a ring-fence within which they permit and encourage Islam and from which they debar Christianity. The matter thus returns to the unfair preference of 'Christian' governments, not to the Africanizing tendency of Islam or the de-Africanizing tendency of Christianity.

The following is worth considering in this regard:

> The quotations from Dr Blyden and Professor Westermann make out that the West African Christian copies the European while the West African Moslem strikes out on original lines. The first assertion is in general correct, the second is not. The West African Moslem in his religion, dress, architecture and social affairs copies his Eastern or North African co-religionist. Our approval of the Moslem in this, however, does not entitle him to credit for original expression. But, while we find no reaction on the part of the Moslem against this eastern influence, *we do find in Southern Nigeria and no doubt elsewhere that Christians are strongly encouraging national pride.*[1] Men bearing English names are changing them for native ones and there is a general desire to retain or reinstate native custom where it does not conflict with Christianity.
>
> The Resident in charge of Lagos Colony is an African Christian and his European officials subordinate to him. There is no instance in the Moslem North where a native has control of European officials.

Mr Allen would possibly reply to the sentence in italics that a nationalizing tendency that represents reaction against white, or even missionary, predominance is not

[1] Italics ours. The quotation is from Mr H. G. Farrant, of the Sudan United Mission, North Nigeria.

healthy, and that the latter end of the tendency might even be disastrous. It is just to avoid this reactive, hostile nationalizing that he advocates methods which will bring the thing about amicably and naturally.

IV

Propagation of Christianity in the Sudan, and the question of European support and leadership. None of these correspondents, not even those who express themselves as agreeing partially or wholly with Mr Allen, appears to advocate the adoption of his extreme policy (pp. 6–7) in practice. (This policy was not overtly laid down in the article under discussion. But it is implicit therein, and it has been since developed more explicitly by Mr Allen.) But some of the correspondents go a good way—or believe they go a good way —with Mr Allen. And it will probably be best for the further fruitful discussion of the problem which, it is hoped, will follow on this article, if we close by simply quoting the experience or proposals of those who seem nearest to Mr Allen in sympathy.

From Nigeria:

> There is need for the missionaries to trust the converts from the earliest stages of the work, so that they may become self-reliant and prepared for leadership. There is no doubt that they will rise to great responsibility if fully trusted. Stations are needed right across Africa and should be opened as soon as possible by competent men. But I am not convinced that a chain of stations, manned by foreigners, will stop the advance of Islam.

Clearly this writer looks to a white leadership in the future, but more intelligently and sympathetically applied, and directed almost exclusively to raising up native leaders. It is notable that this contribution is from one who agrees with Mr Allen in all his prolegomena, especially the Africanism of Islam, the Europeanism of Christianity, and the undue dominance of the white missionary, except, to be sure, the educational and civilizing rôle of African Islam, which he rates very low indeed.

From the Congo, a correspondent begins :

I am in cordial agreement with the sentiments expressed in Mr Allen's article. I believe that the challenge of Dr Blyden's book many years ago has very much influenced me in regard to any decisions concerning missionary method.

And he proceeds :

I do not know about the West Coast, but in Equatorial Africa I think that missions are demonstrating that Christianity is a civilizing power of itself apart from the imposition of any form of western civilization. Thousands of small village schools are now being run by native teachers, some unpaid but the majority supported entirely by gifts of their fellow-Christians.

They have their local councils presided over by one of their own number. Larger periodical councils at mission stations are at present usually under the direction of whites, but every effort is being made to train the native community to take the responsibility of each forward move.

From the Gold Coast :

Mr Allen asks 'Can we expect to meet that by a propaganda which puts white foreign missionaries always in the first place, etc.?' If the 'always' is accentuated I answer 'No.' But for the present the white missionary must be in the most important positions of leadership. It is obviously not right to turn the Negro into a mere caricature of the European, nor does any missionary wish to do so. Natural imitation is responsible for at least most of that which can be fairly so described. It is a phase of youth in races as with individuals, and under good educational method will develop into a wholesome Christian nationality.

This, to my mind, is the real answer to the whole question. Christian missionaries need themselves sound training in education, on a true psychological basis. By means of education by proper methods they will satisfy the African's true aspirations for national development, and will help him to develop it for himself based on Christian doctrine and ethics. The well-educated European missionary, trained especially for that very purpose, must help the native ministers and teachers to attain to the same right ideals and methods, and they in their turn will see that the Native Church becomes free and conscious of its royal prerogatives. 'Until the native Christians learn to respect themselves, to feel that they can advance the Church by their own unaided efforts, we shall never be able to meet the Moslem propaganda on equal terms,' says Mr Allen, and this is profoundly true, not only in the face of Moslem propaganda but to meet our own ideals; but that word 'learn' presupposes the well-equipped teacher. That is the key to the situation.

From a missionary of exceptional width of experience (in North and South Nigeria and elsewhere), who accepts most of Mr Allen's prolegomena :

First, last, and all the time, we need, as we have always needed, Spirit-filled men and women to go about preaching the Gospel. It seems that to-day our extensive machinery is something of a burden to us. We cannot always carry it about with us.

We are all agreed that our present plan of work for Mohammedan countries (if we have any plan at all) is far from successful. And yet we believe in the power of the Gospel to convert men. It seems to me that we have gone beyond this simple preaching of the Gospel. The tendency for the missionary to become either a school teacher, a pastor, or superintendent, is very great. *I am satisfied that if there were more itinerant missionaries preaching faith in Christ, we should have better results. The native Christians would catch the same spirit and zeal.*

Perhaps our failure is partly due to the fact that we are trying to make twentieth-century Christians out of these simple folk in a few years. One missionary told me that the policy of his mission was, 'A little of the truth for all the people, rather than all the truth for a few.'

I consider the translation and circulation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernaculars to be not only very necessary, but also to be one of the most powerful instruments the Church possesses. Also the publication of wholesome Christian literature. It is deplorable that so little has been done to create a native literature.

I do not believe that any plan of a chain of mission stations across any part of Africa will succeed in stopping the advance of Islam. To prove this we have only to look at Southern Nigeria. This field was occupied by Christian missions before the Mohammedans from the interior had penetrated to the coast in great numbers. To-day Islam is making great strides in this very country which is a net-work of mission stations.

While we are enlarging our schools along the coast, the pagan tribes of the interior are falling before the unrestrained advance of Islam.

Our commission remains the same, 'Go ye into all the world and *preach the Gospel* to the whole creation.'

The lines in italics (which are ours) show the point of view of this writer. More white . . . *evangelists*, to give the lead to African leaders, also *evangelists*.

From a mission in the very heart of the South-East Sudan the writer begins : 'Mr Allen is right'; and goes on to describe the way his own mission is run. It would be interesting to know whether the extent and use of white leadership actually to be found in this mission would be

passed by Mr Allen as solving the problems of leadership and autonomy in the evangelization of the Sudan.

The tendency among modern missions is to make baptism the culmination of a fixed period of Christian faith and living instead of putting it at the very outset of the Christian life. This seems to us unscriptural, and is, as Mr Allen has shown, in direct contrast to the Mohammedan practice where 'there is no barrier in the way of the admission of his converts.' If a man shows his grasp of spiritual truth and his prayerfulness; if he openly confesses his sins, and in public burns his old charms; if he declares his faith in Christ and his desire to be baptized; who are we that we should refuse water?

Compare with usual methods the quick and easy conversion of a heathen to Islam. What we admire in their profession of faith is not its ignoring of moral claims, but its shortness and the facility with which it may be grasped. The thing which differentiates a Christian conversion from a Mohammedan conversion is not its speed, but its depth. In other words there must be a heart change as well as an outward witness. But as soon as this witness is made, coupled with a changed life to attest its genuineness, baptism should be administered according to the Scriptures, lest we seem to be at a disadvantage.

In the light of these and other considerations we accept converts for baptism without any definite term of probation.

He goes on to describe the many precautions taken in admitting new members. Amongst these is the following, which we quote as illustrative of the writer's solution of the problem of the white leader:

After the baptism classes two native elders sitting together interview the people one by one, questioning them as to the Ten Commandments, the way of salvation, and the work of Christ. Those who are judged fit for baptism come individually to the missionary, after which the elders and the missionary discuss together each name. Unless there is unanimity as to his suitability the candidate is kept back from baptism. Those names that seem satisfactory are published to the whole Church, and the members are exhorted to come privately and state anything they know unsatisfactory about a candidate. In this way the responsibility for the purity of the Church is laid on its native members. . . .

If candidates are thus admitted into the Church without long probation, one word of warning is necessary. Quick discipline must be exercised, and a man who falls into serious sin must be 'rebuked before all' and dismissed from the Church. He must remain outside it until he makes public confession and gives satisfactory proof of his repentance. Indeed this seems the time for the exercise of probation methods. The Church has taken him at his word, he has proved himself unworthy of that trust, and now he must give more tangible proof of his sincerity.

Regarding the position of the native Christians in the Church, our 'Principles and Practice' state, 'We believe in the Holy Spirit as the Teacher, Keeper and Guide, not only of ourselves, but also of our converts, and therefore we believe in trusting our Christians with responsibility as soon as they show by holy conversation and spiritual insight that they are ruled and led by the Holy Spirit.' From the beginning we have tried to do this. Six months after our first twelve converts were baptized we appointed probationary elders at a meeting of all the Christians. From that time the probationary elders, and then the ratified elders, took part with us in all church decisions. No one was in future baptized and no one was sent out as an evangelist without the elders being consulted and consenting. Money collected by the Church was dispensed in conjunction with them, and they were made responsible for the purity of the Church. Day by day they have gathered with us for prayer and discussion, and we have endeavoured thus to make them feel that it is their Church and not the white man's, and that we are merely their helpers in the Lord.

Responsibility makes leaders of them, and already, only seven years after we reached the country, God has raised up capable leaders for the Church. Leaders can never be made by keeping men in subjection, but only by trusting them with responsibility and believing in the Holy Spirit to support and guide them. Unless a Church finds leaders in the first generation of its existence, it probably never will. Leaders cannot be evolved, they must be made in the compass of a lifetime. Each generation must produce its own leaders, and the Holy Spirit will produce the leaders required by each generation of the Church if we permit Him and trust Him to do so. A primitive Church only needs primitive leaders; each succeeding generation will produce the better developed leaders it requires.

Regarding the prominent place given to evangelization, the tendency of a mission is to become more and more stationary; to build up settled work; to educate and teach the few to the neglect of the great masses beyond. We have seen an excellent station manned by devoted missionaries and established for over twenty-five years, but the Gospel had not yet been preached throughout the whole district, though that was only seven days' march across and the majority of people spoke one language. This is, I believe, only a typical instance. As the work grows it may be necessary for the missionary to give more and more time to the training of native evangelists, teachers and pastors; but he should never give up the offensive.

When a missionary himself cannot be out evangelizing he should still keep the offensive through the native Christians. The vision of the regions beyond and the command of Christ should be constantly kept before the Church. So much do we emphasize the need of the regions beyond that we have had Christians volunteer for service for regions three weeks or a month distant; and after only seven years' work with a small staff the Gospel has been preached throughout a district fifteen days' march (or two hundred and fifty miles long) in two directions.

In order to keep pace with the Mohammedan propaganda our missionary societies must refuse to become side-tracked, and must determine to exist only for the first object, namely, evangelism. Such educational or medical work as is established is only begun as the best means of evangelism under the circumstances. The growth of missionary institutions, therefore, must be limited by their evangelistic usefulness; their curriculum or method must be subordinated to the same aim; and as soon as they have outgrown their evangelistic usefulness they must be scrapped as missionary agencies. What has been just written will explain our point, that the natural tendency is all against the evangelistic work of a mission, and that it needs a definite aim adopted or resolve made, after the manner of St Paul in Rom. xv. 20, or 2 Cor. x. 16, to keep a mission or a missionary true to this, the first object of missions. And yet the importance of it, when we examine Mohammedan propaganda, is evident. For if the mission is evangelistic throughout, the native Church will also be evangelistic.

The last writer was writing of a district not immediately threatened by Islam. We close with a contribution from a region further west, right in the heart of the countries immediately threatened, and, at present, largely inaccessible to the white man: the very regions Mr Allen had most directly in view. The writer has a definitely thought-out scheme. What is it? And how does it tackle the central crux of white leadership versus African leadership?

. . . In all of these respects the Mohammedan, as has been pointed out by Mr Allen, scores, and scores heavily.

Most missionaries will agree that the evangelization of the Sudan must be done by Natives. The question then is how to produce these native evangelists.

In our mission we find that the older people are practically beyond reach, but the children and young people come in fair numbers. Our efforts are directed towards transforming every mission station as far as possible into a boarding school, where the children are taught some kind of improvement in their native industries together with the usual school lessons. It is our intention, then, to pick out the best scholars and educate them further, until they can be sent out as evangelists and teachers to villages of this and neighbouring tribes, and our hope is to make the various villages support their own teachers. In this way a fairly large area can be worked from one centre. In fact this is not merely a theory, but has already been begun in a small way. Thus we endeavour to concentrate our efforts on a few for the ultimate benefit of the many. We see signs of what Professor Westermann calls 'automatic' progress along these lines inasmuch as some of our converts have returned to their own villages to farm and live Christian lives amongst their own friends.

Yet, of course, there is a limit to the area that may be reached through the instrumentality of one such teaching centre.

The idea of establishing a strong chain of stations across the Sudan has been an inspiration to more than one faithful worker; but let us face the situation squarely.

The next big tribe east of Yola is the Lakka; farther east again is the Serra tribe with uncounted smaller tribes in between. I have recently corresponded with the French Government with a view to obtain permission to tackle the Lakka tribe. The answer was, 'Sorry, they are too turbulent, must wait a number of years.'

Considering, therefore, the facts before us, the difficulties experienced by missions in their negotiations with governments, and the futility of hoping that the Sudan can be evangelized by white people, is it not time that we settle upon a new mode of campaign? Some of us think that one or two teaching centres in each of the dominating tribes throughout the Sudan would prove a satisfactory way of working. It might not be absolutely necessary to plant them in the tribes themselves if these were unsettled. The next best thing would be to have them 'attached' to the leading tribes. The education given should be such as would develop a healthy independence rather than, as is now the case in many places, encourage parasitic tendencies. There would probably have to be two schools in each centre, one for boys and one for girls. In the former men teachers should predominate, and in the latter women. Women teachers at boys' schools are useful as a gentler supplement to the stronger male influence; but predominating female influence in a boys' school in these regions ought, in my opinion to be avoided, as its effect on the scholars is apt to be a tendency to insolence in place of humility, and a serious lack of independence.

In order that such a plan of work should commend itself to mission committees, these would have to measure results according to a different standard from the one hitherto prevailing. Success could no longer be stated in terms of meetings held, people baptized, and souls saved.

The movement would have to be concerted. As it is now, any small church, or even free-lance worker, walks in and starts in its or his own way. We have all started thus, and blunder along until bitter experience makes us wise, if we last the experiment out. But by then we are mostly worn out.

An abrupt end? But does it not by its very abruptness rather provocatively, or invitingly, suggest that the matter cannot rest here; that it is now ripe for a real effort of discussion and decision? So then Mr Speaker speaks: 'Men and Brethren! You have heard the motion; and you have heard the reply. The subject is now open for debate in the Review.'

W. H. T. Gairdner

THE PROBLEM OF CONTROL IN INDIAN EDUCATION

By W. MESTON

There are many problems connected with Indian education which are at the present time pressing for solution. Of these three are outstanding: the problem of control, the problem of management, and the problem of finance. No educational discussion goes far without the emergence of one of these problems, perhaps of all three; they are not isolated, for close consideration shows how intimately they are related; and they are more than purely educational, for they are bound up with the great interests of expanding national life. What follows refers only to the first of these problems, and considerations of space make it necessary to impose a further limitation. The problem of control will be looked at mainly in the light of what is taking place in one of the provinces of India. If this involves restriction it also supplies concreteness, and there may be an advantage in this, for Indian educational problems have a tendency to find their place of discussion in the clouds. The province of India which is here chiefly in mind is the presidency of Madras. Within the area of this presidency there are several important Native States, and in these educational administration rests in the hands of the officials whom the rulers of these states appoint. In the 142,000 square miles of territory controlled by the Government of Madras there is a population in round figures of forty-two millions, and of these almost two millions are under instruction. As an indication of how these two millions are distributed it may be said that roughly 10,000 of them are at the university stage, 180,000 at the secondary stage, and 1,600,000 at the elementary stage, while 18,000 are in special schools. These pupils and students

are being taught in some forty thousand institutions. How are these controlled ?

I

There is one important consideration bearing on control which is frequently forgotten or ignored. It is the principle which underlies the system of education inaugurated in India by the Despatch of 1854. That principle is that *in the Indian system of education public and private effort are associated in a partnership of service to the nation.* This fundamental point tends to be obliterated and overlooked in the pre-occupation of the various educational agencies in their own affairs, in the overshadowing position occupied by Government, and in the volume of criticism which ridicules Indian education as chaotic and ineffective. But it is the grasp of this oft-forgotten principle that dispels chaos and reveals the means of power. Every form of effort is needed in the persistent, wearing battle with ignorance ; and the State welcomes all, for it cannot discharge its responsibility without them. There have been times in the story of education in India when the State has spoken or acted as if it could do without these co-operating agencies, or as if they were the ' poor relations ' in a family which could hardly disown them but was justified in giving them as little attention as possible. At present, views that are truer to fact and juster to the people of India hold the minds of thinking men. Anyone who listened to the last budget debate in the Legislative Council of Madras could be in no doubt as to the attitude of the members of that chamber. It was in contrast with former debates where the education budget was under discussion. In these the prevailing note was the disappointment expressed by representatives of the various educational agencies at the poverty of support from public funds which each of these agencies was to receive. In the present year there was a far more constructive attitude. Briefly put it was this : The State has a responsibility for the education of its citizens of which it

cannot divest itself. Every stable agency which seeks to advance education is enabling the State to discharge this responsibility and is therefore entitled to the fullest support which the State can give it. Every such agency is to make its distinctive contribution to the State, and all are partners in a vast national enterprise. On this basis there is co-operation not chaos, justice not jealousy, advance not argument. Once this standpoint is seized the problems that arise are seen to have an intelligible and intimate connexion. The responsibility of the State for the progress of education means that the control of education rests ultimately with the State. This being granted three main questions arise. First, by what means shall the State best exercise this control ? Second, what forms of management are best calculated to advance the great educational purpose of the State ? Third, how shall the State best distribute its financial resources so as to secure the widest, soundest and speediest spread of education ? It is with the first of these questions that we are now concerned.

II

The question, By what means shall the State best exercise its control over education in India ? has not been fully answered yet. But one main element in the answer is already clear. Control, it is generally admitted, is to be most effectively secured by *a gradual process of devolution.* And this devolution so far as it has gone has followed two main lines, one, *from centralized to local control,* and the other, *from official to a combination of official and non-official control.*

The devolution from centralization of control has been carried out almost in its entirety. Up till 1920 if the question had been asked, How best shall a province control its education ? the answer would have been : By carrying out the general policy laid down by the Central Government. But that answer is no longer possible. The Government of India Act has given to provincial governments an autonony which

renders them in large measure independent. In this independence the educational system of a province shares. There is a certain obvious disadvantage in this. In times past it was always possible for any body or association which was carrying on educational work in a province and which considered that the conditions or actions of the local government were unfair, to appeal to the central government. And in the history of Indian education such appeal has been made with admitted benefit to education. But the absence of this appeal is not what I am referring to at present. The appeal is no longer to a central government, it is now to the representatives of the people. And, notwithstanding all the mistakes that may be made, that is the true court of appeal. The disadvantage which I had in mind is that which may arise from a number of provinces each embarking on an educational programme without reference to what is being done in another province. Attention was drawn to this disadvantage, it will be remembered, in the Memorandum which was submitted by Mr Oldham on behalf of the Conference of Missionary Societies to the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. So far the disadvantage is potential rather than actual. Provinces suffer more than they gain by wide diversity in educational curricula and standards; and while there is no authority to command co-ordination in education throughout India there are in existence certain factors which are likely to secure it in large measure. For one thing, it will be noticed that in the University Acts recently passed by local legislatures a clause has been inserted making the Governor-General the Visitor of these universities. As Visitor the Governor-General has power to 'cause an inquiry to be made in respect of any matter connected with the university.' The power is wide and is hardly likely to be exercised in any large measure; but it gives at least the means whereby a certain amount of co-ordination in university affairs may be obtained. Another fact in this connexion cannot have escaped the observation of those who are interested in the

constitutional as well as in the educational affairs of India. When the new Nagpur University Bill had passed through the Select Committee stage and notices of amendments had been received, the report and the amendments were in accordance with the rules submitted to the Governor-General. To certain of the amendments, one of them being intended 'to enable private candidates to appear for the degree examinations,' he objected and refused his sanction for their introduction. Into the constitutional aspect this is not the place to enter; but from an educational point of view it is quite clear that universities are not to be looked upon in isolation. Another factor is to be found in the establishment of a Central Advisory Board of Education which meets from time to time, deals with educational subjects which for the most part concern India as a whole, and submits certain of its recommendations for the consideration of local governments. The formation of this Board is a step in the right direction, but the usefulness of it as it is now constituted has yet to be proved. It is difficult to have a small Board that is representative, and to have a representative Board that involves a small outlay. But unless the Board is representative and meets frequently its resolutions will have only a limited influence on educational thought and policy. We must accept it then that central control has practically vanished, and that the value of central guidance has still to be tested. There remains however one factor which is bound to be the most potent of all: it is that the trend of political aspiration is towards national unity. And while this is compatible with wide provincial differences it will have the effect of establishing education on an ever-deepening and stronger national, rather than provincial, foundation. It is thus likely that the best political activity may react with benefit on educational standards and systems.

Whether it was wise to transfer by one stroke the whole of the education of Indian youth from central to provincial control is a question on which there is much to say. While I have always firmly believed in the transfer I have as firmly

believed that it should be effected by stages definitely marked out. There was educational justification for this position, and I think that events have shown that there was administrative justification as well. Gradual devolution would have at least secured careful consideration of all matters affecting the Indian Educational Service and its recruitment before the transfer took place. The transfer has taken place and these all-important matters are still undecided. No statesmanlike view of the Service, which was instituted for a condition of affairs now passing away and indeed in large part gone, has yet been taken, and the consequence is much bitterness and much expenditure which might have been avoided without difficulty. But as far as the problem of control is concerned the complete transfer has taken place, and in the healthy development of provincial educational activity lies the sphere of surest advance.

III

We may now pass from the consideration of general administrative control to the consideration of the control of the system in particular provinces. This control is exercised in general through the Provincial Educational Department, the head of which is the Director of Public Instruction. It is on this Department that the Minister for Education has mainly to rely. The Minister depends for his place in the Legislative Council on the votes of the people, and a sudden change of opinion might rob him of office. But education if it is to be effective must be marked by progressive continuity of policy, and were it dependent wholly on a Minister who might lose his seat owing to considerations far removed from anything educational its progress might be more picturesque than profitable. For stability an Educational Department is required. But that does not necessarily mean that all educational control is to be exercised directly by the Department. That was indeed what was done until quite recently, but now the

second line of devolution which I have mentioned is being pursued, the devolution from official to a combination of official and non-official. One method of securing this devolution has been to give local bodies a large amount of independence and to allow them a free hand in regard to many educational matters. There is no service with which the development of local self-government is so fittingly bound up as the service of education. The fuller powers vested in local bodies throughout India are bound to have a stimulating effect on the progress of education in the country. But a process of devolution is being pressed in certain quarters which would go much further than the bestowal on local boards of powers to manage their own affairs. There is a readiness to look upon these boards as the most satisfactory means of controlling education, and more especially elementary education, within a local area. I cannot go into this point here, as it is more appropriately considered in connexion with what I spoke of as the second of the pressing educational problems of the present time, namely, that of management. I will simply say that the proposal involves entrusting control over managements of different types to bodies which are themselves managements of one type. The situation is not new, as all who are acquainted with the basis of educational policy in India know, but it has only to be stated to at least raise the question whether a better position might not be found.

To my mind the more excellent way has been found in the course followed in the Madras Elementary Education Act of 1920. In the presidency of Madras, as in other presidencies, it had been felt for some time that the progress of elementary education was disappointingly slow, and that the time had come when compulsory education might be introduced with advantage in certain areas. In this way a beginning would be made and in time the areas in which compulsory education prevailed would become more numerous and their boundaries would be extended. How was this to be done ? There were local bodies ready to hand ; why

not entrust this work of expansion to them ? As a matter of fact the claims of the District Boards were strongly pressed when the measure was under the consideration of the Legislative Council. But as it was, the bodies appointed under the Local Self-Government Act had their hands full. So much work fell to these boards and municipalities, involving attention to roads, bridges, hospitals, dispensaries, and sanitation, as well as the schools for which they were responsible, that education in a district as a whole could not possibly receive the attention which was its due. But if the local bodies were not entrusted with this task the only alternative was *ad hoc* bodies, and it was such bodies that the Act inaugurated. In each district of the presidency a District Educational Council was set up, the duty of which was restricted to the care of elementary education within the district. The Councils have a membership which is partly official, partly non-official. Some members are upon the Councils *ex-officio*, some because they are elected, others because they are nominated by the Government. The *ex-officio* members are in general three in number, the Collector of the District, the District Educational Officer, and the President of the District Board. The elected members are representatives of the District Board, the taluk boards, the municipalities, the missionary societies and other private bodies carrying on education in the district. The nominated members include those who are able to speak on behalf of minorities, such as Muhammadans and backward classes. It will be seen that these Councils contain a fair representation of all the educational interests in the district. The danger of officialization is overcome, the interests of minorities are protected, and every agency concerned with elementary education has an opportunity of making its voice heard on the Council. The restriction of the Councils to a comparatively small number of members (the number of members varies but on the average is about twenty) secures the possibility of speedy action and ample consideration. The duties of the Councils are manifold. They have to make a

survey of the condition of elementary education in their districts, to prepare schemes for advance, to deal with applications for recognition and for grant-in-aid, and to consider the position of the teacher and his training. Each Council has a budget, but it is independent of the funds controlled by the local bodies within its area; for these come either in the way of taxation or of government subsidies. This matter though most important cannot be further referred to in the present connexion; its proper place is under the third of the problems to which I have referred, the problem of finance. It is sufficient to draw attention here to the significant bearing which the establishment of such Councils has on the matter of educational control. The devolution has entrusted control to bodies whose sole concern is education, on which the various educational interests are represented, and by which through knowledge of local needs adaptation to local conditions may be most satisfactorily obtained.

Quite recently a further step has been taken in the direction of the devolution of educational control. The Government of Madras in the Ministry of Education decided to establish throughout the presidency District Secondary Education Boards, and the membership of these Boards has been practically completed though none of them has yet held its first meeting. The official statement in which the announcement of the intention of Government to set up these Boards was made gave, as the reason for the step, the advantage of having a body which would exercise in regard to secondary education the general functions of co-ordination and advice which are exercised in a greater or less degree in the case of collegiate education by the University, and of elementary education by the District Educational Councils. When the idea of these Boards was first mooted there were several who thought that there might be an advantage in having not over a score of them but only some half-dozen through the grouping of four or five districts under the jurisdiction of one Board. The difficulties in the

way of this are that the grouping except in a few cases would have to be arbitrary, that larger bodies would be necessary, that longer distances would have to be travelled by members, and travelling expenses would be inevitably increased. Further, the appointment of a Board for each district helps to stimulate local educational patriotism, while it takes advantage of intimate local knowledge. Should certain of the members of the Secondary Boards happen to be members of the Educational Councils, as might well be the case in a district, closer co-ordination between elementary and secondary education would be likely to result. All these considerations doubtless weighed, but it would not be surprising if the financial aspect weighed most persuasively with a Ministry that desires to advance education but cannot see where to find the money to do it. Be that as it may, twenty-four Secondary Boards have been established, and will soon have begun their work. There are criticisms, and criticisms well worthy of consideration, which have been passed on these Boards ; for example, that on some of them there is over-representation of local bodies, that greater attention needs to be given to the adequate representation of all interests involved, that the membership of the Boards will have to be enlarged, and that the rules for election will be the better of considerable revision. But while the point of these criticisms will be admitted by those who have a genuine belief in secondary education, it will also be readily admitted by them that the appointment of such Boards is a step in the right direction and that the Ministry of Education in appointing them was actuated only by a desire to advance the cause of secondary education. The Boards are small and their functions are at present only advisory. But there is a large field over which their counsel can be beneficial. A body of men and women who have a definite stake in the secondary education of a district can help in advising as to the distribution of grants, the recognition of schools, the co-ordination of text-books and syllabuses of work, and the medical inspection of schools. It will be part

of their duties to consider whether common laboratories, libraries and playing-fields can be arranged for in places where more than one high school exists ; and the development of the Boy Scout movement and the promotion of educational exhibitions comes within their province. As time goes on the Boards will doubtless be entrusted with executive functions, and it can hardly be doubted that they will be given statutory powers.

If we look now at collegiate education we see the same decentralization at work. The Senate of the University has had a quasi-independent position since the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 ; but the membership of the Senate was made up for the most part of Fellows nominated by the Chancellor who by the Act was the Governor of the presidency. Further, various resolutions of the Senate had effect only when they received the sanction of the Government. The Madras University Act of 1923 alters these conditions ; the University is autonomous, and the membership of its various authorities is almost wholly elective.

It will now be realized what enormous steps have been taken within the last four years in the way of devolving control from Government acting through its Educational Department to bodies which are mainly of a non-official character. In the presidency of Madras this devolution now runs through all stages of education, elementary, secondary and collegiate. How does this system work ? The reconstituted University has yet to prove its mettle, and the Secondary Boards are only getting into working order. But the District Educational Councils have been discharging their functions for two years, and these years have shown their usefulness and their able performance of important duties. That a large number of men and women throughout the presidency should feel that upon them, quite as much as upon the Educational Department, rests the responsibility for the advance of elementary education is a result of the highest value. No less valuable is it for representatives of different forms of management to sit at the same table and

to consider jointly schemes for improvement and expansion. That such organizations should make mistakes, that they should make in the initial stages large drafts on the experience of the Educational Department, is only what might be expected from those who have had little administrative knowledge in the past. But the mistakes will be more than counterbalanced by the actual gain to the education of the nation.

IV

It may possibly be said that what I have mentioned applies only to one province and that outside Madras it may be a case of other places other minds. But a reference to the province which alone exceeds Madras in the number of those attending school and college only adds confirmation to the position taken up in the foregoing paragraphs. Bengal stands at the head of all the provinces in India as regards its number of pupils and students ; and between them Bengal and Madras account for almost the half of the total number of the youth of India who are receiving education. Now no one who considers the education of Bengal can afford to neglect the report of the Calcutta University Commission. A perusal of that report shows that a body of men whose qualifications for the inquiry none will question, came to the conclusion that there was little or no hope for sound university education in Bengal until secondary education was in large measure modified and its standards and ideals transformed. And when the question was asked, How is this transformation to be realized ? the answer given by the Commission was virtually this : By entrusting the control of secondary education to an *ad hoc* body on which officials and non-officials would sit, and which would be predominantly non-official. This body would have on it representatives of different educational interests and would also have the power of the purse. There are features of the proposals on which, were there space, not a little could be said ; but the broad general outline is as I have stated it. The pro-

posals amount to a large and courageous scheme of devolution. The Commission is of opinion that only by such a devolution of control will the secondary education of Bengal be set on a satisfactory basis. If anything like what the Commission has recommended were carried out, and if the organizations in Madras were further developed, then the result would be that a system of control would be set up which would affect some four millions of pupils.

The essential part of that system is the statutory establishment of bodies which concern themselves with education alone, are entrusted with growing administrative and executive powers (including those of finance), and deal with schools under all forms of management. In this way there will be set up a comprehensive mode of control which will secure educational effectiveness, administrative soundness, financial economy, and national support. Much has yet to be done to give full practical effect to such a scheme in the provinces of Bengal and Madras ; but the way has been prepared. Obstacles at once show themselves in connexion with management, and the ever-present financial difficulty presents itself with a well-nigh baffling complexity. But were we to pursue the considerations which naturally range themselves under the pressing problems of management and finance, we should find that the approach to a solution of the problem of control would react on our approach to the solution of those, and the result would be to confirm what has been said as to control and at the same time to suggest a form of educational policy which would be both workable, simple and effective. If the experience of Bengal and Madras were found to be satisfactory (as I believe it would), the extension of the method of control advocated in this paper would be a foregone conclusion.

It will be clear to any one that space has compelled me to omit reference to several points in the absence of which no discussion of the problem dealt with in this paper can be regarded as having even a show of completeness. For instance, no educational system of control is possible without

an inspectorate. The value of this portion of the Educational Department I cannot sufficiently emphasize. The money spent in making it effective is well spent for it ensures for each pupil an effective form of education. A poor inspectorate is a national injury. But the object of this paper is not to discuss the merits of any inspectorial cadre; it refers to the inspector simply as a means whereby control may be beneficially exercised. But if I were to go into this I should have to give some indication of what the Educational Departments in India would be when schemes of devolution were carried into full effect. This is a matter which would best be dealt with in connexion with one or two educational problems that are closely bound up with the changing times. All that is possible here is to say how immensely important is the position of the inspectorate, how great are the responsibilities which altered conditions have placed upon it, and how magnificent is the opportunity which now opens to its members.

Another point on which much ought to be said, but which can receive only the bare mention that a brief paragraph affords, relates to the changed nature of control. If the control has altered in its means it has also altered in its kind. Formerly it was directed chiefly to encouraging the establishment of schools and maintaining them in satisfactory condition. Now it has this to do and more besides: it has to provide against over-lapping and injurious distribution, and at the same time against infringement of conscientious scruple. It will have been noticed how the District Educational Councils under the Madras Elementary Education Act are through their representative character well fitted to co-ordinate educational activity in a district so as to secure the absence of wasteful competition. If space had permitted it would have been possible to show how, by the working of the same bodies, education may be advanced without the violation of religious conviction. The devolving of the control of education on specially appointed bodies carries with it the solution of many problems which seemed formerly to land only in an impasse.

The appointment of an increasing number of educational bodies on which all forms of educational effort are represented is really a call for the men and women whose professional qualifications and whose interests and sympathies are of the best. This call comes with great force to all who have the welfare of India deeply at heart. Amongst these it makes its appeal for a fresh sense of responsibility and opportunity to those who in the field of aided education are the bearers of the Christian contribution. That contribution has always received a cordial welcome from India in the past. Amid all the changes which I see in the present I see no change in this cordiality.

W. Meston

MODERN MONEY-CHANGERS OF THE GOSPEL

By R. W. HOWARD

I

In more than one of the ancient Fathers there is found a traditional command of our Lord which, if we may borrow the metaphor proper to the phrase itself, has surely the genuine ring of the synoptic gospels; γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι —'Shew yourselves tried money-changers.' Bishop Westcott (*Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 454) describes it as 'the most commonly quoted of all the apocryphal sayings' of Christ.[1]

It is a luminous metaphor this, conjuring up pictures of Galilee, with Matthew and his stool and table at the lakeside *douane*, or of Jerusalem, with its trafficking profiteers in the temple, the picture of whose headlong flight visitors to the Oberammergau passion play can never forget. But it is also a lasting metaphor. In present-day Europe, with its baffling problems of exchange, and in the East, with its fluctuating rupee and fickle dollar, the money-changer is still one of the chief figures upon the international stage. This λόγιον of Christ, then, may well be recaptured for our spiritual use, and pass again into the currency of missionary thought in the twentieth century.

'Shew yourselves tried money-changers.' Perhaps the patristic contexts in which the command is found suggest that it is addressed, primarily, to the customer, who comes to the money-changer's table; it bids him distinguish between spurious teaching and the genuine

[1] For the patristic references, see Anger, *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, pp. 204 and 274.

doctrine of his King. But we claim the right to apply the words also to the money-changer himself, whose duty it is to translate the gold or silver or copper into current coin, its form varying with the traders or travellers as they pass before him, each with his separate accent, his distinctive dress, and the other unmistakable signs of his national origin. To each one, the money-changer must offer coinage which will command immediate and undoubting acceptance.

Could any message be more overwhelmingly important for the evangelist to-day, whether at home or abroad? It is needed by the worker in a foreign land. In a world where nationalism has become a byword, the missionary must be an expert money-changer in his presentation of the everlasting Gospel. That which is merely western or European in his preaching of it makes it so much the less attractive. The slightest ring of foreign alloy will be detected by the sensitive and critical ears of students in college or of bystanders in the bazaar.

But it is with the Christian evangelist at home that our thought in this study is concerned. The command of Christ is equally binding upon him. To some, the task seems simple indeed at first sight—the proclamation of 'the old Gospel'; men may reject the treasure offered or pass it by, to their everlasting loss. Is not that enough? So it is often argued. But the interpretation of Jesus Himself, as Divine Saviour and Teacher and Lord, must be faced afresh in every age and every generation. To-day it is being increasingly recognized that we must offer men 'a Gospel for all good life,' a Gospel which will regenerate a man's outlook as well as his soul; the Gospel of a Christ whom he can recognize as not only indispensable to his own salvation—and any presentation of the Gospel which fails here fails utterly—but indispensable also to his life in the world of to-day. For 'a human being is the son of his time; and he must realize himself as that, or he will not do it at all.' It is natural therefore that attempts should

recently have been made to explore the meaning of evangelism in the light of modern life and thought. For example, two writers of the Student Christian Movement—Mr Malcolm Spencer, in *Work, Play, and the Gospel*, and the Rev. E. S. Woods, in *Everyday Religion*—have sought to relate the presentation of Christianity to the full-blooded ideals of British students to-day.

Now the evangelist in the home Church cannot be said to be a faithful and successful steward of the genuine Gospel unless his preaching both carries at its heart the missionary message and also issues, when accepted and practised, in the fruits of some kind of missionary service. To say this is not surely to utter a private dogma, but to summarize the plain teaching of the whole New Testament. With that standard in mind, let us examine for a moment the results of modern evangelism at home. It is, after all, their acid test. For a Christian who is not yet missionary-hearted is not only a contradiction in terms; he is, in some measure, the condemnation of his own spiritual ancestry. He may have been born again, but he still lags far behind the experience of Saul Kane, the drunken poacher of John Masefield's fine poem, who passed at a bound into the generous maturity of Christian salvation :

> I did not think, I did not strive,
> The deep peace burnt my me alive;
> The bolted door had broken in,
> I knew that I had done with sin.
> I knew that Christ had given me birth
> To brother all the souls on earth,
> And every bird and every beast
> Should share the crumbs broke at the feast.[1]

Yet the disturbing fact must be faced that such a Christian experience is, in its maturity, shared only by a pitiably small minority in our churches. One London vicar, in a parish the missionary contributions of which are a glory to his diocese and an example to his neighbours, recently attempted,

[1] *The Everlasting Mercy.* London: Sidgwick & Jackson, p. 67.

by the careful questioning of trustworthy observers, to discover how many even of his own parishioners had reached the level of steady missionary enthusiasm and competent missionary knowledge. Twenty-five per cent was the most optimistic proportion to which anyone would commit himself: some put it far lower. There is strong evidence that his experience was typical, not exceptional. That is to say, something like seventy per cent of the Christians in the Church of England, at least, have not yet entered into their full inheritance in Christ. Evangelism, in its full effects, has failed, so far as they are concerned.

Now it would be easy to lay the blame for this apathy towards missions upon the general lack of spiritual life in the Churches. 'It is an age of spiritual poverty,' many will reply to such figures; 'men and women will not, in any case, prefer the gold of a pure and sacrificial Gospel to the brass of conventional respectability, or the amalgam of paganism and worldliness which passes for true religion to-day. It is spiritual revival that we want. It is the old evangelism, pure and simple. Give us that, and missionary enthusiasm will follow as its first-fruits.' But to say this is only to drive us back into the arms of our main argument. It calls us to examine not only the fruits of modern evangelism but the very evangel itself which must be preached. Where can we find so strong a lever of simple evangelism as the preaching of Christ gloriously and graciously revealed as the unique and therefore universal Saviour of all men, in every country; Christ lifting the African from his superstition and fear and satisfying the mystic yearnings of an agnostic Japanese Buddhist; Christ proving Himself the one satisfying Incarnation of God to the Hindus; lighting a lamp of hope for China's students, as they grope through the social darkness of their country towards the gleaming of a better dawn? Unlimited resources for home evangelism and revival are available for those who in the power of the Spirit preach Christ as the sufficient Saviour of all men.

But there is something more. This 'home evangelism with a world-background' offers a new objective as well as a new power to the preacher and teacher. For it will call out all that is best in men. Many have honestly tried and failed to see in the Church's campaign, as it is too frequently offered to them to-day, anything worth being saved for: the objective seems so selfish, and therefore so paltry. They will respond to the call to a world-wide enterprise. Their consciences will be roused when they see that to fail God now is to commit the sin of unpardonable selfishness at a great crisis in His leadership of mankind up the hill of hope and out of the valley of despair.

Often a man, seeing Christianity as a high, heroic thing and Christ as its Leader, hearing His authentic voice in the challenge of the world's present need and opportunity, has sold all that he had, in spirit if not in fact, and surrendered himself recklessly to follow Him:

> The Master called,
> 'Come follow,' that was all.
> My gold grew dim,
> My soul went after Him.
> I rose, and followed, that was all,
> Who would not, if they heard Him call?

An evangel with a world-background, then, is the only genuine Gospel for our dispensing to-day. We cannot excuse ourselves for the low spiritual vitality in our home Churches until we have made use of this rich resource of power and appeal. Offering anything less, we are unjust stewards, coiners of a counterfeit Gospel; we cannot blame those who pass it by. A recent definition of evangelism boldly asserted that: 'To evangelize is so to present the Gospel of Christ that the reponsibility for accepting or rejecting it rests with the individual.' We at home have not discharged our responsibility in presenting the Gospel until we have preached to men with the power and the challenge which the missionary message can give us. What is needed alike in the pulpit and in individual lives is a

passionate and persistent presentation of such an evangel by men and women whose hearts are burdened with it as with a 'burning fire shut up in their bones.'

Now it would be easy to overlook, in this passion for dispensing the golden treasure of the world-evangel to the people of our home Churches, the supreme need for making it also available and accessible in coinage that the common man can handle. It is proverbially and painfully common to find that the one message of the year which people do not want to hear from their pulpit is the missionary message. This anti-missionary complex is one of the most ancient and deep-seated prejudices in the corporate mind of our communicants. From time to time, it is true, some golden deed is done, some heroic sacrifice is lavishly outpoured, to which instant and world-wide tribute is paid. A Mrs Starr, by her example of forgiving love, crowned by her fearless exploit in the frontier hills, gives a new and compelling text to every preacher of foreign missions. An Albert Schweitzer, forgoing his career as organist and theologian and burying himself as a doctor in Africa, is a living argument for belief in Christ and in Christian missions which I have found make an overwhelming appeal to congregation after congregation of critical boys in our great British public schools. There is no gainsaying such lives. They carry upon them the hall-mark of the eternal self-sacrifice of God Himself. But one cannot carry on the ordinary workaday business of life in gold pieces, and we cannot remain content with purveying to our congregations merely the golden story of missionary romance and heroism. The Christians in our Churches must be taught to appreciate the wider reaches of missionary work in its details. We must relate the world-wide enterprise of Christ to daily affairs, transmitting its message to men in coinage that will pass into the natural currency of their daily thinking and living.

How is it to be done ? That is the crux of the problem to which we seek a true solution. And we believe that

the secret is not inaccessible. Indeed, it cannot be. God wills that every Christian should be fully saved only by being saved through and for a 'world evangel,' an evangel which also reacts upon his ordinary life day by day. Then God must have an avenue for that evangel into the heart of every single and separate individual, at the end of which the last and only remaining barrier is his own inviolable free will. The secret of access can be found. I believe that it lies in an unwearied application to all our public missionary teaching and preaching, and to all our personal influence over others, of the principle embodied in the λόγιον of Christ. It is a call to put 'the other man' first in our thinking and speaking, just as the money-changer must think always of the varying need of his clients. It is the principle of successful government suggested by the advice of the old Indian rajah who, when handing over to his son a realm which he himself had administered with wonderful wisdom and prosperity, said, 'My son, if you wish to be a successful ruler, get inside the skins of your people.' It is the ideal of the skilful teacher; for 'in order to teach John Latin you must not only know Latin; you must know John.' It is above all reflected in the example of Christ Himself, who 'knew what was in man' and whose message therefore was invariably delivered with a view to the outlook and temperament and condition of His listeners.

The problem, then, of our missionary approach to men and women will occupy the remainder of this article.

II

There are two methods of analysis which may be applied to those with whom we have to deal. The easier, perhaps, is the social analysis, which takes stock of the outside lives of men, of their environment, their occupation, their particular class in the community. For example, in a great industrial district, we may find a ready entrance into the minds of men for the missionary message with such subjects

as the equality of opportunity for all men, the rights of backward races, the ladder of education, the only 'alternative to war,' labour conditions in the East and their reactions upon us here, Christ the great Leader in social reform. We can draw upon rich and varied material in driving home the deeper spiritual implications which lie behind modern industry. Mr Arthur Henderson's *International Labour Standard*,[1] for example, is really an apology for missions. Having thus pierced the outer defences of men's minds, we can press home to the citadel. Or it may be the people of a village area with whom we have to deal. We can link their thought with the East by a graphic description of village life in India in a mass movement district; or make the village war memorial (and the wireless apparatus, if there is one) the text for a sermon on world-wide brotherhood; or give an African geography lesson, with a spiritual background, on the contents of the village grocer's shop.

But the other method of approach is subtler and more exacting. It involves a spiritual analysis, which deals with the inner lives of men—their temperament and religious outlook, their aesthetic bent or political bias. It is impossible here to do more than suggest, in a manner all too fragmentary, three examples by way of illustration.

1. The Egotistical Man is obviously a difficult type. A distinguished Frenchman, whose name I cannot now recall, once laid his finger upon a superficial symptom which, however, reveals the secret of our approach to such a man. 'An egotist,' he said, 'is a person who will insist on talking about himself, when you want to be talking about yourself.' It is, therefore, futile to approach this kind of person until we have analysed him. We shall find that for him Christianity is an insurance to be secured, a commodity to be enjoyed. The aim of his churchgoing is to make him comfortable for the coming week. His favourite objection, 'The religion of the native is good enough for him,' crystallizes his thought about all religion: it is a treasure to be

[1] Published by the Epworth Press. Price 6d.

commandeered, not a trust to be communicated. Religion is for a man, not a man for religion. How can we reach the egotist? Partly by shewing him that a man's very security is only achieved by service for others. But we must also apply to his mind a homeopathic process of education, give him a new understanding of his own religion by vivid reference to the ways in which the problems of life and work, home and family, temptation and forgiveness, prayer and sacrifice, pain and death are met by those other religions among the 'natives' of whom he so glibly speaks. So he will come, in spite of himself, to see God and to see his brother also in a new light.

2. Then there is the INSULAR MAN. He is interested in a wider range of things than the individualist; but it is still a limited circle of ideas. He is politically a strong party man; ecclesiastically, a convinced denominationalist; in his international outlook (if he has any) a very nest of racial complexes, and antipathies toward 'coloured' peoples. The phrase 'foreign missions' suggests a thought which is not one of the stations, so to speak, on the inner circle of his range of ideas. There is only one thing to be done with him. His vision must be lifted, as if by a periscope, above the cramping walls of prejudice and ignorance. We must continually be painting pictures to enlarge his imagination. For a man cannot help looking at pictures. And the aim of our pictures will be to enable him to see things steadily and see them whole. Two West African boys, for example, squatting by the roadside, spelling out the latest copy of Du Bois' paper *The Crisis*—a luminous vignette of world-wide nationalism. Or the Marconi posts erected to-day on the great wall built centuries ago to keep China in quarantine from the rest of mankind,—a parable to show the whispering-gallery of ideas into which the coming of wireless has transformed the modern world. Illustrations like these will make our insular man read his daily newspaper with a mental horizon that steadily broadens. One day he will reach a Christian interpretation of his life, seeing it in

the setting of a world-wide humanity, to the membership and service of which he is irrevocably committed.

3. Lastly, there is the ARTISTIC TYPE of mind. Too often the men and women possessing it have been repelled by a crude or narrow presentation of the missionary message. Yet there are byways which will lead us to the deepest reaches in their spirits—I mean the avenues of poetry and literature, of art and beauty. A quotation from John Masefield's 'I must go down to the sea again'[1] will not only convey in a flash the call of the wild, but also set the hearer instantly in tune with the appeal which is wielded, he now feels, by a kindred spirit. Or such touches as may be given by Matthew Arnold's haunting picture of how

> In their glens, on starry nights
> The nightingales divinely sing;
> And lovely notes, from shore to shore,
> Across the sound and channels pour,

when used to suggest the world-wide yearning of human spirits for racial reunion, will do far more than anything else to win this kind of hearer to an appreciation of the inner meaning of missions.

Pictures, too, whether classical or modern, have their message to all such. Rembrandt's 'Crusader,' for example, or 'The Boyhood of Walter Raleigh,' by Millais, offer missionary texts. And all the beauty of the world overseas is at our disposal—the beauty of romance and the wonder of adventure and sacrifice; the beauty of an African sunrise or of spring in Persia; of wild jungle scenery and of ordered architecture; the beauty of 'Island Babies' and their ways; of folk stories and legends and parables from the East. And humour, that finely distilled essence of beauty and delight, will penetrate sometimes where nothing else can.

These, then, are a few of the qualities which go to the making of a tried money-changer of the missionary evangel, as he sits at his table, ready for all comers—the industrial worker, the village labourer, the egotist, the party man,

[1] *Isolation*, p. 135, Oxford Edition, 1909.

the aesthete and many another. All these will receive the true gold, in their own coinage, so far as we are able to give it. So far, and no farther. For first we must possess it for ourselves. There is a parable of Rabindranath Tagore,[1] which tells of a king who came in his golden chariot, himself a smiling suppliant, to ask a wayside beggar 'What hast thou to give to me?' The vagabond reluctantly, confusedly, drew from his wallet one tiny grain of corn, and gave it to the king. And at nightfall, when counting over his store, he found in his bag one grain of gold—one only.

God asks His money-changers this thing before all else, as they seek to stand His searching test—that they shall give Him all they have and are. For the resources of a dedicated life are illimitable; and only dedicated lives are worthy to pass on, alike to congregations and to individuals at the home base, the inspiration which has been made and is being made possible by the sacrifice of home and country, of health and comfort, in thousands of missionary lives in Africa and the East. But in our common lives, when touched with the divinity of the King, men and women may see something of the true gold which is stamped with the mark of Him who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor; and they too will empty out their treasures of personality and possession in the service of Christ and the world, and share with Him in that gladness which is love's unfailing reward. For

> The wintry sun is a miser,
> Whose joy is to hoard and to hold;
> But the summer sun is wiser,
> He freely spends his gold;
> With lavish and broad dispersal
> Around, beneath, and above,
> He sheds his light universal
> And wins universal love.
>
> R. W. Howard

[1] *Gitanjali*, No. 50. London: Macmillan.

CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALISM

By H. W. MEDIWAKA

At a meeting of Christians held at Kandy not long ago two papers were read by Ceylonese on the work of Christian missions and both dwelt on the national aspect of the question. Among those who joined in the discussion that followed was a European business man who was keen on a certain type of Christian work and did a good deal of street preaching. He said that he could not understand the attitude of the papers and wanted to know what Christianity had to do with nationalism as it was the salvation of the individual that counted.

It is true that the modern development of nationalism with its desire for temporal power is unchristian in principle. But if nationalism means nation building, Christianity in its call for sacrifice and united effort must be the living force that counts.

Any failure of Christian work out here may perhaps be traced to the manner in which it is undertaken. 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature' can be interpreted in its narrowest sense. If the command is to be taken as the mere preaching of the word of God as the fulfilment of an obligation we may save ourselves the trouble by calling modern science to our aid in broadcasting the message by some mechanical means. Does not Christianity stand for much more than this? Does it not stand for the creation of self-respect in an individual by showing him that he is the child of God for whom Christ died? And in that supreme belief does it not point the way to freedom that will overcome superstition and loosen him from fetters that strangle a free, wholesome and unbounded life?

The early Christians worked against great odds. They

were the governed striving to win the governing. They were the slaves winning their masters. It was service both in the spiritual and the practical sense. But unfortunately for us in Ceylon and the East, Christianity comes with the powerful nations of the West. There are grounds for suspicion and misunderstanding, and those who are against the spread of the Gospel make use of every opportunity to accentuate and exaggerate such feelings. This being the position the greater is the reason why it should be clearly seen that Christ, the loving, comes to build and not to destroy, to set free and not to enslave.

The Portuguese in Ceylon, like their brothers the Spaniards in America, committed horrible cruelties in the name of Christ. With them religion and temporal power went hand in hand. In the parts they conquered the Sinhalese were forced to give up their names. The old temples and monuments, some of them valuable works of art, were destroyed and Sinhalese art was strangled. Is it then a wonder that non-Christians blame Christianity as a denationalizing force? Ceylon has had a civilization of its own and a long and famous history of which we are justly proud. This civilization did not develop on the lines of those in the West, but it was in many respects suited to the environment of the people. But that there is much that we can give or correct I will not deny. The Sinhalese have been under the influence of Buddhism for over two thousand years and it has influenced their history and has helped to model their national character. Buddhist critics assert to-day that a person must be a Buddhist to be a Sinhalese. This shows what influence a religion can have on nationality or *vice versa*. Call it what you will. The fact remains. Further, in the East, perhaps more than in the West, religion plays an important part in the national life of a people. There is no national celebration, no holiday that has not some religious significance. Think of the Jews, their laws and customs; consider their national life and you will realize what part religion plays in it. It is thus with most

if not all the eastern peoples. Thus the change of religion means more than the mere change of a faith. The new faith must fill the vacancy and the question is whether the Christian Church attempts to fill the gap.

There was a time when men embraced a new faith unhindered by racial bias. The new national movements that started in Europe have spread throughout the East and the position to-day is much more complex. Just as no European desires to be a Sinhalese or Tamil, no Sinhalese or Tamil desires to change his nationality, even though the one party is the governing and the other the governed.

I believe it to be a folly to attempt conversions with the idea of swelling the numbers of converts. Converts must be shown in what way Christianity is to help them not merely to be good but to live the daily life of a Christian connected with his people and sharing their aspirations and their life. When such is not their outlook and the Gospel is connected in their minds with things alien—the western Church, western music, western Governments, and the cold teaching to save their souls—the light they gain is shortlived. Out in the district away from the sheltering wings of the missionary the convert feels like a man adrift on the ocean. He has learnt that superstition, ignorance and evil surround him. He thinks he cannot share in the life round him and his thoughts begin to centre round himself, a very dangerous attitude of mind for a Christian life. He must either strike out a line for himself or drift aimlessly in life of no use to himself or to his people, finally perhaps, wearied by such an existence, be engulfed by the ocean. Very likely he becomes then a bitter opponent of Christianity. This weakness is often due to the Church which fails to make the religion a part of the land itself. It is due to the narrow channels in which our Churches are accustomed to move.

The most pitiable men that can be met are such proselytes with no mind or aspiration of their own, broken away from their homes and left rudderless in the vast ocean over which

many an ill wind blows. These have been shown a new way and perhaps coaxed to let go a system that made them one with their land. To gain what? Is it to gain a doctrine, losing at the same time the ties that naturally bind them to their people, or is it to gain new life to live more truly with their own, having won the spiritual force to set free and enliven everything they set their hands to?

I remember with regret the conversation that I once had with an energetic young Sinhalese from a Christian home. He said, 'I am becoming more and more Buddhistic in my views, because I find that Christianity gives me no scope for any national aspirations.' He was sincere in what he said. His family and others like it were prospering in the worldly sense and were in the enjoyment of high positions, but they lived to themselves and were cut off from the rest of their people.

Christ offers the land a life of service and usefulness and the Christian should naturally lead in the national life of the country, but how often is the spirit chilled by a narrow vision. Until Christianity is offered as the force that will not only save the individual but will also mould the national life of the people and make it a living force, the response will be weak. While helping the upward progress of this land such a development will bring about a better understanding between the contending force of the East and West. The Christian ought thus to be a moderating influence. No weakling, however, can be a help in the solution of any difficult problem, and it is a folly to create anywhere a weak spoon-fed Christian community.

Christianity often comes to the East in too western a garb and the foreign aspect must be preventing many from accepting the message. Apart from the broad outlook of the teaching itself there are many things that need alteration in the forms of service. The music used in the vernacular is often purely western and does not lend itself to oriental languages, and certain airs which are fitting to the English appear alien and comical when used with the vernacular.

In fact the whole form of church service requires careful revision if it is really to appeal to the people.

In oriental countries—it was certainly so in Ceylon—the kings and the nobles often lived in humble dwellings but put their best into places of worship. The art of the people lived and developed mainly because of the opportunities the artisans and the designers had of putting their best into religious structures. Leave the religious structures out of account and Ceylon has little to show in the way of art. Turn to Ceylon to-day and examine the churches built. Go through the length and breadth of the island and see how much Christianity has done to foster the art and stimulate the talent of the people and you will be surprised at the beggary and the folly of the Ceylon Church. The smaller churches are little sheds not worth dwelling upon. In some cases an attempt has been made to provide little chapels in village mission schools for the small congregations in the surrounding districts, and the only bits of ornament to be found there are stained glass windows imported from England. What poor gain after the gorgeously coloured temples, painted and adorned by the people themselves! The so-called cathedrals and churches of the towns have been built in a debased form of Gothic architecture and rarely has an attempt been made to commend local talent. What is seen by the eye can be communicated to the mind: 'Here is a religion that has come to kill my art and supersede it by one that is foreign.' A religion, in other words, that is a de-nationalizing force. Some of our churches give the impression of a chilly arctic landscape planted in a gorgeous tropical land. Ceylon is a tropical land and colours bright and gay meet us at every turn. Our very skins are coloured. Look at the clothes the people wear and enter one of the temples and notice the colour there. Yet Christianity is offered bereft of all its colour and beauty.

There are some Ceylonese Christians drilled into the ways of the modern Church or born into these surroundings

who have become unnatural in that they have lost their eastern minds and it is at such that a non-Christian may point triumphantly saying, ' That is what Christianity does.' Even if it is thought that the material to hand is not quite appropriate to be used with things Christian it should be the aim of the Church to offer it to the Heavenly Father to be purified and enlivened by Him. No nation can live on a borrowed Christian life. It must become indigenous to be vigorous and lasting.

We are bewildered at the attempt of the different Christian bodies to introduce wholesale the different sects of the English Churches. In England these divisions have a historical background, but what do they mean to us here ? It is a pity that these bodies cannot change their attitude and attempt a more united effort. Do the missions aim at winning non-Christians to Christ or to the different sects of the Church ?

The true reason for preaching the Gospel in Ceylon should not merely be the betterment of the individual but also to make the people better citizens of their own land. To bring prosperity and happiness to the land and to teach the people that in God's plan Ceylon, like any other land, occupies a prominent place and that by being true to one's own land one will be helping to bring the kingdom of God to earth. Thus the only really proper and effective way of reaching the people is from the national standpoint. If those Christians in Ceylon who have given any thought to the subject are asked why they are Christians, I have no doubt that they will say that it is not so much their own salvation that matters but that of the country. They will say that they are convinced that Christ has come to fulfil and not to destroy, come to raise us, to give renewed life and vigour to a people who have long been in a dreamy past.

With regard to the missionary from the West the following observations may be made. Among the greatest of the difficulties he will have to face may be the consciousness that he belongs to or is allied to the ruling race, and however hard and self-sacrificing his work may be his attitude will

be seen. What is a human weakness, and might have been passed off without a comment in earlier days, will to-day be given interpretations that will certainly not help him on in his work. To make his work fruitful and lasting he should strive to identify himself with the people he works among. Occasion might force him to appear as the stern father of the people he works among. It is certainly his duty to go hard at the evil he sees, but the moment he appears to belong to and works for a party whose interests may be contrary to those of the community he is ministering to, their confidence in him wanes, suspicion hangs in the air and his words fall on deaf ears.

Does this mean that any Christian work must be always calculated and carefully planned out ? No, is my emphatic answer. The spontaneous work of men of the type of Sadhu Sundar Singh (whether European or Asiatic) will be a fire to purify and enliven wherever it goes, for they have no private ambitions, no plans and interests and no Church to check and guide in narrow and fixed channels. But to-day most Christian work is done under the other conditions and too much care and thought cannot be given to these matters.

Not long ago Christian nations were engaged in a mortal struggle and the scramble for spoils is not yet over. Each nation prayed for victory in arms. This was bad enough, but to-day in Africa and elsewhere the name of God is used by white men in their demand for preferential treatment and power, and out in America nominal Christians hound the negro to death. The East is said to be sleepy and unprogressive but the West while making material progress seems to be degenerating in the spiritual sense. It seems to be going back from the teachings of Christ to Jehovah, the war God of the Old Testament. Western countries or their colonies have closed their doors to the crowded populations of the East but they are ever seeking advantages in the Orient. Any eastern land that is averse to foreign intrusion is termed barbarous and unprogressive but the same terms are not applied to

western peoples who adopt the same methods. Further, accounts even of countries long settled by Orientals dwell on the rich and healthy parts of these lands that might yet be colonized by Europeans. In the midst of all this comes the missionary from the West and preaches ' Peace and goodwill on earth.' Oh, the tragedy of the situation !

The western Church comes to the East with a shell on its back. The East wonders whether it can cramp itself into this shell without endangering its self-respect, freedom and existence. It is not Christ that is questioned but the Church in its modern garb. That is the cause of the whole question. At least some Christians out here realize that they will themselves have to help in solving the problems that face our Church, and thanks be to the few from the West who do their utmost to help, guide and encourage them in the attempt.

H. W. Mediwaka

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALITY

By A. C. CUMARASWAMY

Two distinct ideas have influenced the minds of Christian leaders in their conception of a world brotherhood under the banner of Jesus Christ. The Roman Church believes in and works for a catholicity based on allegiance to a common head on earth, and a central administration with headquarters in the 'Eternal City.' A great deal of this development is due to tendencies inherited from the Roman Empire, in which order and good government played such an important part. The Methodist Church is attached to a doctrine of ecumenical Methodism which is likely in some ways to prove a hindrance to the development of national Churches. While it must be admitted that this ideal embodies much that is beautiful, it is obvious that neither of the Churches referred to, nor any other existing at the present day, possesses all those characteristics that can satisfy the aspirations of all mankind. Great as is the Church of Rome, she represents an incomplete development, and has not assimilated the contribution of a large section of the human race. The other Churches have much less justification for claiming a representative character, and have therefore less right to desire to impose their theology or their polity on the whole of Christendom. The second ideal presents the picture of the Holy Catholic Church as a federation of independent, free, national Churches, bound to one another in a fellowship of love and service, and in a common allegiance to Jesus and witness to His saving power. This idea, which has been both the weakness and the glory

of the Church of England, is presented in this article as the only possible one in the development of the Indian Church. Nationalism has been a power for calling forth some of the noblest instincts for service, as well as some of the most cruel acts of violence. But true Christian nationalism will lead every race to be the best that it can be; and each nation's heritage, finding its fulfilment and completeness in Jesus Christ, will result in a fellowship and unity infinitely stronger and deeper than any uniformity that a central administration or a common ritual can produce.

From those who hold the latter view, the aspirations of Indian Christians at this time will evoke a sympathetic response. We are often accused of making demands without exactly knowing what we ask. This is probably true, but surely it is a sign that something is needed, and it must be the duty of all of us to find out the means whereby the free development of the Indian Church can be encouraged. Love of India occupies no small place in the hearts of Indians who are coming forward to-day to accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Master. These words of Narayan Vaman Tilak, from a lyric composed on the day of his baptism,

> My wealth, my thoughts, aye verily,
> My life itself I give to thee,
> My Hindusthan so dear to me,

find an echo in many an Indian heart to-day. Indian Christians are called upon to take a share in the regeneration of New India, and we find ourselves divided into sects and denominations, some of them hostile to each other. The blame for this cannot be laid at the doors of western missionary societies, for they have brought us the Christ as they knew Him, as the fulfilment of their heritage, and it is for us to interpret Him in an Indian setting and put our experience into words for the help of our countrymen. To most Indian Christians, western denominational differences have very little meaning. A Telugu Christian gentleman, on being asked by the Bishop of Dornakal why he was a

Baptist, replied that his reasons were based more on geography than on any theology. This could not have been helped in the past, but we should now do all in our power to make it possible for us to work together in the great cause of winning India to Christ by being rendered free from fetters that have come from abroad. We do not wish to cut ourselves off from communion with western Christendom, and it is our conviction that we shall find, when we put our experience into words, that we agree to a very large extent with the great Churches of the West in doctrinal matters. But we desire to be free to make our own mistakes and to pass through our own struggles, thereby to help our India to find her Master.

This spirit of freedom and desire for a national Church is very natural at this time when Swaraj is the dream of every true Indian. Sir P. C. Ray said recently, 'Science can wait, but Swaraj cannot.' There has been considerable stir in the minds of all lovers of India for fear of the possibility that this was not a general statement of the professor, but an indication of his future line of service. There is perhaps no department in which Indians need so much assistance as in science and its application to industrial developments. Sir P. C. Ray not only ably occupies a prominent chair of chemistry, but is an ardent social worker, and an enthusiastic advocate of the *kaddhar* as well as the machine-made Swadeshi cloth. India will not willingly allow him to give these up and enter into the sphere of direct political agitation. His words are therefore significant, as they serve to illustrate the high place political problems occupy in the mind of the Indian people. To other nations politics may be a profession or a pastime, but to India at the present juncture it is the corporate effort of a nation to recover its manhood. The Indian Church cannot possibly remain a foreign organization, or even stand out of the present struggle in India, and yet hope to win her for the Christ. The Church must cast away her foreign garb and discard all imperial trappings before she can hope to be His

representative, Who was among His people as 'He that serveth.'

Mohammedanism is frequently held up as of peculiar virtue in that it breaks down barriers of caste and race and binds men into a brotherhood such as puts Christians to shame. There is a great deal of truth in this; but without going into the question as to whether the unity that we see in Islam is as real to those within as to us who look at the institution from outside, we are at least compelled to recognize that this Mohammedan brotherhood goes hand in hand with an exclusiveness towards all those who do not follow the Prophet. In this aspect it bears some resemblance to Roman Catholicism. We Indian Christians must confess to our shame that for many years we have stood aloof from national movements, as if we were committed to a similar principle. Even at the present time the older generation of Indian Christians are inclined occasionally to think that as Christians they are pledged to an allegiance to the British Government in a special sense and to a greater extent than their non-Christian fellow-countrymen. The Indian Church is realizing more and more that she should share in India's struggles and sorrows, and that there is no loyalty greater than her loyalty to Christ. It is therefore refreshing to see Christians taking their share in India's fight for Swaraj, and the All-India Christian Conference making clear and bold pronouncements.

The Indian Church should become national and free, in order that she may make her full contribution in interpreting Christ to the world. We are coming more and more to feel that Jesus Christ is God's answer, not only to the aspirations of the Hebrew prophets but to the longings of our own great saints and *bhaktars*. While indeed the rate at which educated Indians are coming into the Church of Christ is not encouraging, the fact cannot be denied that Indian thought is drawing near to Christ in a remarkable way, and we may look forward to India's sudden recognition of Jesus as indeed that Saviour whom she has so long and

so eagerly sought. A European missionary who is held in high esteem by Indian students recently summed up the change in the religious outlook of the Hindu youth during the last few decades somewhat to the following effect: In the early days of Christian missionary enterprise, the opposition took its stand on the plea 'Christianity is not true'; gradually the attitude changed to 'Christianity is not new: we have the law and the prophets—our sages have taught all these truths in the past.' But the modern attitude of many enlightened Hindus is 'Christianity is not YOU.' We should note that this last opinion is addressed to those of us who profess and call ourselves Christians. This attitude is an expression of the consciousness of India that Christ is something infinitely richer and greater than all that our poor church life has been able to put forward, and that our Lord is able to give India at this time a message and a gospel far more appealing than we His followers can present. When non-Christian India wishes to do honour to her greatest leader, she draws attention to his likeness to Jesus of Nazareth. If India is not disobedient to the heavenly vision we can look to her future with hope and confidence. This is her great time of choice. God grant that she may not betray her Lord and crucify Him afresh, but that in full adoration she may fall at His feet and exclaim, 'My Lord and my God.'

Our responsibility in this is very great. We are Indians and we are Christians, and the sight of our mother India recognizing our Master as her Lord and Saviour must endue us with that inspiration which will strengthen us to face the wrath of friends and rulers, and claim for our country a liberty, and for our Church such autonomy as will enable us, free from foreign fetters, to serve the cause of our country in the name of Jesus. A few centuries of western missionary effort and sacrifice have built up the present Indian Church. The Indian Christian community is growing out of being a detached alien society into one which promises to be the very life blood of Indian nationhood. If the Indian Church is

to fulfil this high mission, she must first become free and indigenous. It is not possible to nationalize the Church by drawing up schemes to introduce Indian music, Indian architecture and so forth, though these will be of great help if recognized as of secondary importance. When Indian leadership is sufficiently encouraged, and those who are administering the Church feel that they are not a colony of foreigners, then the system will gradually become Indian. The National Christian Council is a step forward in the right direction, as is also the proposed bill for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in India. The severe criticisms that have been directed from some quarters against both these measures only show that they are departures from old grooves. When Indians begin to realize that the Church is theirs and that the work of evangelization of India is their own responsibility, then may we hope to see the full fruition of the labours of the great saints of the past, of William Carey and Father Schwartz, of St Francis Xavier and other exalted spirits who are now enjoying the beatific vision, benignly watching over the Church they helped to build and giving us support by their intercessions.

The handing over of responsibility to Indians is often viewed with disfavour by some of the best friends of India among missionaries. This surely is the result of a short-sighted attitude. We grant that at the outset there will be some loss of efficiency. But ought we not to remember that mechanical efficiency is not the chief virtue of a Church, and also that the criterion of efficiency should not always be that to which we have been accustomed in western Christendom ? Nor should it be regarded that the making of mistakes in the process of learning is the monopoly of Englishmen. It is gratifying, however, that the majority of missionaries in India at the present time are with us in our desire to see the Indian Church united, free and under Indian leadership. During the period of transition there will arise misunderstandings, and our missionary friends may sometimes have cause to feel hurt and pained. This

will be but the travail preparatory to the birth of the Indian Church, and soon the representatives of the parent Churches of the West will be rejoicing that a new man is born into the world and that their greatest glory has been a share in the birth-pangs of the new age.

One of the spheres in which the Indian Church will need to work out her position in a new way will be in connexion with her attitude to her non-Christian religious heritage. The time is happily gone when preachers of the Gospel denounced as entirely worthless all the treasured religious possessions of our fathers. Jesus Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil, and God who at sundry times and in diverse places spoke to His children in India does not desire that His word to our fathers should be made of none effect. In the same manner as the ancient philosophy of the Greeks was consecrated to Christ will the Indian Church make an effort to present her religious thought to the world, sanctified and made complete by the power of the living Christ. We may not yet sufficiently realize what the contribution to Christianity will be of the Indian Church but we dimly see the possibilities. Sadhu Sundar Singh is not for India alone nor only for this age. The land of mysticism and the home of the Yogis cannot for ever be the receptacle for the blessings earned by the labours of our western friends. The time must come and is soon coming when India in its full-grown manhood will be a new channel for a fresh flow of grace from the Lord of all life to the whole of Christendom.

A. C. Cumaraswamy

THE EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE IN PRIMITIVE AFRICAN SOCIETY

By HANDLEY D. HOOPER

The Englishman who wanders along the grassy tracks of primitive churchmanship in Central Africa meets with many novel obstacles and problems to perplex him. He is used to the macadamized roads, the trim hedgerows and the white signposts which mark the highways of a long-established religion, and he finds it difficult to sympathize with the waywardness of the native roadmaker who will carry his track round the tree which has fallen across the direct line of advance, sooner than remove it. The newcomer may be tempted to condemn what he does not understand, and to impose rules and regulations which having grown out of centuries of adaptation to environment are suitable to the conditions in his own homeland; or he may ignore the necessity for appliances which are superfluous to the wellbeing of a venerable State Church but essential to the welfare of a young Christian community.

This article is designed only to deal with one of the obstacles confronting the Christian Church in Africa. The direction of the road is the same in every land—with that we are not concerned for the moment—but the details of construction often decide its usefulness as an avenue of approach, and with one of these details we have to do.

The English Churchman working in African missions carries with him his Bible and Prayer Book for guidance and reference. Sooner or later he is called upon to instruct the natives under his charge in the Church Catechism, and he bids them learn and labour truly to get their own living, and to do their duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call them. This injunction did not originally

present difficulties. The uphill fight against heathen superstition yielded only a few adherents; those occasional surrenders were too infrequent to be popular, for early converts became marked men, targets for the shafts of heathen intolerance; it was necessary to gather them together round the mission centre for their own protection, and by wide distribution of duties to absorb them into the mission staff and thus provide them with a means of livelihood. In this way Christian villages, self-contained and self-sufficing, sprang up around each mission station. It is impossible now to continue that policy. Intolerance has given way to fatalistic resignation, or indifference. Even the most bigoted stalwarts of heathenism have relaxed their uncompromising antagonism. Cravens can creep into the Christian ranks unnoticed, and other deserters do slip in, to discover what inducements have held their fellows loyal through so much danger and adversity.

The missionary has to deal with an enemy no longer hidden in the fastnesses of heathenism but disguised in the uniform of his own followers. The camp will not contain all the new recruits and dependence upon voluntary support sets a limit to measures for their temporal relief. Moreover, with the decline of active persecution, the policy of concentration and segregation in and around mission stations ceases to serve a legitimate purpose.

Native adherents in increasing numbers are compelled to remain in the old surroundings, to live and to work there. But so far little provision has been made for their equipment that they may follow their natural genius and be able to express their new faith naturally in the terms of common life, yet armed against the many temptations to which they will be exposed in their villages. Attention has been concentrated upon the effort to convey the Good News, with little regard for the means of fostering its expression.

Scientists have warned us repeatedly of the danger of interfering with primitive custom and tradition, of depriving savages suddenly of their usual vehicles of self-expression.

Missionaries who are aware of the significance of old tribal relaxations honestly try to adapt them, with the least possible alteration, to the limits set by the Christian code. But again and again their efforts have been frustrated by the protests of native Christians themselves, who declare that it is impossible, at present, to dissociate the dance and festival, however modernized, from the ideas implicit in them and from the immorality which in many localities is their natural consequence. Therefore the old man must give up his beer-feasts, the young man may not attend the dances, the women and girls must forgo most of the excitements which lent colour and variety to their laborious lives. All are debarred from taking part in ceremonies having a real social significance, but indissolubly connected with old beliefs abandoned by professing Christians.

The Christian Native who remains in his old environment finds that he is deprived of his former recreations and that most of the pursuits which used to make his squalid life endurable come in conflict with his new faith. The new teaching has failed to substitute occupations to satisfy the physical instincts which are as much a part of his humanity as the spiritual consciousness with which he has been endowed. He has come to realize that the conditions of the old life are squalid, but he has not been taught how to effect a change, and initiative is not a strong point of African character. If the active opposition of heathen Natives has given way to indifference, it does not follow that their personal predilections have been reformed or even modified, and their example only becomes a greater temptation. Under such pressure it is not surprising that the bishops have to deal with a growing number of backsliders and moral delinquents, or that the calls for church discipline come with a frequency out of all proportion to the rapid advance in church membership.

Where does the weakness lie? Certainly not in the Gospel of God, which is still the same power unto salvation. The Native learns of a Redeemer who knows when a sparrow

falls to the ground, and this astounding news brings with it an absolutely new sense of personality and of individual value in the eyes of God, such as the socialism of savage life and the worship of indifferent or vindictive deities never gave him. His new faith provides him with a tremendous incentive to face the almost insuperable difficulties of hourly contact with heathenism in his own home. He wants to be clean in a sense hitherto unrealized, but cleanliness of heart and mind are not altogether independent of environment. The desire to exchange the greasy and insanitary garb, however picturesque, of the tropical highlands for European clothes springs from roots deeper than personal vanity or instinctive imitation. The wish to build a roomier house is not just a sign of vulgar ostentation; the small windowless round hut, a standing invitation to plague and phthisical infection, can boast no privacy, and children from their earliest years share the most secret intimacies of their parents. If the Native displays a greater attention to personal cleanliness and the niceties of daily life, if he shows a distaste for the usual subjects of conversation in the village, the European who is acquainted with conditions will not taunt him with becoming too fastidious.

It is commonly said that destitution is unknown in savage Africa; it could be said with equal truth that nowhere do the greater mass of the people live nearer the border line of starvation, as the records of famine years will prove. The communal provision of earlier days allowed to each family land sufficient for the needs of all its members. The value of that land has deteriorated, under British rule the grants are no longer capable of almost indefinite expansion, needs have grown more complex and the Native has not been taught how to render his impoverished fields more productive, so that if he lives on the brink of penury it cannot be attributed wholly to improvidence.

When provision has been made for the needs of his family and for taxation, little remains from the proceeds of his harvest to be spent upon the improvements after which his

soul hankers as a substantial expression of his self-respect. He looks about for means to augment his income. The only avenues of employment opened by the elementary education of a mission school to the great majority of its pupils are the oversight of unskilled labour, or engagements as time-keepers, office boys and personal servants working away from home under European masters. Technical education, which has recently received popular and official support, enables a small proportion of so-called educated boys to be trained as masons, carpenters and mechanics, but so far there is little demand for these crafts in the Reserves and employment is sought elsewhere. Finally many have become itinerant traders, moving from market to market in the Reserves and hawking their wares round the homes of Europeans and Indians in the towns.

These openings claim the greater number of the scholars from the mission school, because it is simply impossible for them to sink back content into the old village life, and the attractive contrast of town life or of high wages and a position of authority elsewhere proves irresistible. It is not a large field of selection and in every instance the Native is taken away from his home. Two or three years' absence may not be a bad thing for a young unmarried Native in regular employment, but when he becomes reconciled to his voluntary exile, when he finds it impossible to settle permanently at home, and when he leaves a wife and children behind him in the Reserve for months at a time, this slow perversion of the old African home instincts assumes serious proportions. Wives very rarely accompany their husbands ; they are left in the village home with two or three children to rear and the family estate to cultivate. The rarity of disciplinary charges against these grass widows is a real testimony to the abiding loyalty of African womanhood.

Is this the state of life unto which it really pleases God to call our native adherents ?

The missions have used their schools and dispensaries

to draw men to a knowledge of Christ, but the servants of a Saviour who spent thirty years at home in preparation for a three years' ministry seem to have overlooked the importance of clean Christian home life throughout their districts, as a demonstration of the transforming power of the Gospel. If it has not been overlooked, then it has certainly been neglected, and it is time to face the consequences of that neglect.

The immediate results have been indicated; young half-educated men leave the homes which no longer have the same attraction for them, and go out imperfectly equipped, to face the excitements and novel temptations of life in areas under civilized occupation. They do not know the meaning of a Christian home, sweet and attractive, to serve as an incentive to industrious work and an investment for their wages. They are not under the restraint and steady influence of such an enduring object of their affections, but meet with every encouragement to fritter away their money on the gratification of immediate and transitory desires. The women, whose education in girlhood has often been sacrificed by their owners to the calls of household and field, are left alone to shoulder the burden of rearing the families. After marriage the cares of family and home make regular instruction impossible for most of them. In the meantime the mission often subordinates the training of the sex which really undertakes the education of the rising generation to a desperate effort to sweep into the fold of Christ as many young men as possible, in preparation for the future Church.

What is the probable outcome of this policy? The fold of Christ may not hold sufficient attractions for the thousands of young men who have yielded only a wavering allegiance, but have tasted the irresponsible joys of a roving life; indeed the dangers of straying are already quite apparent. The mothers of the young Christian generation have received too little training to cope with the upbringing of their children to meet the new conditions of life; their

ignorance may only earn contempt for themselves and their homes from their more sophisticated sons and daughters; fatherly discipline may be met with impatience of a restraint to which the young folk have not been regularly accustomed. No one can say what their destinies may be, or whether the daughters, with a keener taste for a 'good time,' and a quicker sense of the contrast between town and home life, may not, to their own ruin, follow their brothers in their wanderings. Meanwhile the heathen looker-on observes his Christian neighbours and too often finds them perplexed, moved indeed by a new spirit, but lacking the means to occupy their new energies, and therefore a trifle rebellious against a creed which seems to make no provision for human ambitions and activities. Only the sterling truth of our Faith could carry so many of its followers along the stony way past the forbidden fields in humble obedience and belief.

There is here a very definite challenge to missionary bodies to face changing conditions; to study the lives of their village folk; to encourage careful husbandry; to provide for the instruction of native women in mothercraft, infant welfare and the simple arts which may transform the home; and to win glory to the name of God by exhibiting that quickness of Christian sympathy and understanding which should always anticipate the slow evolution of civil machinery to meet the needs of the common people.

By all means let the State take over the secular side of costly educational institutions, as soon as it is willing and able to do so, but let it not be said that the Church was the last to recognize its moral obligation to contribute the knowledge which makes life purer and more wholesome for its younger members, or that European missionaries, reared in the warmth of Christian homes and the light of Christian institutions, turned a blind eye to the slums of paganism, in the vain belief that their duties began and ended with spiritual admonition.

HANDLEY D. HOOPER

KHAMA: A BANTU REFORMER

By W. C. WILLOUGHBY

What was the secret of Khama's greatness ? He has been called ' an unaccountable outcrop of mental power and integrity ' ; is that all that can be said ?

I suppose the characteristic most widely associated with Khama's name throughout the world, is hatred of intoxicants. Khama claimed that his views on the liquor question were entirely his own, and that his opinion of Kafir beer was more extreme than that of some of his missionaries, though they all heartily endorsed his prohibition of ardent spirits and *khadi*—a highly intoxicating and aphrodisiac brew of honey and other ingredients. ' Kafir beer ' is one of those perplexing terms that look so definite to the uninitiated but are found upon closer examination to stand for twenty different things to twenty different people. When freshly brewed of malted Kafir corn, in the Becwana way, and not fortified with sugar or certain other ingredients, Kafir beer is a fairly nutritious gruel, containing products of acid fermentation which are a valuable addition to the very restricted diet of these people, and would not produce intoxication unless taken in inordinate quantities. It carries within itself, however, the potentialities of a highly intoxicating malt liquor, and if kept for a while in a suitable temperature, it becomes formidable. Many Europeans used to believe—and in every community there are belated exponents of the unexamined beliefs of their predecessors —that it is a valuable anti-scorbutic, and that a wise and kind employer would include a ration of Kafir beer in the food allowance of his native labourers. Of late years, it has become increasingly clear that when an African gets scurvy or purpura, he needs flesh food rather than the lime

juice that used to be beneficial to sailors who had been fed too long on an unbalanced diet of salt junk. My experience is that when a Becwana townsman gets scorbutic trouble, nothing pulls him out of his plight so quickly as a month or two at his cattle post, where he lives on the sour milk which is the herdsman's staple food. But these are new views. Some missionaries thought Khama unduly severe in forbidding Kafir beer to people whose victuals were deficient in acids and very monotonous. Khama, however, was immovable. 'Monare,' he has often said to me, 'they don't take beer as a food; that is the excuse they make to you missionaries; when they make beer they mean to get drunk, and they do.' And whatever else Khama did not know, he did know his own people. In the matter of liquor, he was intentionally intolerant: 'You must not play with snakes; you must kill them,' is an expression that I have often heard him use when discussing this question.

Khama became the foe of this particular 'snake,' not because it had once bitten him, but because he saw it biting others whom it was his duty to protect. His views on the liquor question were gradually formed, being the result of prolonged observation. He first became convinced that imported spirits were a source of mischief. It came about in this way. One day when he was a young man, his father called him to take five tusks of ivory and the necessary servants and go with him to buy a horse from a Boer who was out-spanned near by. The Boer plied Sekhome with brandy and induced him to part with the five fine tusks in exchange for a little powder and a couple of bars of lead. Sekhome, always fearful lest his sons should assert themselves, usually lost control of his temper if they crossed his slightest whim; but Khama, seeing his father rapidly passing from the generous to the incapable stage of inebriation, ordered the servants to carry home both Chief and ivory, risking his father's wrath in the morning. Khama told me that he did some thinking as he followed the servants with their unwonted burden, and took a final resolution to fight

imported spirits as long as he lived. In 1875, when he became chief, he prohibited distilled liquor, but finding it impracticable to draw an administrative line between one intoxicant and another, he extended his ban, in 1876, to cover everything that would make his people drunk. It was the fight of his life and lasted as long as life lasted. If he had cared for comfort, or what short-sighted people mistake for profit, or popularity, he would have found excuse for retiring from the conflict forty years before; but, with a high sense of patriarchal duty towards his tribesmen—his ' children,' as he called them—he put his teeth into their enemy with a bull-dog grip.

And yet it would be a mistake to imagine that the liquor question was the biggest issue that Khama had to face; many others were equally important to what he deemed the welfare of his tribe, and some were even more difficult to handle.

The puberty ceremonies had been observed in his tribe from time immemorial, and those for the boys were so intimately interwoven with its military organization that many thought their abolition would sound the death-knell of the chieftainship. Khama, however, came to see that some of the rites and teachings of both boys' and girls' puberty camps were morally pernicious, and some uselessly cruel, and that the influence of these ceremonies was upon the whole inimical to the new life that he wanted his people to lead. Once that became clear, he abolished them without hesitation.

Seedtime and harvest were marked by ceremonies grounded in worship of the spirits of the dynasty and shot through and through with magical notions, at which the Chief always presided as priest of his ancestral line. To due observance of these rites the fertility of the soil was attributed, and the rain that watered the earth. On the edge of the Kalahari Desert the rains are precarious; and as the tribe, destitute of transport, relied for sustenance upon its own crops and herds, drought meant hunger and

poverty, or, if excessive, starvation. To abolish ceremonies upon which their very life depended was, in the judgment of the people, to court disaster. But Khama had come to think differently of God, man, and nature; and calling his tribe together, he told them that they were convened to pay homage, not to the spirits of his ancestors, the mediatorial saints of their ancient religion, but to One who is the Father of his fathers and of all their people. Year by year, while I lived in his country, he mustered his people in their thousands, and asked me to preside at seedtime and harvest assemblies, at which we thanked God for crowning the year with His goodness and reminded ourselves of what we ought to render unto Him. These were tribal functions, always held, as they had been for ages, in the Place of Tribal Assembly.

In all these reforms Khama had the reactionary members of his tribe against him; and it was often possible, as he very well knew, for disgruntled headmen to play upon their religious fears or thwarted appetites, and thus secure their support for some other political movement to which they would else have been neutral or hostile. But when Khama saw duty clearly, he never shirked it; if he seemed to retreat, his opponents soon found that the old tactician was luring them out into the open, or else gathering his forces for a more decisive struggle. Khama could stand alone against a crowd; but his crowd could never leave him long in his loneliness, for they had a feeling that the safest place for them was the point of danger if Khama were there. If he had cared to save himself trouble, discomfort, anxiety and sometimes hatred, he would have relinquished many a struggle; but his ideal hovered before him and he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision.

I think Khama would have agreed that the biggest fight of his life was to save the land for his tribe. Enticed by lucre, doped with brandy, or deceived by the specious promises of white adventurers, almost all other chiefs south of the Zambesi found it possible, despite the tribal doctrine

that tribal land is inalienable, to grant freehold rights to white men, without alarming tribesmen who did not know what freehold rights were. Khama never parted with a single acre of his tribal lands. He did persuade his tribe to grant a concession of mineral rights when the gold fever was epidemic, believing it wrong for his people to adopt a dog-in-the-manger policy with regard to wealth that they were unable to win ; but so strictly did he fence his people's rights to pasture, arable land and water, that it is doubtful whether the concession could have been worked by conscientious men, even if rich lodes had been discovered. He was moved to place his tribal lands under the protection of the British Government by a conviction that this was the surest way of saving them for his tribesmen, and by a well-grounded distrust of his own ability to control the ever-growing stream of white adventurers. Events have justified his judgment in both particulars. The Protectorate had been proclaimed before I entered the territory, and an Assistant Commissioner was in residence, who had judicative authority over all who did not belong to Khama's tribe. Khama administered justice to his own tribesmen in all cases that did not involve capital punishment, outlawry, or dynastic disputes, and the Assistant Commissioner dealt with all other sojourners. I noticed, however, that when European traders had a complaint against one of Khama's tribesmen, they almost always preferred to submit it to the Chief, confident that they would receive the same justice without the formalities and delays that are associated with our courts.

Khama often confessed to me that he found it difficult to discern what was in the mind of a white man ; but he had an almost uncanny ability to divine the thoughts of his own people. It was worth while to watch him handling an offender. He would let the man maunder along through his interminable tale, afterwards asking for a little more information on some point, or putting a direct question concerning something that had been omitted ; and having

eliminated all possibilities but one, he would look through the culprit's eyes with a final question that made him surrender at discretion. There was no need for a verdict; anything more than judgment was superfluous. But Khama's judgments were seldom extravagant.

It was interesting also, and pleasant, to see Khama with children. He was fond of them, and very sunny and gentle in his bearing towards them. They all scampered up for his greeting, black and white alike, and each was welcomed with a kindly pat, a smile, and a little juvenile banter, or, if he was not too busy, he would take them upon his knee and forget the cares of chieftainship as he listened to their patter. And the Bushmen—those wild and wayward children of the wilderness—owed more to his mild rule and paternal care than to any other Chief in Africa. Not only did he punish those of his people who treated them cruelly, but he actually trusted one and another of them with a few goats to herd for him, hoping to evoke manhood by bestowing confidence and a little light employment; though he occasionally confessed to me, with a pitiful smile, that it had not been a great success for the Bushmen, and still less for the goats. This phase of Khama's character is as significant as any. 'The ennobling difference between one man and another—between one animal and another—is precisely this,' said Ruskin, 'that one feels more than another.' That Khama was a man of strong feeling was abundantly evident in his impassioned hours; but, to my thinking, it was no less manifest in his compassion for the immature.

In the political and administrative affairs of the tribe, the Chief was supposed to know everything that was happening in all parts of his dominions. There was not what we should call a secret service; but Bantu tribesmen think that to withhold information from the Chief is to strike hands with the contumacious; hence they take him all the tittle-tattle of their district, and expect him to be an interested and grateful listener. This ancient tribal practice

sometimes enables a Chief to act with decision and despatch where else he would be in doubt; but the tarradiddle of eavesdroppers and talebearers is, nevertheless, a blight upon the chieftainship. Rumour goes round that somebody has exasperated the Chief; and forthwith a dozen wily tribesmen come purring round the offender, on the tiptoe of expectation for some phrase or action which can be twisted and tortured beyond recognition and then taken to the Chief. Khama suffered much from this. Cradled amidst jealousy and intrigue, and naturally suspicious of any one who might possibly stand between him and the sun, he listened too readily to the quidnuncs, and sometimes made mistakes. There is nothing strange about that. The amazing fact—the fact that needs to be explained, is that, with no lack of reckless followers ready to anticipate his commands if they got but a glimpse of what he secretly desired, he never did what other Bantu autocrats have done with one-twentieth of the fancied provocation!

As far as we can see in the light of their scanty tribal traditions, the Bantu race has not failed to throw off a genius or two in every generation; and, although the master spirits of the age have been outnumbered by a million to one, as elsewhere in the world, they have turned the scale against the million when it came to the making of history. So deeply did they inscribe their names upon the fortunes of their race that we still perpetuate many of them upon our maps of Africa. These Bantu men of mark always expressed themselves in the only language that they knew: the vulgar tongue of pitiless power; it was to them the spice of life to know that thousands trembled at their frown. Nevertheless, it is still true that they were enthroned above their fellows because they possessed valuable qualities which others lacked—qualities which might have been of untold service if inspired by noble ideals and disciplined by loyalty to sound principles. They were wise men, able to discern what was happening behind the hill; courageous men, who never hesitated to sacrifice comfort

or risk life in pursuit of their ideal; men of indomitable purpose, masterful men, born to rule, before whose inherent authority the crowd did obeisance.

In analysing personal character it is impracticable to discriminate between the fruit of heredity and of environment; and it would be a fantastic bit of research to dig through the Khama that I knew in the hope of unearthing the Khama that would have been if European influence had never played upon him. It is clear, however, that Khama was made for a niche in this African temple of fame, and that if Christianity had never touched him, he would have seized his niche and filled it; for he had just the cast of soul which enabled the choice spirits of his race to win the laurels that they most wanted to wear. His physical energy and resilience enabled him to travel far without rest or nourishment, in sovereign contempt of pain and fatigue. He was habitually superior to his own appetites. He had an inborn intuition for the unvoiced thoughts of other tribesmen, and a long memory for the details of any business that he touched. He had inherited more than one man's share of natural cunning, and could throw the veil of speech over any secret that he wished to hide. Living among people who regard procrastination as thrift of time, he had the baffling faculty of laying down a plan on the spur of the moment, putting it into execution right away, and moving with great rapidity from place to place; and he never swerved from any purpose that he formed. He was a born leader, who knew his people like a book, grappled them to himself with hooks of steel, and nerved them with his own intrepidity. Having risked his life again and again in pursuit of his ideal, he looked upon danger with a scornful eye. He was a fine hater and an uncompromising opponent. He was temperamentally an autocrat who could brook no rival near his throne. And he was not averse to strong measures whenever these promised a radical cure for any evil that he was attacking.

Now what would a man like that have done among the

tribes of Africa if he had been born a century earlier, before Christianity found its way into the land? You cannot house such specimens in dust-proof cases in museums. Snap and vim and daring have sometimes been seen hanging from a yardarm, charging Balaklava guns in blundering magnificence, piloting a nation bravely through whirlpools of disaster, cleaning up the foul slums of great cities, or breasting the blows of circumstance in a hundred other ways; but never laid out all spic and span in lavender. A man of Khama's type is sure to have his fling, to the inconvenience of many; in the battle of life one can count upon finding him in the thick of the action, but not in immaculate uniform, all brushed and ironed and polished as if his batman had got him up for parade. The vehemence, tenacity, stubbornness, imperiousness, shrewdness and capacity for hard work which this man derived from his parents would have made him pre-eminent in any tribe; and had it not been for what looks like a chance encounter with Christ, he would have made as big and as ugly a mark upon the life of Africa as did Mirambo, Msidi, Sebetwane, or possibly even Chaka.

Some assert that Khama could never have filled such a rôle, inasmuch as he lacked ruthlessness. But was he devoid of ruthlessness? His father, Sekhome, was ruthless enough for anything; and so were some others among his forbears. That Khama was an intolerant man can hardly be denied by even the most infatuated of his admirers; and what is ruthlessness but intolerance untempered with mercy and destitute of restraint? The impression that Khama made upon me, during the many years that I was intimate with him and his affairs, was that of a man whose ruthlessness and implacability were held in check by real loyalty to the Saviour of Men; whose eyes would have been very cold had they not been kindled by a heavenly vision; and who owed all his graces to Christ. 'He preserved throughout his career,' as another writer has aptly phrased it, 'an atmosphere of untamed manhood'; but sixty-three years of

allegiance to the Redeemer had suffused the crags of his character with the mellow light of tenderness and compassion for the immature and defenceless. There was poise, pity, calmness and kindliness, as well as unconquered virility; and these qualities he owed to the Galilean Teacher.

There was another distinction that he gained from the same Great Master. In the midst of tribesmen who put a gloss upon venality and bribery, he maintained incorruptible devotion to duty. His political and economic views were narrow and stern; for he had not been schooled in sociology and had to handle crude and refractory human material. Some Europeans who had axes to grind were wont to sneer at his efforts to make men virtuous by his laws; but though he knew that he could not impose upon his people those virtues of honesty and temperance which proceed only from inward conviction he thought it worth while to keep them from stealing and drunkenness; and even his foes must admit that he did that which he set out to do, and secured for his people a larger measure of prosperity than had fallen to the lot of any other Becwana tribe. What made the deepest impression upon us, however, was not his statesmanship, which was inevitably parochial though shrewd, but his uprightness, honesty and loyalty to his pledged word. Whatever his limitations, he lived for his people. He was unpleasantly jealous of their allegiance to him; but he never forgot that it was equally his duty to be loyal to them; and it was his delight, as well as his duty, from dawn to dark, to hear their complaints, watch their weaknesses, restrain their vices, and encourage them to lead a nobler life.

Khama was not a great man if measured against the great men of the Anglo-Saxon race; but he who measures men against the background of heredity and environment—surely the only just rule of measurement—will place him high among the heroes of the age.

W. C. Willoughby

THE WORK BEFORE THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF INDIA

By WILLIAM PATON

Now that eight months have passed by since the meeting at Ranchi when the National Christian Council of India was founded, as the successor of the old National Missionary Council, it is somewhat easier to define its work and prospects. Then, it was impossible not to rely mainly, as an apologia for the Council, upon hopes and beliefs that the new organization and its officers might be able to deal with important questions in such a way as to justify their existence. But there was little experience which could be quoted either for the new experiment or against it. The past months have shown with considerable clearness the nature of the work which can be and needs to be done by the Council and its secretariat.[1]

Take, first, the sphere of rural education, perhaps the most important of all. Readers of Mr McKee's article in the July number of this Review will recollect the description given there of his school and of the methods there tried with such encouraging success. During the past hot weather Mr McKee has conducted four conferences on rural education; one in the Deccan, which was a conference on the development of rural education in that area and has already resulted in definite plans for advance; one in the Telugu country, which was in the main an institute for the training of teachers on the new methods and evoked the most remarkable enthusiasm from those who were there; one at Ranchi, where the problem of rural education was considered mainly in relation to the big aboriginal populations of Chota Nagpur, and again there was demonstration

[1] The secretariat up to the date of writing consisted of the Rev. W. Paton, with a share of Mr McKee's time for educational work.

for the teachers; and one at Dhamtari in the Central Provinces. I do not think it is too much to say that these conferences and training institutes were in each case a great success. One result is that already more applications for Mr McKee's services next year are to hand than he can possibly accept without injuring the efficiency of Moga itself, which we have pledged ourselves not to do.

The two main results of these meetings that have been held are, first, that the needs of an area, in respect of rural education, are surveyed and considered in relation to experience of similar conditions gathered elsewhere; and second, that methods of teaching and organizing education, in such a way as to make the most of the rural environment and experience in both child and teacher, can be demonstrated in a manner which convinces of their feasibility and arouses enthusiasm to put them into action. This summer has seen this done in areas as widely dissimilar as the wealthy agricultural Panjab, the famine-stricken Deccan with the pull from the villages to industrial Bombay, the Telugu outcaste districts and the uplands of Chota Nagpur. The teachers have gone away enthusiastic, and the missionaries and Indian leaders who have been conferring together have been able to see practical things ahead, waiting to be done and possible to do. During the winter of 1923–24 there is to be a special course conducted at Moga in English, for the benefit of Indian Christians, teachers or those responsible for rural education, and for missionaries similarly responsible. This will afford an ideal opportunity for gaining a closer grasp of the principles and methods which have been so much discussed during the year. The *Village Teacher's Journal* is now to be produced not only in Urdu and English, but also in Marathi, Telugu and Hindi; pamphlets on method are being prepared and one has been widely circulated. As one looks back to the little gathering held less than a year ago at Moga, it is interesting to see how far the lines there marked out have proved to be just those which have most commended themselves to the wider missionary public.

In the sphere of higher education there is scarcely less prospect of immediate and necessary work. A former issue of the Review [1] contained some account of the movement in the Panjab for co-operation in higher education. It is a great deal easier to come to a general resolution in a meeting than to translate it into action, but there has been steady progress made right through the year in regard to the plans of the Beas Conference, and the coming year will, it is hoped, see the beginning of fruition both in respect of the United College and the Christian Residential School. Now these particular plans, while very important for the province in question, are of general interest because they illustrate a growing tendency on the part of all those engaged in Christian higher education—a tendency to take stock of the work that is being done, the use that is being made of resources, and the opportunity that is to be met in an area as a whole, and not with reference solely to the labours and responsibilities of a particular denomination. Thus in Madras the Missionary Educational Council is undertaking a survey of the high schools and colleges to see how far concentration of effort (which means the closing of some institutions) would lead to greater effectiveness. The Bombay Education Board has taken the same action. In Bengal the London Missionary Society initiated a movement, the possibilities of which are now being explored, for a united Christian High School for boys, to be composed, roughly, of Christians to a proportion of 60 per cent, and of non-Christians to a proportion of 40 per cent, with a strong Christian staff. If this plan comes into being, it will mean the merging of four existing schools, but—if it can be done—it will provide an institution for the forging of the young Christian manhood of Bengal such as Bengal has not yet seen. In these directions (and I have mentioned only a few) there is much work to be done, and the changing national situation with its immense implications for education does not admit of delay.

Another issue which during the coming year is certain

[1] IRM, 1923 (April), ' Five Conferences in India,' by J. H. Oldham, pp. 262–77.

to become a leading one is that of theological education in the higher grades. Reference has been made in the Review to the conference relating particularly to Serampore College, at which attention was called to the wider problem, with the result that an influential committee was appointed by the National Council. Investigations have been going on ever since. The part of the country which is mainly concerned in the question is of course South India, where the Christian community is of longer standing and more mature than elsewhere, and also far more numerous. Careful work on the part of groups of men in South India has shown not only the great need for the most effective co-operation in the training of the comparatively few men who can profit by a course leading to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, but also that the type of minister and priest who is most wanted by the churches of the South is, by general agreement, what is called the 'L.Th. grade'—not a very happy description, but it denotes the man who has taken his matriculation examination or an equivalent, and has had a two or three years' course in theology, mainly in English. It was found that for the training of this kind of man there was the most undeniable profusion of institutions in both the Tamil and the Telugu areas. In no sphere of work is co-operation more difficult, for theological training touches precisely those matters in which different communions disagree most clearly. Yet it is the men actually engaged in the work who see with definiteness the need for drawing closer together. They realize that it is one thing to build up a vernacular seminary and another to add to that the much harder work of an English class; and there is an increasing belief that the needs of the Tamil country at least can only be met by the establishment, whether as a united college or by federating several denominational halls, of a place where a really adequate theological training can be given to men of this grade, and where the teachers can be sufficiently numerous to enable them to help their men to do first-rate theological study and thinking, not only in

English but also in the vernacular, which has been too much regarded as the vehicle for inferior theological work. This is a matter, as may well be understood, in which Indians are profoundly interested, for it affects the whole development of the ministry. It is quite certain to claim an increasing place in the work of the Council in the coming year.

Then there is literature. Three years ago it was suggested that the promotion of Christian literature in India required the labours of a half-time secretary. Since then many of the plans laid out in the *Programme of Advance* have been realized, and when recently the committee of the Indian Literature Fund met it had the pleasant duty before it of allocating grants for literature secretaries and assistants, or for the publication of books, out of funds provided by the missionary societies of America and Britain, to a total of no less than Rs. 22,000. Now some parts of India have much more vigorous literature committees than others; in some the duty of the central secretary is mainly confined to cajoling them to accept with a good grace a much smaller grant than they ask, in others he has to increase their activities—which is a euphemism. But there is no doubt that the right development of the plans that have been laid down in recent years in regard to Christian literature for India will take a great deal of careful thought and work. Without a doubt, too, there is steadily increasing interest both in the boards in the West and among Indian Christians and missionaries here. The full importance and possibilities of literature are becoming apparent. There is no more urgent and engrossing part of the Council's activities.

Or take the sphere of public questions. I think of one—Opium. There has not been, so far as I can discover, any effective campaign in India on the opium question for some time. It is of course now a radically different question from that of the old Indo-China opium trade days. But it is far more important than is generally admitted. India has never accepted the criterion of 'medical and scientific use' for her opium trade; she both exports far greater quantities

than such use would justify, and her own internal consumption is such, and for such uses, that the term 'semi-medical' used at Geneva to describe it, is simply a piece of camouflage. I asked a representative group recently what was their experience with regard to popular opinion and practice in the matter of opium, and I was told that there appeared to be almost no opinion against it, and that it was used as a sedative by 95 per cent of the population. I am unable to offer an opinion on these figures, but I am convinced that a great campaign of public education is needed if there is ever to be an opium policy worthy of India. And no campaign is worth anything unless it is based on a mastery of the facts of the case. The Council cannot evade this issue, the more so as China has called to it to help.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, though it is included in all that has been said already, the Council during the next year has to become genuinely effective as a Council in which Indians take an equal part. We have had no great National Christian Conference such as was held in China on which to launch the Council. But it has been to some of us an immense encouragement that wherever Indian thought and prayer has been given to the Council it has resulted in keen interest and a ready appreciation of the possibilities that lie latent in the movement. During the coming year, when we hope there will be an Indian joint secretary of the Council, there must be a steady effort to increase throughout the country the number of Indian Christians who are bearing the burden of thought, prayer and action in regard to the issues with which the Council is concerned. The Council has no future except as it becomes effectively Indian; but in so far as it becomes the effective centre of the Christian thinking and planning of India there is literally no limit to the usefulness it may possess or the possibilities it may realize, in the India in which to-day we are privileged to live and labour for our Lord.

WILLIAM PATON

THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF CHINA

By THE SECRETARIES

I

The National Christian Conference held in Shanghai in May 1922 was a time for seeing visions and dreaming dreams. In many minds a transformation took place whereby the whole problem of China's evangelization changed. No longer was it one of missionary strategy, numbers of missionaries, ever increasing subscription lists, continual appeals to 'home boards' and 'home Churches.' The chief factor in the situation stood out with startling clearness. It was *The Church in China.*

This must not be taken to imply a pronouncement or even a judgment on the vexed question of organic unity. The Church in China was thought of as a fact, hitherto scarcely realized by many but nevertheless the most significant fact, even though only beginning to take concrete form. For it was and is a spiritual fact; its unity is already achieved because the true Church in China lives in Christ and therefore cannot be divided. We may be glad or sorry that there are so many 'Churches' in China each with its own organization and orders. But we cannot fail to rejoice because in and through them all we can discover the living body, already conscious of its unity and to some extent of its mission, in spite of all these outward differences. It is this reality which came to shine forth and which took to itself a body during the days of conference last year. This it is which makes the Shanghai Conference seem greater the farther one gets from it.

But the Church in China is yet only in process of be-

coming. What it may be we can dimly guess. Its inadequacy, its failures, its hesitancy can easily be discerned. It is like a child beginning to feel its feet beneath it, stepping and stumbling, but determined to go on trying till it succeeds. The engrossing interest of the situation consists in watching, it may be in helping, this development. To take part in training a young child, even to watch him as he makes his first experiments in this direction or that, is one of the most exciting occupations possible for parent or teacher. So one feels to-day the thrill of joy and hope, mingled sometimes with fear or anxiety as one watches or takes part in this wondrous development. The Church in China 'partly is and wholly hopes to be.' It is pushing its way into the promised land.

We said the Church in China was the chief factor in the situation. This we can only say because we are assured that this Church with all its weakness is the vehicle for the activity of the Living Spirit of God who dwells in His Church. In this body, impossible to define or delimit, God Himself comes into China. It is the medium whereby He can speak the word to China's sore need, bringing guidance, comfort, strength. The leadership of the Holy Spirit must be known and followed if the Church in China is to justify this estimate.

It is because the National Christian Council is the one existing organ through which this growing spiritual body can begin unitedly to express itself, and because therefore it is the organ through which the Holy Spirit may give to China the living word entrusted to the united Church, that there is so much significance in the Council's existence. In our view it has been called into being in order that this spiritual entity may begin to do the work to which God is calling it in China, even before any fully organized and perfectly planned body can be shaped. For this reason we look upon the creation of the Council as working a distinct stage in the growth of the Church in China. By beginning to express itself unitedly, even through an imperfect or-

ganization, it will be able to discover what it wants to say and how better to say it.

II

We may consider four aspects of the Church's work in China and then see in what ways the National Christian Council is helping towards the doing of these things.

1. The Church is needed in China to-day in order to help her to realize her own high ideals, to rediscover, translate and apply them to modern conditions. China must be true to her own best. There are many developments to-day which threaten that best. The Master who came to Israel calling her to fulfil and not to destroy her great aspirations and her historical heritage, comes to China through the Chinese Church to-day with a like message. The writings of China contain wonderful truths only awaiting the touch of a greater Hand to be lifted forth and set like gleaming jewels, to gladden men's hearts and eyes and to meet their spiritual need. Only as China digs into her own past and finds its deeper meaning in Christ can she bring her choicest gifts to the Master's feet for His service in all the world.

2. China needs moreover a body of men and women who will lift up a standard of moral and social good of which all men will take notice. In her private and yet more in her public life she needs to be brought face to face with the absolute value of honesty, purity, gentleness, devotion to the good of others. It is not enough to have these things expounded in sermons and pamphlets. They must be lived, and lived by a social group. The Church is called to be such a group and to bear witness by life as well as by word to the moral order which can never be repealed.

3. China seeks light in the midst of her great perplexity. In what direction should she move? How can she get out of the tangle in which she has become involved? There is a lack of any clear guiding principle to which every policy can be referred. There is little belief in a divine will for

the nation and for humanity which can be patiently sought and which will be increasingly made clear to those who seek humbly to follow it. Can the Church supply this light ? If she knows herself the guiding Hand of God, if she bases her own life on the eternal truths of the Gospel, she will have a value for China in this period of stress which no words can measure.

4. The source from which alone it is possible for Church or nation to receive light and power and inspiration is God Himself. There is no service which China's Church can render to the nation which compares with her duty to bring men to God in Christ. For this end she exists and to this end her best effort must be directed. China needs a prophetic Church, that is to say a Church that combines moral passion with so vivid a sense of God that every human problem is lit up by this supreme fact. It is because men have seen God in a new and deeper way in Jesus Christ and because through Him they have come into direct loving relationship with God that there is a Christian Church at all. How may the Church in China become such a mighty spiritual force that she shall lead the nation to Christ, the one hope alike of individuals and for society ?

III

The National Christian Council is called to concentrate the thinking and in certain specific directions to direct the activities of the Christian forces in such a way that they may, in some measure, fulfil this mission. But, at the same time, it makes no claim to be a Church Council or a super-organization of any kind. It seeks to be the servant of all. Its claim to be heard is not based on its authority or even on its representative character. It is trying to understand the problem and to help others to understand it, rather than to assume superior knowledge and tell others what they ought to do. Its main functions are research, propaganda, and correlation.

In the matter of research the Council builds upon the work already done in the compilation of the Survey and in other ways. Many facts have been collected and others need to be brought together in order that those bodies concerned with the making and executing of policies (i.e. the Churches, missions and boards) may have the necessary data. Much hard thinking must be done in regard to such problems as China's industrialization, the evangelistic approach to various classes in China to-day, the relation of education to the whole Christian movement, religious education, etc. Such research calls for the best minds the Church can command and for a united and persistent effort under one body. The National Christian Council is clearly called to this task.

Propaganda seems to be limited in two directions. The National Christian Council can only undertake those duties to which it is called by the practically unanimous wish of its constituent bodies and in connexion with matters on which there is agreement. Secondly, it has no intention of entering into competition with its own creators and masters, and therefore its work will be only such as no other body is equally fitted to undertake. That is to say, it will always seek first to discover some other organization to carry forward a specific piece of work, and it will refrain from entering the field until fully assured that no body exists which can handle this particular matter in an entirely satisfactory way. The campaign against opium may be cited as an instance of propaganda within these well marked limits.

The duty of correlation obviously belongs to such a body as the National Christian Council. Here too it will work mainly by advice and suggestion. In cities or in wider areas, or in dealing with specific classes or work such as industrial questions or work among Moslems, there is obvious need for such correlation, if overlapping is to be avoided and efficiency secured. The production of literature needed by all the bodies concerned in a certain form of service may be regarded as coming under this head.

IV

Four distinctive services of the Christian Church to China have been indicated above. They may be summed up by saying that China needs :

1. A truly Chinese Church ;
2. A morally courageous Church ;
3. A united Church led by the Spirit ;
4. A spiritually awakened Church.

How is the National Christian Council seeking to help in each of these directions ?

1. Chinese leadership in all the chief activities of the Council is already assured. At the recent meeting of the Council far the larger part of the speaking was by Chinese. The official language of the Council is Chinese. Its chairman, the chairmen of most of its committees, two out of four of its secretaries, its business secretary, and a majority of its members are Chinese. Two of the four standing committees are concerned largely with matters that emphasize this point. The Committee on the Country Church and Rural Problems is inspired by the idea that a truly indigenous Church can only arise if the problem of the country is rightly faced, the Church related closely to the village community, help given to fit children for rural life and agricultural pursuits, and plans developed whereby these little Christian groups may work out their own life without becoming dependent financially, intellectually or spiritually upon the foreign missionary.

One of the chief items in the terms of reference of the Committee on International Relations is the thinking out of China's special contribution to the Church Universal. Groups of students working on this problem will seek to show the connexion between Chinese thought and Christian teaching. That China has her own peculiar place among the nations none can doubt. What exactly it is and how best she may take it are matters on which Christians in China are now able to concentrate their thinking through

the National Council. Already it is possible to see that this will mean much for Christianity in China. It is an interesting thing that the Chinese Christian who is acting as chairman of this committee is the same man who was chosen to give several years to leading study on the problems of the Christian apologetic for China and thus to produce a book on this topic.

2. The Committee on Industrial and Social Relations, as at present constituted, has three sections. One deals with modern large-scale industry. The Council stands solidly behind the attempt which is being made to handle this problem on broad and fearless lines. No tinkering with the present evils is felt to be enough. The Committee is called to think its way into the question of what a Christian social order for China would be, one which will preserve all that is worth keeping in China's own industrial structure and yet be adaptable to modern needs, that will make possible the development of China's resources without splitting her social order into warring fragments. Small conferences are being planned in big cities to face these questions, and a good deal of survey work is in contemplation.

The second section is embarking on the war against opium. How utterly perplexing this is can be realized by few who have not themselves come to close grips with the evil. The officials in large sections of China are absolutely dependent upon the opium revenue to keep up their armies and maintain themselves in power. As the Chinese proverb says, ' It is a dangerous thing to upset a man's rice-bowl.' To embark on a vigorous campaign may mean bitter persecution, an attempt at the suppression of the Church, loss of life to some of its members and the attempt to class Christians as revolutionaries. It will certainly test the moral courage of the Church.

In the third section the home and family life are to be discussed. Here we touch one of the chief problems confronting China, the break-up of the old social order with

strong sanctions, and the danger of such a flood of new ideas and practices as will involve the moral shipwreck of very many. Already this is happening in an alarming way. What can the Church do? A programme of study and publications is being worked out which should help to stimulate thought and to make a strong Christian witness on the essential principles of the Christian home.

3. All the activities of the Council are an indication that in reality the Church is one. She stands together in this wide range of service and is growing into a deeper unity in the process of co-operation for great ends. The Council is the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual condition. This may be its largest service to China. The country cannot be saved by scattered and unrelated groups, however earnest and sincere. Not a few have been surprised to find what a very large field of service opens to the Council even while it preserves most rigidly its necessary limitations.

In the conduct of its business it has already experienced in a striking degree the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Its meetings for business have been marked by a mutual consideration, a devotional spirit, a sense of common search for the mind of Christ, which has to not a few been the most outstanding feature of its life thus far. If the atmosphere can be preserved in which the most thorny problem can be discussed frankly without fear of any breach of love an example will have been set which may have much wider consequences than we can see.

The Council has also issued a call for a national Day of Prayer when the grave dangers to the country will be frankly faced. These problems are being faced in the belief that in some way the Church may be able to call the nation back to those great fundamental conditions of social health, the neglect of which has proved so disastrous both in China and in western lands.

4. The Council came to the unanimous conclusion that its chief emphasis during the first year or two must be placed

upon the attempt to increase the spiritual efficiency of all our work. Here we are touching the very springs from which all must be supplied. The first committee to be formed was that on Retreats and Evangelism. Already several retreats and small conferences have been held. Arrangements are in hand for a number more. These will bring together Chinese and foreign, men and women, persons of various denominations, in a common search for the will of God and in prayer for a deeper spiritual life and for a richer service. Groups of ten to fifteen persons are the rule. The topics for discussion vary greatly. In all cases a good deal of emphasis is placed on the devotional side both in silent and vocal prayer and in special periods of intercession.

In the fellowship of these intimate groups we have found ourselves drawn very close to our Master. Already new life has been generated, difficulties faced and overcome and a fresh sense of comradeship generated. The Council looks to these gatherings as a means of quickening the life of the Church from end to end, starting new efforts of evangelism, bringing definite guidance and generally raising the spiritual temperature all through the Church. Whether we get more men and money, whether the organization be improved or not, whatever new methods be introduced, all are agreed that our supreme need in China to-day is to know more of the boundless spiritual resources that are available in God. There is no need to wait for gifted visitors, however valued such may be. Right at our hands are the means for reaching out to these resources. As busy Christian workers put aside time for quiet, as they come together and let all the barriers between them fall down, as they enter into the secret of His presence together, a new day will dawn for them and for the Church of Christ in China. If the National Council can speed that day it will have rendered the service it most earnestly desires to give.

V

It would be possible to deal with a number of other aspects of the Council's work. The collection of statistics, the issue of year books and directories, the publication of the *China For Christ Bulletins*, the issue of various other matters of general interest, specific help to missions, churches and organizations as called for, the collection at the moment of writing of funds for the sufferers from earthquake and fire in Japan, the fostering of special pieces of work such as the Daily Vacation Bible School, the work among Buddhist monks and devotees, etc.—all these are valuable services which have a place in our programme. But the aim of the Council is not to lose itself in a multiplicity of things, each worth doing but so overwhelming in the mass as to crowd out quiet thought and to make unhurried work impossible. The Council is seeking to discern those things which supremely need doing, and which it is of all others the body to do. If these are well done it will not so much matter if some other things are left undone.

The secretaries are spending far the largest part of their time in travel. One of the group acts as Resident Secretary, the post being filled by any one member for a certain period only. This plan means that all have a knowledge of some parts of the wide field and are kept in touch with current ideas and no one becomes a mere 'office person.' Arrangements are made so that a secretarial retreat can be held every month or two when all can be present.

One outstanding feature of our work must be referred to in closing. The group consists of five: four full secretaries and the office secretary. It is not possible to imagine a group in which a deeper fellowship has been developed. From the very beginning of our common work we have found ourselves functioning as one. We came from different groups nationally and denominationally. We had very varied experience behind us. All this has been a great

gain. But we became fused as it were into a single whole in so wonderful a way that each problem, and there have been very many in these few months, has found us in agreement, or where that has not been true at the beginning we have invariably come through to a common mind. To us this is an outstanding proof that God is in our midst to lead us on.

To us the Council stands for a very big thing. It is itself but a small thing weak and temporary in its organization. But it stands for the unity of the spirit, for the vanguard of moral adventure, for the joy of a rich fellowship in Christ, for the sure promise of the day when China shall acknowledge Christ and He shall reign in the hearts of men all through this fair land.

THE SECRETARIES OF THE NATIONAL
CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF CHINA

SPIRITUAL CURRENTS IN JAVA[1]

By H. KRAEMER

It is generally admitted that it is a doubtful undertaking to analyse and judge the flow of events, or the dispositions of mind in one's actual lifetime, especially in a foreign country, where, notwithstanding all one's efforts to penetrate into the life and mind of the people, one is always living on the borders of the really indigenous society. Nevertheless every missionary will incessantly try to get into contact with this life and the movements by which it is stirred, because he needs a clearly thought-out base for his own activity. Such contact affords him the opportunity of mending his mistakes, of getting new and fresh vision, of becoming a partaker in the life of the people.

When we think about spiritual currents and native movements in the Dutch East Indies attention is mainly concentrated on the relatively small island of Java. This is natural, because Java is the centre of government and the Javanese people are the guardians of an old and rich history, the nearly obliterated memory of which has again become a stimulating influence through the increased knowledge of it brought by western scientific research. Yet Sumatra has also more and more to be taken into account. Because of its energetic and progressively-minded population, especially as regards the development of Mohammedan life, the west coast of Sumatra is becoming an important centre of religious life. The number of people who are well taught and interested in theological questions is, proportionately speaking, rather high there. But Java, by its dense population, will always remain the more important of the two.

[1] This article supplements and brings up to date an article on 'Spiritual Currents among the Javanese,' by Dr N. Adriani, which appeared in IRM, 1917 (Jan.), pp. 113–26.

Apart from the relations between the Government and the native movements—always an important factor in moulding thought in a colonial society—the characteristic features in the events of the last twelve months are a quickened activity in Mohammedan circles as to religious education, and the first feeble attempts to get into definite relation with the rest of the Moslem world.

The Mohammedan standard of knowledge of their own religion is generally very low. There are still places in the country that are hardly at all moslemized. The bulk of the people have their own ways of amalgamating paganism and Islam. Yet they regard the learned people who are more conversant with official theology as their true leaders. Formerly it was principally the *pesantrèns* (religious institutions) everywhere spread over the country, in which a teacher (*guru*) gathered scores of pupils around him, that served as centres of religious education of various kinds. Now many of these are in decay because their methods are too antiquated; modern education is more highly valued as a better means of equipment for the battle of life. The higher classes and aristocrats, with a sceptical and at the same time mystical turn of mind, have in their own philosophical way incorporated Islam in their tolerant view of the world. Of course there are marked regional differences, but our description may pass as a fairly exact picture of conditions in the middle of Java, the centre of Javanese life, and also the place where are the Native States.

Yet this same part of the country is also the most conspicuous field of Mohammedan activity, concentrated in the two cities Jogjakarta and Surakarta, the residences of the different native princes. Some twelve years ago in Jogjakarta there arose a society called Muhammadijah, which had for its purpose the betterment of religious education among the masses. In the beginning it suffered much criticism from conservative circles, but its founder, a man of high character and ability, conquered by his per-

severance. Recently he has died. The society concentrates mainly on education and literature. Originally it confined its activity to the city of Jogjakarta, but some years ago it claimed as its field all the Dutch East Indies. Of course this is as yet no more than programme. The points of contact with the dependencies outside Java are very few, but in Java about ten centres have been formed. In these places schools are built, or prepared for. The instruction offered is secular as well as religious, because these schools are modelled on the same lines as the mission schools, as is evident from their name : Koran School. They profit also by the grant-in-aid system of the Government. In addition to these schools, courses in the rudiments of Islam are given to older men and women, and recently a training school has been opened for religious instruction. A literary department publishes and sells religious books, both elementary and higher. Another branch of work now beginning is care for the poor and the sick. This work is still in an initial stage, but it is interesting to know that a physician has been appointed and has opened a small clinic. They aim at a hospital of their own and organized a few months ago a fancy fair to raise money for this purpose.

This work, when compared with the many millions of Java, is still very small. Nevertheless it is a remarkable and new feature in Javanese Moslem life as an enterprise entirely guided and financed by Javanese men and money. These activities may be regarded as a rejoinder to missionary work. Missions have roused not only a spirit of self-defence but also a consciousness of the duties prescribed by the Moslem religion.

The spirit of the movement is modern. In contrast with the past they do not emphasize so much the *fiqh*, i.e. the religious law, but bring the doctrinal side of Islam to the front. They combat all superstition that is inconsistent with a purified, rational Islam and defend their religion as the only rational faith in the world. Therefore they repudiate the binding authority of the leading theologians

of old, although they venerate and use them, and proclaim as their rule of life and doctrine the Koran and the authentic Traditions of the Prophet. They are a Javanese edition of the Egyptian modern movement as represented by the late well-known Sheikh Muhammad Abdul, although there is no evidence of real connexion between the two. The movement is subjected to much criticism. The religious conservatives accuse the leaders of destroying the well-laid foundations of Islam. The politically-minded elements are not content with its neutral position in the struggles of the country and pour out their wrath on the hypocrisy of the society. As the members of Muhammadijah belong mainly to the well-to-do middle class, there is a conflict between those who are naturally inclined towards moderation and the quasi 'communist' labourers and intellectuals. Of course this does not wholly explain the aloofness of the movement from politics; it is also inspired by a well-defined purpose towards education and religious propaganda.

Not only has the example of Government and missions taught a certain section of Moslems to organize education on modern lines, but the first All-Islam Congress was held in November 1922. For the first time different groups of Moslems, resident in Java, Javanese as well as Arabs, met to discuss the development of Islam. Muhammadijah provided a very definite programme of instruction, elementary and higher. In reality the Congress was an attempt by the leaders of the Sarikat Islam, the biggest organization of the nationalist movement, to unify the different popular religious movements in order to strengthen their own organization. As such it failed, and ought to fail, as strength of organization and clearness of purpose is still lacking in the nationalist societies of Java. But as a demonstration and as propaganda it will have its influence. The deep diversity of opinion between conservatives and progressives became manifest. The leaders scarcely succeeded in reconciling the conflicting views. The conference met during the days of Mustapha Kemal's victories over the

Greek army. One of the most able leaders, Hadji Salim, himself not a Javanese but a Malay of Sumatra, utilized the opportunity to speak on one of his favourite topics: the universality of Islam as a religion and its tremendous significance as an international political power. He did this in moderate terms but in full consciousness of its propagandist value for the masses.

The same notes were struck during another important Congress held by the Sarikat Islam itself in February 1923. The Sarikat Islam has been a Proteus-like phenomenon in the public life of Java for the last twelve years. It stands for a wide and loose organization of the awakening people in the first dawn of self-consciousness, and is the organ for vague political, economic and nationalist aspirations, discontent and unrest. The movement has always had a certain bond with Islam, because religion is the most conspicuous characteristic of the mind of a people in this stage of development. This year, however, an alliance with Islam as such has been definitely signed. The dissident, communist elements, who declared as diligent students of western theories that religion was a private concern, were driven out and the proposal to reorganize the movement on the basis of the Koran carried the day, a socialist programme being accepted as the true explanation of Koranic precepts. At the same time the nature of the momentous change in the Khalifate effected by the statesmen of Angora began to dawn on the minds of Javanese Moslems. It was a matter of course that it should be discussed in this Congress. Hadji Salim brought forward a resolution in which the approval of the raising of Abdul Madjid to the dignity of Khalif with spiritual authority was declared. Although the bulk of the Congress did not understand the real significance of the matter under discussion, it was easily carried. But the resolution is important as a symptom that modernized pan-Islamic sentiments have found their spokesman in Java also. It is not pan-Islamism in the sense of the preaching of the Holy

War, which has wrongly agitated the minds of so many European statesmen in the last decade, but in the sense of the solidarity of all Moslems as an ideal religio-political body with a natural head in their legitimate leader, the Khalif. In this sense the 'Vaticanization' of the Khalifate may for the moment appeal to the minds of modern Moslems, because it offers them the same programme and position as ultramontanist Roman Catholics claim in every country—only in a more acute sense, because the greater part of the Mohammedan world is, according to the Religious Law, in an illegal position of subjection to foreign powers of non-Moslem creed. Another proposal of the same kind, viz. to endeavour to establish relations with the Anti-Khilafat Committee in British India, was also obediently accepted, but it remains to be seen when it will be carried into effect. Nevertheless it deserves to be mentioned as a new feature in Moslem thought out here.

The new effort towards providing religious information for those who desire it has given rise this year to the publication of some new religious periodicals. Some of them are purely religious and didactic and deal with the problems with which a modern Moslem has to struggle in his endeavour to get rid of the trammels of a narrow and time-worn system and of the old superstition of the masses. In the first case, he has to demonstrate that his new interpretation is in accordance with the real spirit of Islam, and with its original foundations, the Koran and Tradition; in the second, he has to use official Islam as a purifying force to drive out the demons of old paganism. In either case we are only at the beginning of thought. Other new periodicals have a more political and nationalist tone with a Moslem tendency.

Besides the movements in strictly Moslem circles there are groups who strive after the rebuilding of the ancient Javanese culture. The inspiration and impulse of this movement comes also mainly from the Native States, because at the courts of the native princes we find the

guardians of the still existent remnants of Javanese culture, literature, music, dancing, the all-important shadow-theatre and a quasi-philosophical theosophic mysticism. Members of the high aristocracy and western-educated men join in these endeavours from different causes: the first mainly because they have never really lost contact with their old sphere and the quickening impulses of the new life around them have thrown them out of their former sullen way of merely guarding the rudiments of the past; the second class find here a natural opportunity of asserting their self-consciousness as members of a race with a worthy past and a civilization of its own. At the same time this movement towards the ancient culture is the answer of a people that had nearly lost all confidence in itself under the overwhelming impact of western force and civilization. In these efforts they get much aid from a small group of Europeans.

Various reform movements have been set on foot. One of the centres of activity is an association, called Djawa, which receives some financial help from the Government. It tries by means of the co-operation of Javanese and Europeans to gather material and to stimulate the renaissance of the different arts and crafts. From time to time it organizes congresses, in which splendid demonstrations of the artistic capacities of the natives are given. As to the effects of these efforts it is still difficult to judge, because it is impossible to distinguish clearly between the rôle that is played in it by European stimulation and by native impulse. The oldest existing Javanese political association, Budi Utomo, has also as one of the principal items in its programme the revivifying of Javanese culture. At the Congress of Budi Utomo in April 1923, a remarkable resolution was made. The assembly decided to send out to British India a delegation of three members of Budi Utomo in order to study on the spot the Hindu civilization which has left such deep traces in Javanese life, to seek contact with the nationalist movement in British India and

especially with Rabindranath Tagore, who is regarded as the modern eastern *guru*. This resolution is the outcome of a new educational programme which the association has in mind.

Two main causes have made the present discussions about education and instruction even more vital than they already were. Firstly, many of the Javanese leaders are not content with the school systems conceived and organized by Europeans. They long for a system that offers them all knowledge necessary for a man in the modern world, but that is imbued by a national spirit. Different experiments are now being tried in this direction. They expect to find in Tagore's Shantiniketan the required model. As Muhammadijah is doing for the Moslems, they intend to develop in a nationalist direction, viz. to create a school after their own heart and train the children according to their own ideals. Secondly, the drastic measures taken by Government to reduce the budget have had a disastrous effect on the regular development of native instruction. One good result of this situation is that many who are interested in the advancement of their own people turn their eyes in the direction of self-help. Some even reject consistently all government help because they desire to be free.

These are some of the striking and symptomatic features of the situation in Java. Of course there are many more which are also important. But a discussion of them would require a comprehensive study of the political and economic situation, for in a colonial country touched by the world-wide unrest all movements and aspirations are necessarily bound up with the political atmosphere. There is also room for a really lucid and fruitful discussion of the position of the Javanese Christians and missionaries, their problems, their outlook and their duties, but I think it better to postpone this till I feel myself entitled by longer residence in the country to speak on these matters.

H. Kraemer

THE MISSIONARY AS PROPHET

By EDWARD SHILLITO

It is still given to the modern apostle in a few days to cross the centuries, to pass in a stride from the modern to the ancient world. He can watch, not in the mirror of imagination but in its living action, the world before Christ, and in that world he must become an actor. After a time of ministry to settled Christian communities—groups within the larger social life of the nation—he passes into the centre of a tribe, small and unified, in which Church and State are one. And to that tribe the way lies through the heart and mind of the Chief, who is at once the centre of its life and the pledge of its unity. The pastor becomes the counsellor of kings, the Christian evangelist the Hebrew prophet.

He has been accustomed to deal with individual souls in a society in which the individual life is a recognized unit. He comes to a tribe which has only one unit, its own corporate life. He has ministered to a Church, he must now minister to a tribe living and moving as one mighty personality. If any man can claim to the enjoyment of a time-machine which can unroll the story of the remote past, it is the modern missionary to a primitive people. He is always the evangelist and teacher; he must always be adding new chapters to the Acts of the Apostles; but when he enters the life of a primitive tribe, in Africa or Madagascar or the isles of the Pacific, he enters upon the part of the prophet in Israel. There are no precise parallels in history, and if history repeats itself, it is in no literal fashion. But there are many resemblances between the modern missionary and the prophets of Israel and Judah, and the study of them may do two things: it may throw a

light backward from modern experience upon the ancient records, even as the study of the Church in India makes the history of the first Christian centuries strangely and intimately near; [1] but it is even more certain that the modern apostle has much to learn from the inspired prophets of Israel, who had to deal with so many of their problems. There is wisdom still for our use in the story of Israel, how it was delivered by the mighty hand of God through the prophets.

Let it be admitted that there are many deep and wide differences between tribal life in Central Africa and in Israel or Judah eight hundred or more years before Christ. There was a rich and complex civilization in Israel to which there is no parallel, for example, in the African tribe. But the prophets had to deal with certain conditions to which there are no equivalents in our western civilization; and at the same time some of those conditions can be found among primitive peoples. If therefore the modern missionary is to meet those conditions boldly and wisely he must be a prophet not only in the New Testament usage of the word, but a prophet in the manner of Amos and Hosea.

In the New Testament the prophet has an honourable part in the Christian community. His ministry is chiefly in the assembly of the saints, to whom he makes clear the mind of Christ as that has been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit. It was St Paul the Christian prophet who chanted the praise of love in his first letter to the Corinthians. But the New Testament prophet does not deal with a tribe as his unit; he may meet with kings, but only as a prisoner; he is not called to be the guide of a nation.

In Israel and Judah the prophet was the counsellor of kings, the interpreter of history to a nation, the judge of national policy. In these offices the missionary to an African tribe—a Livingstone or Coillard—enters into their

[1] See *The Ancient Church and Modern India*. By Godfrey E. Phillips. London: Student Christian Movement. 4s. 1920.

secret and plays their part. He may be a New Testament prophet in London or in Paris, but when he reaches his tribe in Africa he is the counsellor of chiefs and the guide of a nation. He is a Nathan or Micaiah, and even an Isaiah and a Jeremiah. His unit at first is of necessity the tribe. His calling is that of a statesman; and over against him are the host of diviners and sorcerers, such as led Israel to sin. In Christendom he is a minister of Christ within His Church; in his new home he is one of the goodly fellowship of the prophets.

The earlier prophets of Israel were called to speak the mind of God to a nation. It was a small and compact nation in which there was one destiny of good or ill to meet. A modern nation in a moment of intense emotion may draw near to that unity—

> There is but one task for all,
> One life for each to give.

This consciousness, occasional and partial with us, was continuous among ancient peoples and is still the same in the heart of a primitive people. Its political and social life has its roots deep in an immemorial past. Its varied customs hold together. They are the mightier because they are not written. There is but one assembly of the people for all things civil and sacred, and the life of the tribe finds it coherence in its Chief. He acts for the tribe. The tribe acts through him.

Though this appears strange to the modern mind, it would not have appeared strange to Amos and Hosea. It is the western nations that would have seemed strange to them. They always dealt with men as members of the community. They spoke to the nation as to a unit doomed or saved as one mighty life. Slowly and inevitably in the later prophets the individual soul began to claim its own. But the earlier prophets were witnesses to the nation. That was their one hearer whom they would judge and save.

The modern missionary hopes to build within the life of the tribe another society of the faithful; he will seek to

release the individual soul; but at first he too must speak to the tribe as the one hearer of his message. He has to be the prophet to a nation. That is why, like the Hebrew prophets, the missionary to a primitive people must deal much with the Chief.

There are wide differences between Lewanika of Barotseland, for example, and Jehoshaphat King of Judah. But the glow which rests upon the sacred history should not blind us to the resemblances between them. Both were despots. Both in a remarkable way conditioned the lives of their peoples. It is said that Shakespeare chose kings and princes for his tragic characters because their actions held in them the destiny of a multitude. These prophets of ancient and modern times dealt with kings because in the king they touched the heart of the tribe. Through him ran the highway. It became supremely necessary to struggle for his soul, not because he was of any more value than others in the light of eternity, but because if he were won there was an approach free and open to the heart of the tribe. If other great chiefs had been won for Christ as Khama was won, the entire missionary history in Africa would have been changed. But Lobengula and Lewanika were never won, and Moshesh was only converted as life was slipping from him.

This ministry to the Chief has striking parallels in the Old Testament. The earlier prophets came into history as counsellors and judges of kings. And if we had only the Book of Kings we might easily suppose that Isaiah had this for his only ministry—to stand before kings and plead for God. He had another ministry, as we know from his own recorded words, but it is abundantly clear that he and the other earlier prophets looked upon the king as the point of attack in all the concerns of the nation. Micaiah before Jehoshaphat was in many ways different from Coillard before Lewanika, but he was far more like him than he was like the ministers of Christ in the ordered life of the Church within western civilization.

But one difference must not be left out of account. The Hebrew prophet spoke to a nation which already worshipped Jehovah. The modern missionary on the contrary comes from an alien people with tidings of a strange God. It looks more as if he were like some prophet from Moab proclaiming the god Chemosh in Jerusalem.

It is true that the prophets of Israel and the populace called their God by the same name. But the prophets themselves are witnesses of the corruption which had seized upon the worship of Jehovah. It is not so much that the common people worshipped other gods, but that they introduced into the worship of Jehovah the rites and abominations which were found in the cult of Astarte and Moloch. Hosea speaks of these things most clearly. The popular religion was saturated with the sensuous thought and ritual of the Syrian world. If we call it a nature cult, we must not think of nature as Wordsworth thought of it, but of nature as a scene of luxuriant and voluptuous life and at the same time of brutal cruelties. There was much in that popular religion which with all the higher culture of the Syrian world recalls the animism of a primitive tribe. It is not necessary to go far in the study of Africa to find equivalents for the rites offered to the Queen of Heaven or for the worship of Moloch. The sensuality and the cruelty of man go closely together. The prophets of Israel dealt with a popular religion, poles removed from their own. It was unethical and magical and it made its chief appeal to human fears and lusts.

Such is the religion of primitive man still. It is a nature cult; for him the earth is filled with unseen presences for the most part suspicious and at enmity with him. For him too religion is magical and not ethical. And the modern prophet, like his Hebrew forerunners, has to set over against this the truth of the One Holy God, who desires not magical rites but that they should walk humbly with Him and do justice and love mercy. The burden of the prophets is always the same. They have to vindicate the ethical

character of religion without letting religion be swallowed up in ethics.

If anyone reads the significant story of Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii) he will find an exact picture of the scene which many modern apostles have known. There are the false prophets, the wizards, diviners, sorcerers, drilled to order, creatures of the court. They depend upon their omens and their charms. And over against them the one prophet, very lonely and yet very terrible to the king—the man who cannot be coerced or bought. Every nature cult has its magicians who claim power to interpret and to appease the unseen powers. The false prophets who met the prophets of Israel were not always of this order; but they were for the most part professional soothsayers, they divined for money, they were trained courtiers. In Bethel or in Jerusalem there were many conflicts which have had their parallel by the Zambezi or the Congo.

There is another office which the modern prophet shares with the prophets of the eighth and following centuries before Christ—with Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezekiel. He can see the life of his people in its true perspective. He hears from afar the cries of the western nations, drawing nearer with the march of destiny by which his people if they resist will be broken in pieces. As Isaiah heard the tramp of the Assyrian army in which there were none that slumbered and none that slept, so the modern prophet can hear the distant murmuring of another host whose advance-guard are the travellers and merchant-adventurers after whom the tide of western life comes apace. He knows what is moving behind these traders and sportsmen. But his tribe knows it not and it falls to him, in the brief interval before the tribe is engulfed, to open the eyes of his people that they may learn the secret of a nation's life and of a certain way of life. 'If ye do these things ye shall never fall.' [1]

The time must come when the last of these primitive

[1] *François Coillard: A Wayfaring Man*, pp. 164–5.

peoples will move into the central action of the world. There will no longer be the old order with its Chief for symbol of the undying life and of the unchanging tradition of the tribe. But even as the reader of the Old Testament finds in the prophets the inner and eternal Israel, so in the days to come these missionaries will live in the records of their adopted peoples as the representatives of the nation which did not perish. It is not the Chief but the Prophet who will live in the story. To-day we think of Hezekiah and Ahaz as kings in whose reign Isaiah proclaimed the word of God. In the history of tribes still in the early days of their life there will be a like place for these prophets from a distant country. They came before the hour of dissolution. They were prophets of a destiny which could not be averted; they were at the same time prophets of hope. It was they who made to the tribe the offer of life within the eternal Kingdom of God. They were interpreters of the outer world, but this was not their first duty. They were prophets of the Eternal God; and in the gathering darkness bewildered tribes of Africa and other lands have beheld in them beacons of hope. In the hour of their desperate need there came these men and women from another world, and above the discords there rang out their clear and insistent words. Some listened and obeyed; and within the tribe a new society arose through which its name would be preserved in the Book of Life.

EDWARD SHILLITO

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

YOGA, THEOSOPHY AND ANTHROPOSOPHY

Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis. Eine Untersuchung über die Wurzeln der indischen Mystik. Von Dr J. W. Hauer. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. M. 45. 1922.

Werden und Wesen der Anthroposophie. Eine Wertung und eine Kritik. Von Dr J. W. Hauer. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 1922.

Die Anthroposophie Steiners und Indien. Von D. theol. H. W. Schomerus. Leipzig: Deichert. 1922.

During the war and after, a strong wave of theosophical activity made itself felt in Germany, and the attention of wide circles was drawn to its best-known exponent, Rudolph Steiner, and to the doctrine which he terms anthroposophy.

Even among ministers of high standing devoted adherents of Steiner were to be found. His teaching was regarded as something quite new and as a panacea for the troubles of the time. It was as recognized opponents of his teaching that foreign missionaries came forward to prove that Steiner owed the greater and more important part of his teachings to Indian theosophy. Frohnmeyer, an Inspector of the Basel Mission, was the first. In a small pamphlet, *Die Theosophische Bewegung* (Stuttgart, 1920), which he published shortly before his death, he drew attention, based on his long experience in India, to the historic connexion between Steiner's teaching and that of Mrs Besant, to the great annoyance of the anthroposophists, who apparently consider it of extreme importance that their master should retain the halo of originality.

Schomerus, whose name is well known as a student of Indian philosophy and religions and as a Privatdozent in the University of Kiel, proves this in the most convincing manner by tracing the course of Steiner's Indian inspiration. He shows how Steiner's view of life contains features of the worship of Siva and of Vishnu; how his psychology and also the doctrine of reincarnation come from India; how the path of initiation is closely connected with the Buddhist practice of Yoga; how the aura and clairvoyance are of Indian origin; in short, how much in Steiner's teaching has been borrowed from India and is not in any sense original.

Dr Hauer, Privatdozent at the University of Tübingen, joins hands with Schomerus. In his book on the origins of the practice of Yoga he shows a thorough knowledge of the Vedas, both the Rig-Veda and the Atharva-Veda, and was the first to attempt to show by careful exposition of relevant passages that parallels to the practice of Yoga are found in the oldest Indian literature.

His conclusion is as follows : When the practice and philosophy of Vratya—the Yoga of the warrior caste—came into closer contact with Brahmanism, it found there a practice of Yoga somewhat similar in its aims and yet of a different character. This was closely connected with the sacrificial cult and had developed in close conjunction with it, in some directions going even beyond it. The highest aim of both was originally the same—the attainment of the power of working miracles, union with the gods, liberation from the world of phenomena, and later, Nirvana. While, however, the practice of Vratya was never closely connected with sacrifices, or had been freed from them, and, in course of development, also from the gods, the Brahmanic cult had up till then never been separated from sacrifices and from the gods. In spite of that it had developed a highly spiritualized practice, which symbolized the sacrifices and was thus on the way to being freed from the sacrificial cult. The two systems were therefore in sympathy, they were merged into one. But the devotees of the Brahmanic sacrificial cult imposed the name of Yoga, by which they had hitherto designated their own practice, on the strange cult from the East, and only under this Brahmanic blending has the original Vratya system come down to us as Yoga, and indeed as Sankhya-Yoga, in contradistinction to the old local Brahmanic Yoga. Yoga, as practice of Vratya and as a word for the Yogi practice of Brahmanic type, is primeval, and there is an uninterrupted, and in its broad features clearly traceable, development from the primitive magicians and 'Wildekstatiker' up to the Yogin, who loses himself in blissful rapture in the Godhead and in the Supreme.

Armed with such knowledge Hauer takes up the challenge with Steiner. He tries to do justice to the geniality and extensive learning of the master of anthroposophy, but he proves how, very much more even than Frohnmeyer and Schomerus had stated to be the case, Steiner had borrowed from Indian thought. In clear-cut terms Hauer analyses questions and problems. He admits that to the clairvoyant things unconsciously lose focus and that he assumes

things to be the product of clairvoyance which he has in reality assimilated from elsewhere. But this calls in question the scientific value of what anthroposophy claims to be, and the truth of its master.

Hauer feels after these deductions that as a leader of a spiritual movement Steiner can no longer count, and he thinks it is time that the eyes of thoughtful people should be opened to the danger which threatens from such an Indianization of European spiritual life.

M. Schlunk

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AN INDIAN ON INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Indian Philosophy. Vol. I. By S. Radhakrishnan. London: Allen & Unwin. 21s. 1923.

We are glad to receive this detailed description of Indian philosophy from the able pen of an Indian scholar who is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Calcutta. The first volume treats of the Vedic and Epic periods. The former includes of course the Upanishads, while in the latter the teachings of the Lokāyatas, Jains, and Buddhists, and of the Bhagavadgītā are discussed, or, to speak with the author, materialism, pluralistic realism, ethical idealism, and theism. The author's culture allows him to compare Indian ideas with occidental ones; his book, though here and there perhaps a little large, e.g. when theories not adopted by the author nor by any one are cited at length, will find thankful readers. Some minor criticisms which do not affect the value of the whole might be made, e.g. that we must not judge 'from the bloodthirst of Bhīma and the polyandry of Draupadī that the original event of the Mahābhārata seems to be a non-Aryan one' (p. 478), or that the Jains have ten 'niryuktis,' not twelve, and do not know one 'mahābhāshya but a number of 'bhāshyas' representing a peculiar stage in the development of their scholasticism. From the chronological point of view, it is to be said that the isolated use of the term 'linga' in the Muṇḍaka Upanishad seems not to be a trace of Nyāya logic at so early a period, and that the mention of Buddha as a 'nāstika' in the Rāmāyaṇa is a late addition, as has long been known. We much appreciate, in view of other experiences, the fact that Mr Radhakrishnan pays attention to the results of non-Indian research even if they somewhat differ from the traditional meaning. We

hope that he will rid himself of a certain reserve which induces him, in a few cases, to put tradition in the text and to place criticism in the note, e.g. as concerns Vyāsa's ' authorship ' of the Mahābhārata. Is it perhaps a result of the same tendency that Hastings' great *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* does not find mention in the degree that its exhaustive and original contributions deserve ? On the other hand, we are glad to see that the author is aware of the views of German indologists, as far as they are written in English. We may be allowed to hope that our Indian fellow-workers will, in the course of time, find place for the study of German, in order to acquaint themselves with other important works of leading German authorities.

W. Schubring

Hamburg

A STUDY IN ETHICS

Hindu Ethics: A Historical and Critical Essay. By John McKenzie. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. 1923.

Mr McKenzie, who is Principal of the Wilson College at Bombay, says in his introduction that some knowledge of Hindu thought should be of the greatest value to the western student of ethics because western ethical thinking has suffered from a certain insularity which acquaintance with other systems of thought and life should help to remove, and that on the other hand it is important that thoughtful Hindus should have their attention directed to the principles on which their practical life is based.

The contrast implied in these sentences and amplified in the course of the book is between certain principles of systematic reflection on moral conduct and moral judgments on the one hand and a rich diversified but unsystematized field of moral experience on the other. It is a commonplace that Hinduism is above all things syncretistic rather than systematic, and that if we go to Hindu thought expecting to find there a system, that is a body of thought in which there has been a persistent attempt to cut out inconsistencies just because they are inconsistencies, we shall be disappointed. On the contrary the outstanding characteristic of Hinduism which is most baffling to the western mind is just the way in which it can hold together the most diverse and inconsistent views. The enormous part played in Hindu life and thought by tradition and authority make that inevitable. Hinduism is a great roomy ramshackle

building. Speculative thought and high moral insight have built rooms in it alongside of the rooms built by ancient custom and beliefs, but there has never been a fire which would have given a chance of re-erecting the building on a single principle. Buddhism probably came nearest to being a revolutionary reconstruction but the strength of tradition was too great for it.

If this general view of Hinduism is correct, it follows that strictly there is no such thing as Hindu ethics, and, though Mr McKenzie does not say this, that is the general impression left by his book. It does not follow that ethical theory may not gain a great deal, as Mr McKenzie suggests that it would, by the study of Hindu thought. After all, ethical theory as we know it in the West is the invention of the Greeks. Its general principles and methods are still those laid down by Plato and Aristotle, and if our modern ethical theory differs from that of the Greeks, as it does, it is the result of extending Greek principles of reflection to the new and profound moral and spiritual experience which came into the world with Christianity. In so far as we find in Hinduism a distinctive moral and spiritual experience we may expect that ethical theory will derive from it a similar enrichment.

I am not sure how far Mr McKenzie would accept this interpretation of his position. For throughout the book he continually contrasts Hindu with Christian ethics, and it is not always clear whether he is contrasting the distinctive contribution to moral experience made by Christianity with that made by Hinduism or the ethical theory of Christianity with that of Hinduism. He sometimes does the one and sometimes the other. I am never quite sure what Christian ethics is except that it is a subject taught in theological colleges, and I think that if Mr McKenzie had had more clearly in his mind the distinctive contributions made to our modern ethical theory by Greek thought and Christian experience, his contrasts between East and West would have been much more illuminating. Ethical theory arose among men who identified or at least very closely connected ethics and politics because they were members of political communities which had broken with the rule of custom and were trying to mould their social relations by reason, and who had invented the exact sciences. Mr McKenzie repeatedly calls attention to the absence of social morality from most Hinduism and attributes this to the very different social circumstances of India. Where social relations and practices are fixed by tradition and

authority, creative thought can find scope only in the concern of the soul with itself and its relation to God. The other characteristics which he notices in Hindu thought, its inconsistency and irrationality, are surely due to the Hindu neglect or ignorance of the sciences. It was the Greek preoccupation with politics and with science which gave their thinking on ethical subjects that drive towards rationality and system and did so much to free men's minds from magic and superstition. There is, I think, more relation between Greek ethics and Hindu thought than Mr McKenzie allows.

Professor Urwick has written a book called *The Message of Plato*, in which he tries to show the essential identity between Plato and the philosophy of the Upanishads. The book is not altogether convincing just because he does not appreciate Plato the Athenian citizen and the scientist, but he does show that there was an element in Plato which the modern western mind with its preoccupation with practical affairs and the natural sciences does not easily appreciate but which has close affiliations with Hindu thought. Modern India is turning to politics and to the natural sciences and if it acquires from these, as the West has done, a love of system, it will find in its ancient thought certain precious things which will be a noble contribution to philosophy.

What these are Mr McKenzie brings out very clearly. Men who are absorbed in practical life and the natural sciences look outward and the external material order sometimes hypnotizes their minds. The Hindu thinkers faced a material world which they had no chance to inform with reason, an elaborate external order of irrational custom and tradition. They found refuge in bringing out the high value of the inner life of the soul. They gave therefore almost exclusive attention to an aspect of life to which both Greek thought and early Christian thought did justice but which modern western practical thinking often misses. At a time when the world we live in seems less amenable to reason than it did to the confident mind of the nineteenth century, men are turning more to see if Hindu thought has anything to offer them. Extravagant hopes of what is to be found there may perhaps be dashed by Mr McKenzie's sober account of Hindu thought on ethical questions, but they will be convinced that he is right that western ethical thinking will gain from acquaintance with it.

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DR SCHWEITZER'S LECTURES

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD. By ALBERT SCHWEITZER, D.Theol., D.Med. London: Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d. 1923.

THIS is a book of 86 pages containing lectures delivered at the Selly Oak Colleges in February 1922. The aim of their author is to gain 'a clearer conception of the reasons why the Gospel of Jesus is for us the highest wisdom.' The fact that Dr Schweitzer is a theologian with a European reputation gives this little book an unusual interest; the fact that he is a medical missionary who ministers with extraordinary courage and devotion to Africans 'on the edge of the primæval forest' immensely increases that interest and immensely increases also, surely, the value of his book. His theories of Jesus and His Gospel do not dwell *in vacuo*; they have been tested by their power to sustain their possessor in the face of the most cruel facts of human experience. What he says must be received with the respect that is due to one who is not only an exceptionally strong thinker but 'a doer of the word.'

Dr Schweitzer looks at Christianity as 'set over against' Brahmanism, Buddhism and the Chinese religions. On each of these ethnic faiths he has acute comments to make. They are necessarily extremely brief and cannot, therefore, do justice to the systems which they summarize. This has to be said, for example, of his criticism of the Gita, where we find an ethic not so very remote from that of Jesus. But it is in his account of the special *differentia* of Christianity, as compared with these systems, that he is most interesting and stimulating.

'Compared,' he says—'with the logical religions of the East, the Gospel of Jesus is illogical. It presupposes a God who is an ethical Personality, and who is, therefore, so to speak, outside the world. When trying to answer questions as to the relation between this ethical Personality and the forces at work in the world, Christianity cannot rise above the mist.' 'We hold to the absolutely and profoundly ethical religion as to the one thing needful, though philosophy may go to rack and ruin. That which appears to be *naïveté* in Christianity is in reality its profundity.'

Such a religion as Hinduism is, he says, an attempt to explain the world, and for that reason—the world being ethically inexplicable—it fails to reach a living, ethical God. The 'peaks of Ararat' above 'the floods of the inexplicable' are to be found, not in such a religion, but in Christianity with its assurance of God.

Some recent theologians, perceiving the inexplicable in the world-order, have found an explanation of a sort in a doctrine of a God of limited power. Dr Schweitzer finds another solution, which is certainly less unsatisfactory, in the limitation, not of God's power, but of man's understanding. This solution does not imply that Christianity is an irrational system ; it is, on the contrary, ' a philosophy that tries to go to the depths of things.'

The exposition of this view is necessarily extremely brief, but every word is filled with knowledge and insight. We are reminded, as we read, of the discussion by Dr Hogg in his Cunningham Lectures of the possibility of the supernatural finding a place within the cosmic order. No man can penetrate more than a little way into the depths of the divine mind, but Christianity gives us the central sureties, ' the peaks of Ararat,' where men can take refuge. The author of these lectures is one who has manifestly been deeply impressed by the apocalyptic elements in Christ's teaching. Christianity is not, he would have us remember, a ' solid block ' of logical deductions. It reaches deeper ; it recognizes the mist that shrouds so much of the universe about us.

N. Macnicol

Poona

CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER FAITHS

Die Weltreligionen und das Christentum. Von D. Martin Schlunk. Hamburg : Rauhen Haus. 1923.

To make a comparison between religions is a very important task for every Christian missionary both before and after he makes converts. But a comparison both thorough-going and just, both historical and immediate, is an extremely difficult undertaking. It is far more difficult than is comparative anatomy or comparative biology or any other comparative study among the natural sciences. In addition to the ordinary requirements of keen observation and a wide collection of objective facts, he who compares religions needs spiritual capabilities for a discerning insight into beliefs, feelings, actions and various experiences which are precious to those who experience them, but which the student himself adjudges as inferior and sometimes positively abhorrent. Some earnest Christians encounter difficulty in even an intellectual understanding of the positions taken by the different schools among their own co-religionists. Most

formidable, then, is the task of establishing precisely and irrefragibly the sweeping conclusion which is re-iterated throughout the pages of the book under review, viz. ' the unconditioned superiority of Christianity over the non-Christian religions.'

In the historical branch of the subject there are several excellent recent text-books, for instance: G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, two volumes; E. W. Hopkins, *The History of Religions*; G. A. Barton, *The Religions of the World*; E. D. Soper, *The Religions of Mankind*; A. Menzies, *The History of Religion*; S. Cave, *An Introduction to Some Living Religions of the East*; A. S. Geden, *Studies in Eastern Religions*. But all the foregoing books have found a sufficient task simply in setting forth the historical facts, without venturing to estimate values and to compare with Christianity. There have also been a few attempts to make valuations and comparisons, based for the most part upon recent conditions; for instance: the fourth volume of the Report of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, 1910, which deals with *The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions*; and R. E. Speer, *The Light of the World, A Brief Comparative Study of Christianity and Non-Christian Religions*. The United Council for Missionary Education in London has put forth an excellent, though quite brief, sketch by W. Paton, *Jesus Christ and the World's Religions*. There are books by notable Christian teachers of a by-gone generation which are still valuable for their spiritual appreciativeness, even though lacking the abundance of factual knowledge which is now available, viz. George Matheson, *The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions*; Frederick Denison Maurice, *The Religions of the World, and their Relation to Christianity*; and James Freeman Clarke, *Ten Great Religions*. The volume by Dr Schlunk, Secretary of the Deutscher Missionsbund, is more extensive than anything which has appeared during recent years, either in English or in German, in the form of a combined historical review of the world's main religions with citations from their scriptures and a detailed comparison of those religions with Christianity.

The book properly disclaims being a complete investigation. Its first historical half treats, besides unorganized animism, only six of the nine organized religions with which Christian foreign missionaries are now dealing, viz. Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. Its sweeping conclusion concerning the absolute superiority of Christianity over all the other religions of the world would have been in no way altered, but would have been

made more complete, by a consideration of Jainism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism. In the second part of the book a comparison is instituted at the five following points: the conception of God, the idea of salvation, ethical strength, the theory of the universe, and the consciousness of revelation. At all these points Christianity is adjudged easily superior. A still wider and more detailed comparison might have indicated a dozen points where a certain similarity can be discerned between Christianity and other religions, yet where Christianity holds a distinct superiority, for instance: belief in one worshipful Supreme Being, the claim of divine incarnation, the claim of a supernatural origin of the Founder, the claim of divine revelation, the claim of a verbally infallible scripture, the report of miracles wrought, the principle of 'the Golden Rule,' the teaching of a certain social gospel, salvation by faith, the doctrine of a Trinity, the hope of a universal religion, rewards and punishments in a future life. But there seem to be only three major points at which Christianity cannot be paralleled anywhere among the religions of the world, viz. the character of God as a righteous loving Heavenly Father, the character of the Founder as pre-eminently Son of God and also brother of all men, and the work of a universal, divine, indwelling Holy Spirit. Now these are the main articles of belief throughout the history of Christianity. A comparative study of all the religions of the world without exception will disclose the fact that these three are also the absolutely unique or differentiating features of Christianity. Thus in a very remarkable manner a comparative study of religion serves to corroborate in detail the historic Christian faith.

The kind of historical and comparative study of religions which is represented by Dr Schlunk's book is made from the point of view of the missionary, but mostly for the benefit of persons who are already Christian. And all friends of the Christian missionary enterprise, whether or not they read this book in German, may be grateful that this active missionary administrator has furnished what no specialist in the history of religions has yet put forth either in English or in German, viz. an extensive comparison of non-Christian religions and Christianity with an eye to the former's long history and sacred scriptures. However, the most valuable service which a comparative study of religion can render to the Christian missionary enterprise might well be the benefit offered to non-Christians. This latter group needs to be helped to make the change

into the Christian faith by the answering of certain practical yet scholarly questions such as the following, applied also to each of the ten organized non-Christian religions: Which of his inherited religious beliefs does a Confucianist retain unchanged, when he becomes a Christian? Which does he modify, and how? Which does he entirely relinquish, and why? Which new beliefs does he need to acquire? Which passages in his sacred scriptures could be gathered into an anthology to serve, as did the law, the prophets and the sacred writings for the Jews, as a pedagogue leading up to Jesus Christ? To what passages in his sacred scriptures would Jesus Christ bring a fulfilment, a new meaning, or a new application, even as He did for the earliest Jewish converts in certain passages of the Jewish scriptures?

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PREDESTINATION IN CHRISTIANITY AND IN ISLAM

De Verhouding Tusschen de Almacht Gods en de Zedelijke Verantwoordelijkheid van den Mensch in den Islam. Academisch Proefschrift ter verkrijging van den graad van Doctor in de Heilige Godgeleerdheid. Door Frederick Lambertus Bakker. Amsterdam. 1923.

The subjects of predestination, God's sovereignty and man's responsibility have been a crux in the history of Christian dogma and Islamic theology for centuries. We also have had special monographs giving a comparative study of this doctrine in the two great monotheistic religions, such as, for example, A. de Vlieger —*Kitab el Qadr*; Ulrich—*Die Vorherbestimmungslehre im Islam und Christentum*; E. E. Salisbury—'Materials for the History of the Mohammedan Doctrine of Predestination and Free-will,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, viii, New Haven, 1866. These earlier writers seemed to agree, as does Dr Bakker, with the conclusion of Salisbury:

> It appears that the doctrine of predestination which Moslem tradition ascribes to Mohammed, though more fully developed, indeed, than the teachings of the Koran on the same subject, is entirely inconsistent with the latter; for while, on the one hand, we seem to find a system of absolute election and reprobation, there is a doctrine of human freedom unmistakably presented on the other, compelling us to qualify the sharper assertions of divine predestination in harmony with it.

Dr Bakker, however, while appreciating earlier contributions on this subject, has investigated the difficult problem anew. As a Calvinist, with a thorough grasp of reformed theology, he does not desire to leave unchallenged such statements as are often made, that ' Islam is Calvinism run wild, outdoing all the vagaries of the most *outré* Dutch confessions.' Dr Bakker takes up in succession the teaching of the Koran, of orthodox Tradition, and of the leading Moslem sects on this subject. His concluding chapter is a comparison between the doctrine of predestination in Moslem theology as finally fixed in the system of Al Asháari, with that in the confessions of the Reformed Church. Islam and Christianity alike teach the sovereignty of God and the irresistible character of His will. As regards man's moral responsibility, although Islam is neither fatalistic nor deistic in an absolute sense, it is necessarily driven alternately between these two extremes. The doctrine of God in the last analysis differs fundamentally in the two religions. In Islam God is the Sole Cause and does not permit secondary causes. His omnipotence is absolute, and excludes all self activity on the part of the creature. It is in the doctrine of *Kasb* (that is, ' the appropriation of an act as his own, which after all man is compelled to execute because God wills it ') that Islam finds a solution. In summing up his conclusion the author states that the doctrine of predestination, according to Calvinism and the reformed theologians, differs from that of *Qadr* in Islam in no less than four particulars :

(1) The Deity who predestines is in the one case Allah, in the other—the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(2) The purpose of predestination, according to reformed theology, is God's glory in man's salvation, but it is a salvation which demands and gives holiness. In Islam predestination seems to be divine caprice.

(3) The doctrine of reprobation, or the passing by of the non-elect, does not differ in Islam either as to motive or method from that of election. All the reformed theologians, even those whose doctrine of reprobation might seem to be extreme, make a clear distinction in this respect.

(4) Man's moral responsibility is always insisted on and emphasized, while nevertheless God's sovereignty is affirmed by the Calvinist. In Islam, on the contrary, moral responsibility and divine omnipotence are confused, even when a way of escape is sought in the term *Kasb*.

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IN WITCH-BOUND AFRICA. By FRANK H. MELLAND. London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1923.

EQUATORIA: THE LADO ENCLAVE. By MAJOR C. H. STIGAND. London: Constable. 21s. 1923.

AFTER serving with the Church Missionary Society for some twenty-five years Canon Roscoe returned to Uganda under the auspices of the Royal Society as leader of an ethnological expedition which owed its inception to Sir J. G. Frazer and was financed by Sir Peter Mackie. As a matter of fact he could say: The expedition—*c'est moi*. The first two instalments of his report are now before us. They deal with tribes occupying western districts of the Uganda Protectorate. Readers of his previous anthropological works, *The Baganda* and *The Northern Bantu* (the latter of which is largely concerned with these two tribes) will find here the same careful record of patiently acquired facts, the same severely objective view of native custom and belief. As in the case of the books just mentioned Mr Roscoe writes in the past tense throughout. This means that owing to the advance of Christianity and education many, but not all, of the old beliefs and practices are obsolete or obsolescent. It is significant that the only way Mr Roscoe could obtain his photographs was by the Christian king's arranging a week's pageant of the old ceremonies of the Bakitara. We may be thankful to possess this record of what the tribe was, before all opportunity of recording it is lost.

Mr Melland's book is very different in many respects. It is, what it was meant to be, a serious study of the ethnography of the Bakaonde viewed in the light of comparative religion and social science. But Mr Melland does not treat his subject academically. He is one of that fine band of British administrators who look upon the Natives not merely as subjects to be ruled, or as zoological specimens to be classified and described, but as men and women to be studied in order that they may be wisely governed and led along the upward path. He has worked twenty-two years among Bantu—eleven among the people of whom he now writes. He has produced a book of very great value about a people of whom very

little was previously known. The Bakaonde live in Northern Rhodesia; they are an offshoot of the great Luba tribe and the neighbours of the Ila-speaking peoples—a fact which makes the book of peculiar interest to myself.

These books reveal what remarkable varieties of culture exist, together with a general underlying similarity, among the peoples who speak Bantu languages. Owing to the prevalence of the tsetse in their area the Bakaonde are not cattlemen, whereas the whole life of the Bakitara and Banyankole—or at least the life of a section of these tribes—centres around their cattle, and the extraordinary customs due to that fact, particularly the milk-taboos, find no place among the Bakaonde. The dominant element in these two tribes, as in the case of the Baganda themselves, is the Bahuma aristocracy which invaded the lake regions of Central Africa in the remote past and subdued the aborigines whose level of culture was probably not dissimilar to that among the Bakaonde to-day. Major Stigand thinks the Bahuma are possibly an offshoot of original Hamites of Abyssinia.

Mr Melland properly insists that it is impossible to understand any of these tribes unless one realizes what their religion is and what it means to them. Amidst so much diversity of social organization the beliefs of the three peoples now before us exhibit many features in common. Recognition of a Creator is found among them all. Mr Melland thinks that this belief, coupled with the fact that they worship neither natural objects nor idols, places the Bakaonde 'definitely as a non-pagan race.' Mr Roscoe considers it to be an entirely monotheistic belief among his tribes. The Bakitara and Banyankole name the Creator *Ruhanga* or *Namuhanga*: the Bakaonde name Him *Shyakapanga*. These names are derived from the same root, meaning 'to create,' or rather, 'to construct' (*hanga* is the same word as *panga*, the archaic *p* regularly appearing as *h* in these northern languages). Mr Roscoe mentions another name for God, viz. *Enkya*, without, it seems, knowing how to account for it. We suggest that it is equivalent to Engai, the Masai name for God, and was either introduced originally by the Bahuma invaders or borrowed later. To none of these tribes, however, was God much more than a name; the only time they approached Him directly was when they needed rain. To all these tribes the ghosts are, as Mr Roscoe says of the Banyankole, 'the really important supernatural beings.' The Bakaonde name them *wakishi* (the use of which name sufficiently marks them as largely influenced by the western Bantu); and the

northern tribes *mizimu*. Unlike the Bakaonde, the Bakitara and Banyankole have developed a polytheistic system (such it seems to be in spite of Mr Roscoe's assertion of their monotheism) of ' a misty and somewhat bewildering collection of beings ' who are named *Bachwezi* and who once lived as men on earth but are now regarded as immortal, almost divine. These are departmental gods, subordinate to *Ruhanga*, and preside each over a particular sphere—war, harvest, etc. In this we may see the influence of the Bahuma aristocracy, but the existence of a similar though undeveloped system among some southern Bantu (where, however, the demigods are locality guardians rather than departmental) seems to show that the Bahuma did not bring in something with which the Bantu were unfamiliar. Among the Bakaonde there is apparently no trace of this belief but they possess *bena-mikola* who once were men and are now river and hill spirits ; the northern tribes also believe in nature spirits, but whether these were ever human is not clear.

Mr Melland declares that a belief in reincarnation is the basis of the religion of the Bakaonde and says, ' Natives tell me that any new religion or law which enforces new ideas or prohibits old ones will never be wholeheartedly accepted by the majority because of this belief.' Here is an obstacle to Christian enterprise which is not always recognized among the Bantu. The northern tribes name children after their grandparents, but this does not imply, so it would seem from what Mr Roscoe says, that they accept reincarnation.

Had we space for it here, we could enlarge upon the similarities and dissimilarities of belief among these tribes—in the matter of taboo, divination, totemism, etc. To an anthropologist these questions are interesting as throwing some light upon the influence of the Bahuma invaders upon Bantu thought and practice. One very striking difference is the part played in their life by witchcraft : the Bakaonde are ' witch-bound,' and Mr Melland's chapters on this subject are the most important in his book ; among the northern tribes witchcraft appears to bulk much less largely.

Though Mr Roscoe is such an experienced missionary it does not enter into his plan to discuss the effects of the excellent missionary work carried on by the Church Missionary Society among the Bakitara and Banyankole. Mr Melland, the magistrate, includes a chapter on ' The Future of the Native ' which he read as a paper at the Northern Rhodesia Missionary Conference held at Kafue, July 1922. His presence at that assembly and the tone of his paper, and indeed the

tone of his whole book, substantiate his claim, ' I have the real moral welfare of the Native as much at heart as any missionary.' He has thought much about the part Christian missions must play in the elevation of the African and sees clearly that this cannot take place without Christianity and education. All that he says should be taken seriously to heart by missionaries. The slow rate of progress troubles him and he asks whether our methods are altogether sound. Evidently there is need of a great deal of hard thinking before the African problem will be solved. The time is coming when there must be a conference to discuss our missionary work in the light of ethnographical research. When that meets, Messrs Roscoe and Melland should be among the experts invited to take part.

A melancholy interest attaches to the last-named book on our list. Major Stigand died at the hands of a rebellious section of the Dinka tribe in December, 1919, leaving this book in an unfinished state. In him the Sudan Government lost a very efficient and gallant officer, who was also a naturalist and keenly interested in all that concerned the Natives—' a true type of one of our younger empire-builders,' as Sir Reginald Wingate calls him in the preface. The book is mainly concerned with the history of the Lado Enclave, but contains much valuable information about the people. Major Stigand was an enthusiastic linguist, and students of the Nilotic, Hamitic and Bantu languages will find much of value in his chapter devoted to the subject. He differs from Messrs Roscoe and Melland in disbelieving in the utility of recording exhaustively the native customs. Ethnology, he thinks, still lacks the master-key which will reduce it to a proper science and without which it is a mass of independent and isolated facts, having no co-ordination or correlation. This may be true, but it is nevertheless the duty of men in his position to record the facts. The master-key will be found one day, but in the meantime the facts will be lost unless they are set down in writing. We are grateful for what Major Stigand has told us of the ' Nilotic ' peoples. It is among them, if anywhere, that we shall discover the links which connect the modern Bantu with the ancient Egyptians, and it is interesting to note that he traces back some of their beliefs to Egypt. Major Stigand evidently had close relations with the missionaries, if we may judge by the letter from the Rev. Archibald Shaw quoted in the Memoir, but he says nothing in his chapters about mission work.

WALTON-ON-THAMES EDWIN W. SMITH

A NEW LIFE OF COILLARD

FRANÇOIS COILLARD: A WAYFARING MAN. By EDWARD SHILLITO. Map. London: Student Christian Movement. 5s. 1923.

FOLLOWING the publication of biographies of Henry Martyn and Alexander Duff, the Student Christian Movement has given us studies in the life of François Coillard, the founder of the Zambezi Mission. The book is very ably written, and gives a short but sufficient description of a striking personality. Born at Asnières, in France, in 1834, Coillard's religious life was formed under the healthy but austere influences of the Revival. He was converted in 1851, studied in Glay, Paris and Strasbourg, and was sent to Basutoland in 1857. He was stationed at Leribé, in an entirely pagan district, to start a new work at Chief Molapo's village, where he stayed more than two years, quite alone, far away from civilization and from the company of his colleagues. He was not yet married. Those years of loneliness amongst a primitive tribe played a great part in Coillard's development. His full mastery of the Suto language, his thorough acquaintance with Suto customs and thoughts, were no doubt owing to that intimate intercourse with Natives which was forced upon him by these special circumstances. But in 1861 he married Christina Mackintosh who became the inspiring and devoted companion of his life. What the career of these two courageous pioneers was, how they were expelled for a time from their station, how they had finally to leave Basutoland to start the Zambezi Mission—a long and painful undertaking which took more than ten years—this book tells us in picturesque chapters. Mr Shillito says of this life full of surprises but wholly dominated by a spirit of obedience:

> François Coillard loved to say that when you are dealing with God you are never sure what is going to happen next. He proved the truth of this assertion in his own life. Fitted to be the pastor of a home church, he stood before heathen chiefs in Africa and spoke in the manner of an Old Testament prophet; timid and quiet by nature, he faced without flinching perils of rivers, perils of the desert, perils of wild beasts and bloodthirsty chiefs; a lover of home, he knew for years no abiding place; a Frenchman, he spent the greater part of his long missionary life under the flag of Britain.

The founding of the Zambezi mission is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of modern missions. Perhaps some mistakes were made in this wonderful undertaking; but only those who do

nothing do not commit mistakes. In fact, the establishment of a regular, strong Christian mission at the door of Lewanika's capital is a feat which would have been impossible except for the wisdom, the indomitable will, the faith and the spirit of entire consecration of Coillard and his colleagues ; the story is one which may well inspire a younger generation and fill it with enthusiasm. A feature in Coillard's religious life, upon which Mr Shillito rightly insists, is the profound interest which the missionary had in individual souls. As a boy he could pray for the salvation of a friend as if it were a matter of life or death for him. Later on he directed all the energies of this power of intercession on the heathen chief Lewanika. What a struggle it was ! The description of it in Chapter XII is well worth reading. Coillard had a high ideal : the foundation of a native Church, based on the truly spiritual conversion of its members. He could not remain contented with the social reforms which the mission accomplished in Barotseland and which might have been described somewhat more fully in this book. The Church of the Zambezi is very small yet, as regards the number of its converts. This shows that Coillard's followers are faithful to his principles and patiently wait till their labours are crowned with real change of heart.

The writer of this review may be allowed to record a personal reminiscence. In 1896, Coillard returned to Europe, to ask for fifteen new missionaries and for the means of establishing the Zambezi Mission according to his plans. Some people considered those plans as somewhat imprudent. The Swiss Student's Christian Association was assembled at Sainte-Croix for its autumn session, and the great missionary climbed the mountain-side to address it. These are some of the words he spoke :

> Lately I was passing through Kimberley ; the whole town was in a state of commotion ; a great discovery had just been made, a splendid, enormous diamond, which everybody admired, and lo ! that diamond was black. And I saw at once that this was really the significance of the missionary enterprise . . . the gathering amongst the rocks and deserts of African hearts, of black diamonds for the crown of the Lord.

Missionaries who consider a heathen soul as a diamond worth any amount of toil and who are ready to give their lives for it, are the men likely to win Africa for Christ.

HENRI A. JUNOD

GENEVA

A SAINT OF THE SAHARA

CHARLES DE FOUCAULD: HERMIT AND EXPLORER. By RENÉ BAZIN. Translated by PETER KEELAN. London: Oates & Washbourne. 12s 6d.

AN English translation of this remarkable book [1] is very welcome, even though the translation itself cannot be called quite satisfactory. All who can should read it in René Bazin's beautiful French. Apart from its exceptional interest, the book has much to teach all those who are concerned with missionary problems. Charles de Foucauld was an extraordinary character, and his life is told with rare literary skill by M. René Bazin, partly through his own letters and diaries and partly through the records of those who knew and loved him. We are brought very close to the man himself. Born of a noble French family his youth was stormy and self-indulgent, he first showed his courage and enterprise as a lieutenant in the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and there developed that passion for Africa which filled his life, and he formed the resolution that he would not leave Africa without having studied it. He prepared himself for exploration in Morocco by a study of Arabic and Hebrew, travelled disguised as a Jewish Rabbi, and during a journey full of hardship took careful scientific observations of the country. The result of this journey was an important book, highly esteemed in scientific quarters. It was shortly after his return from it that he was converted, and his conversion was followed by the determination to devote himself entirely to the service of God. He first entered a Trappist monastery in France, but that could not satisfy him, and he sought greater solitude and opportunity for self-denial in a Trappist monastery in the Holy Land. His longing was to lead a hermit's life. This he eventually did for some time in Nazareth and Jerusalem. He planned to spend his life in the Holy Land as a hermit, but the call came to him to be ordained priest and for this purpose he came back to France to complete his studies. Once ordained he sought permission to go to Africa and there to live as a monk in the Sahara, giving spiritual help to the French soldiers who were without a chaplain.

He lived fifteen years in different little huts which he built for himself, going always farther into the remote oases of the Sahara. He had a passionate love of solitude, and it was by the example of a life of holiness and prayer that he hoped to win others to Christ. The French officers who came across him were deeply impressed by

[1] See IRM, 1922 (Apr.), Bib. No. 105.

' his personal holiness and radiation of holiness among the natives.' He felt the romance of the French African empire and its call to French patriotism as an opportunity for spreading French ideals of civilization. For him civilization ' consists of two things, education and gentleness.' He believed that the wild tribes of the desert must be civilized and educated before they could become Christians. So he did not actually preach to the Moslems, he thought that they should be gradually attracted by kindness and by the exhibition of Christian love to desire more light. He felt that their conversion must be the work of long years and that he was only preparing the way for those who would follow him. His letters and notes about the conversion of the Moslems are full of wise suggestion, and must be helpful to all those who have to face this difficult problem, whether they agree with him or not. He knew clearly what he wanted. He desired the foundation of an Order of Little Brothers of the Sacred Heart who would not ' directly preach the Gospel, but would make it known, admired and loved by the life of prayer, charity, and poverty that they would lead among Musulmans.' But he found none to join him, and lived alone to the last. His life was one of constant prayer, charity, and study, lived under conditions of hardship and self-denial which few could be brave enough to face, but he was always happy. There is no word of complaint in his letters, no thought of self. He worked hard at translating the Gospel into the language of the Tuaregs and made a lexicon of this language which is left to help the work of those who follow him. He knew the people and their needs with an intimacy which must help others to understand them. His sense of the immense responsibility of colonizing nations is again and again expressed. Many students of missionary methods will doubtless disagree with him, but all must find much to learn from his words and his example. His life is a challenge to us all. During the unrest amongst the Saharan tribes at the time of the war, Foucauld refused to seek safety. He was killed by a band of hostile Tuaregs, probably in desire for plunder, in 1916. He died alone without a word or a groan, and is reverenced by Moslems as well as by Christians as a saint.

The usefulness of the book would have been much increased by the presence of a map and an index.

LOUISE CREIGHTON

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CHINA

China in the Family of Nations. By Henry T. Hodgkin. London: Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. New York: Doran. $2. 1923.

China Yesterday and To-Day. By Edward Thomas Williams. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. $4. 1923.

Both of these books are meant to be introductions to the China of to-day. They are, however, quite different in their size and plan. Mr Hodgkin has confined what he has to say to a little over two hundred and fifty pages. He writes for the general reader and so prefaces his book with four brief chapters describing the outstanding characteristics of Chinese character, civilization and history, and summarizing the story of China's intercourse with the West and the attendant changes. The bulk of his volume is given to the narration of what has happened to China under the Republic, to China's recent relations with Japan, Europe and America, to the beginnings of the industrialization of China, and to the new intellectual movements in the land. Mr Hodgkin is, of course, profoundly interested in Christian missions, but for his purpose in this particular volume he does not discuss them at length.

The outstanding characteristics of the book are its fairness, its insight, and its clarity of exposition. Mr Hodgkin's sympathies are frankly with China, but he is not blind to her weaknesses nor forgetful of the circumstances and factors which must qualify any condemnation of those who have done her injury. In a day when the fashion for friends of China is to vent themselves in philippics against Japan, he writes of the latter country with rare objectivity. He has thought through so carefully the situation as he sees it, and has stated it so clearly that his pages can be read with profit both by those who come to the subject with no previous acquaintance with China and by those familiar with the country.

The book is not without its weaknesses. No writer can attempt to summarize in fifty-five pages, as Mr Hodgkin has done, the history of China during three thousand years and the outstanding features of its people and its culture without laying himself open to criticism. He has, moreover, been guilty of some misstatements. The instances of religious persecution have not been 'few,' as is said on page 43, but, as De Groot showed some years ago, decidedly many. On pages 44 and 45 Nestorian missions are held to be 'the one notable exception' to the failure of intercourse with

the Græco-Roman civilization to have 'any deep influence on China.' There is, unfortunately, no proof as yet that Nestorianism is such an exception. Criticisms on the moot question of romanization are sometimes captious, but the usual forms for the name of the recent president are Li Yüan Hung or Li Yuan Hung, and not Li Yuen Hung (pp. 86 and 96). The author, usually so scrupulously fair, shows himself not entirely free from national bias when he writes of the Boxer indemnity (p. 163): 'It is said that America claimed more than her losses, while Britain very carefully estimated her losses and only claimed a fair amount.' This statement, while literally true, leaves so entirely unnoticed the benevolent reason back of the American action in fixing the sum allocated to her in the indemnity, and insinuates the act to be so unworthy, as to be, to any one familiar with the history of the post-Boxer negotiations, patently unjust. It is, however, a rare author who can ensure his manuscript to be free from errors or who can entirely divest himself of prejudice, and there is no fairer treatment of recent and present-day China than in this volume.

The book by Professor Williams is larger and more ambitious than that by Mr Hodgkin, but it is, one is sorry to say, less satisfactory. Dr Williams is amply qualified to write on China. He had a long residence in the country, first as a missionary and then in the service of the United States Government; he was later attached to the State Department in Washington; he had intimate relations with the Versailles settlement—with whose Shantung clauses he thoroughly disagreed—and with the Washington Conference; and at the present time he is Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California. Over half of his volume is given to a description of Chinese culture and institutions, both as they existed in former days and as they have been modified by recent changes. Some of these chapters are illuminating and informing, and all are interesting, for they are filled with a wealth of illustration from his own intimate knowledge of Chinese life. They are, however, poorly proportioned, and are guilty of serious omissions. For example, the local political organization is well described, but neither the machinery nor the theory of the national government are more than hinted at. Literature and art, too, are spoken of only incidentally. The chapter on Buddhism is poor and contains obvious inaccuracies. The author has been too certain in his treatment of the origin of the Chinese and their culture.

The latter half of Professor Williams' book is an account of foreign intercourse with China and of the changes wrought by it. Here his narrative follows the traditional lines of diplomacy, politics and commerce. Except for an occasional piece of gossip or a relatively trivial incident, he adds little or nothing to our knowledge of a story that has been retold many times. He gives no hint of the significance of the missionary enterprise and when he mentions Nestorianism a third of his statements are wrong. He seems blind to the great intellectual revolution of the past few years and to the full nature of the changes that contact with the West has wrought. For him the adventurer Ward has much more significance than the scholar Hu Su. His own insight and sympathy are much greater than he has allowed the reader to discover, and it is unfortunate that this, his major published work, should fall so far short of his scholarship and his attainments in diplomacy. With all of its weaknesses, however, the volume makes pleasant reading, and in some of its earlier chapters is distinctly fresh and stimulating.

If one wished for a combination of the two volumes, it would be well to read the first half of Professor Williams' book, and follow this with all but the first three chapters of Mr Hodgkin's book. The two so used would give a good picture of the China of to-day.

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A CHINESE PHILOSOPHER

The Philosophy of Human Nature. By Chu Hsi. Translated from the Chinese by J. P. Bruce. 36s. 1922.

Chu Hsi and His Masters. By J. P. Bruce, D.Lit. 24s. London: Probsthain. 1923.

These are volumes ten and eleven in Probsthain's Oriental Series. The first is a translation of books 42–48 of the standard edition of the great philosopher's works on *Mental and Moral Philosophy.* It gives almost verbatim records of the teacher's lectures as reported by some of his most trusted disciples. Among others, the following subjects are dealt with: the physical nature, mind, will, the moral law, love, righteousness, truth, and kindred subjects. The second volume is an Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Philosophy, and is the thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of

Literature in the University of London. There is a fairly complete treatment of the lives, teachings and influence, of the leaders of thought at that period, and their teachings are analysed and expounded, the chief subjects being the theory of the universe, the first cause, evolution of the cosmos, human nature, the mind, the moral order, the theistic opinions of the school, and others closely allied thereto. There are copious footnotes and quotations in the first, and a comprehensive bibliography in the second.

Chu Hsi lived A.D. 1130 to 1200. Much of his teaching deals with the works of his predecessors, which he expounds, controverts, approves or illustrates. He also develops much of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius in particular. His was an independent and acute mind, and where he differs from others he gives strong and convincing reasons for his own view. Chu Hsi was one of the greatest thinkers the world has ever known. His style is simple and clear and has been for generations the model for all scholars in China. His writings though lucid in the original are not always easy to grasp by Westerners, the plane on which he moved differing so greatly from western standards, and he lived in an age when men were groping for an ampler air and a firmer foothold. To Chinese there is no ambiguity, but western people need patience and skill to study and analyse the writings before they can be fully and adequately understood. In English one book is complementary to the other, and both are essential to a full understanding and appreciation of Chinese philosophy during its Golden Age.

We doubt whether anywhere in Europe or America, in any language, there can be found such an authoritative exposition of the essentials of the teachings of the Sung period, or, indeed, of any other period, and particularly of its leading exponent the great Chu Hsi. This alone places Dr Bruce among the front rank of Sinologues. These volumes are invaluable guides to all those who desire a knowledge at once exact and scientific of Chinese thought in the years of its splendour. The writer constantly displays the handiwork of a scholarly mind, whose reasoning is incisive, and though ofttimes the subject matter is profound the exposition is terse and sure. His thorough knowledge of the original texts, his constant fairness and well balanced argument, are proved on every page. The reviewer had occasion to examine the original texts in dozens of cases, and each proved to be without error.

We congratulate Messrs Probsthain on the general appearance

and handiness of the volumes, and on the excellent work which has been done in the printing of books with many Chinese quotations; printers' errors are conspicuous by their absence, and this is the more remarkable when we learn that the author was in China when the books passed through the press in England. We congratulate Dr Bruce on the successful accomplishment of a task which has involved incessant and often trying research work during many years. It has been well said that Dr Bruce has done for philosophy what Legge did for the Classics. Dr Bruce does not agree with Legge and other Sinologues on the meanings of certain words in the most intricate classical language of China, but there can be no manner of doubt that the others would, in most cases, admit the superiority of Dr Bruce's interpretation. We commend this virile and competent work, in two volumes, to the careful study of all interested in Chinese thought.

W. Hopkyn Rees

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A NEW BOOK ON SHINTOISM

Shin-tō. The Way of the Gods in Japan. According to the printed and unprinted Reports of the Japanese Jesuit Missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. By George Schurhammer, S.J. Illustrations and Plates. Bonn and Leipzig: Schroeder. 1923.

The appearance of a new volume on Shintoism—and an unusually big volume at that!—might be described as epoch-making and sensational by those who are inclined to take the rather impressive publisher's announcement with which it makes its appearance more seriously than is usually done. It would hardly have been thought possible that at the present time a new and extensive work on the old national religion of Japan could be published, except possibly from the pen of some Chauvinist Shinto worshipper, of whom there are not a few in Japan to-day. Or if there had been any expectation in the direction of religious and scientific authorship, it would at the most have been of a continuation of Revon's *Le Shintoisme*, of which the first volume, published many years ago, still awaits completion in a sequel.

To those who realize the unexpectedness of this addition to our literature on Shintoism, it will probably come as a still further surprise to read the name of an author for which they are totally

unprepared. It is not that Pater Schurhammer is an obscure writer, but so far as Shintoism is concerned he is certainly not widely known as an authority. Not a few articles from his busy pen on ' Things Japanese ' are to be found in various volumes of well-known publications both old and new, for example in *Stimmen der Zeit*, and in the international review *Anthropos*, but above all in *Katholische Missionen* and in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*. These articles deal with the work of the Jesuit missions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Japan, and with their great founder St Francis Xavier, to whom the present volume is respectfully and lovingly dedicated.

Pater Schurhammer—himself a member of the Society of Jesus—is peculiarly privileged in being able to consult archives which are inaccessible to others and to draw on sources from which valuable conclusions may be obtained. He approaches his subject from this angle, as the reader has already gleaned from the wording of the sub-title of his book. It is only to be regretted that a full meed of praise cannot be conferred on so zealous an inquirer.

Equipped in more than usually opulent style, the imposing volume, the text printed in German and English in parallel columns, must of necessity be sold at a price beyond the reach of the greater number of students. But those desirous to learn do not lose very much by this. It is difficult to see to whom this publication could be of use. It is hardly to be expected that writings of Jesuit Fathers and Brothers in past centuries could shed new light on Shintoism, when we have already had recourse to all the primary sources of detailed information on this subject and have used them to the uttermost. Not a ray of light is to be hoped for from this new quarter. In the days in which St Francis Xavier and his brethren worked as missionaries in Japan, the autochthonous Kami-cult was quite obscured or forced into the background by the foreign religion of Buddha. The author realizes and states the fact. What the early missionaries knew of Shintoism, as expressed in their home reports, was extremely meagre. The author also lays stress on this fact. The aim of Schurhammer's work was to arrange and collate this meagre information as a coherent whole, but even his material was not collected from such original archives as had been hitherto inaccessible and undiscovered. They had all been thoroughly exploited in past centuries in the old historical compilations of Solier, Crasset, Bartoli, Charlevoix, Varen and others, and in the oft-printed collections of Japanese mission letters in a century which was deeply

interested in Japan. According to the statements of the German Engelbert Kaempfer of Lemgo, in his history of Japan published in 1727, these accounts were already antiquated, just as Kaempfer's statements are now antiquated in comparison with the researches of modern European students of Japan, such as Satow, Chamberlain, Aston, Griffis, Florenz, Revon and others, not forgetting Lafcadio Hearn.

It will not be surprising if English readers think that Pater Schurhammer has somewhat overrated the importance of Dr Florenz' contribution to the study of Shintoism, while he has unduly overlooked that of the equally distinguished Mr Aston. The works of the latter appear to be unknown to the author, for it is not conceivable that he should have deliberately ignored the celebrated English authority.

The book contains twelve coloured plates and over a hundred pictures, but they have little or no connexion with the text. They would be justified if the book were called 'The Temples of Nikko and other Holy Places in Japan' instead of 'Shinto.' Even in this case they would only be a poor replica of the illustrations published in 1899 in the beautiful album *The Nikko District*, illustrated by K. Ogawa, with descriptive text by James Murdoch.

H. Haas

Leipzig

DISCIPLE AND APOSTLE

William Goudie. By James Lewis. London: W.M.M.S. 2s. 6d. 1923.
The Life and Labours of Archibald McLean. By W. R. Warren. St Louis: Bethany Press. $1.50. 1923.

The subjects of these two biographies were—as all Christians should be—both disciples and apostles, learners and messengers. But McLean was a disciple in a special sense, being for many years secretary of the missionary society of the large and influential American denomination called Disciples of Christ; while Goudie, though he too was eventually a missionary secretary in England (Wesleyan), was first, for about a quarter of a century, himself an apostle or missionary in India. Each was honoured and loved by the Christians of his own connexion; while both, as became prominent members of the great Edinburgh Conference of 1910, were large-minded and large-hearted men, true fellow-soldiers in

the one army of Christ. In yet another way they were alike, for both were Highlanders by descent. McLean's forbears are mentioned in Boswell's classical *Narrative of Johnson's Tour in the Hebrides*, the clan traditions indeed going back 700 years, though he was born in Prince Edward's Island, whither his grandfather and father had emigrated, making him in fact a Canadian. But Goudie was actually a Shetlander by birth.

The two books are very different. Mr Lewis's memoir of William Goudie is a modest volume, brightly and sympathetically written. Half its pages describe his devoted labours among the Tamil and Telugu people of South India, of which the picture is so drawn as to give the English reader a vivid realization of the lives of the rural population. The account of his later years at home will remind many of us of his ever welcome presence at the united gatherings now happily so common. After some years of fine service in his society, in the Centenary of which he had a large share, his sudden death in 1922 caused genuine sorrow.

The memoir of Archibald McLean is a much larger volume, handsomely got up, skilfully arranged, and full of details of great interest to American Disciples of Christ. Mr McLean was first a student, and afterwards Principal, of Bethany College, a denominational institution near Cincinnati; but after that, for nearly forty years, he was in fact 'Chief Executive' (as the publishers' wrapper phrases it) of the missionary society. This society has missions—small relatively—not only in Asia and Africa and South America, but in Europe also, presumably for the spread of the particular teachings of the Disciples. Mr McLean, with untiring energy, visited all, or nearly all, these mission fields to stir up and encourage the workers there; but his great task was by voice and by pen to arouse his Church to interest and zeal in the cause of evangelization abroad. In fulfilling this duty, he exhibited his wide knowledge and appreciation of other and larger missions. He gave, and published, lectures on Uganda and the New Hebrides, and on the lives of Martyn, Carey, Duff, Schwartz, Moffat, Bishop Patteson, etc. It is clear that Mr Warren, the author, is justified in praising him for uncommon gentleness and modesty as well as for strength of purpose and success in accomplishing his plans.

EUGENE STOCK

BOURNEMOUTH

L.M.S. AND B.M.S.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE L.M.S. 1895–1920. By A. T. S. JAMES, M.Sc. London: L.M.S. 2s. 6d. 1923.

A HISTORY OF BRITISH BAPTISTS. By W. T. WHITLEY, LL.D., F.R.Hist.S. London: Griffin. 10s. 6d. 1923.

THE History of the London Missionary Society for its first hundred years was written by the late Silvester Horne for the Centenary Commemoration in 1895. The volume now before us brings the story down to 1920, and will be heartily welcomed by all who know the previous deeply interesting work. As a literary production it is excellent; as a review, not only of the missions but of the mission field, it is full of valuable information and judicious comment; as a story of work done it is well-balanced, honest, and calling both for thanksgiving and for sympathy.

The initials L.M.S. always suggest Polynesia, South Africa and Madagascar, and China, remembering the great names of John Williams, Chalmers (Tamate) and Lawes, Moffat and Livingstone, Robert Morrison and Griffith John. The leaders in India have been less well known, though there have been noble men among them. Yet to India is allotted the first chapter in this book, and the methods and problems of Indian work are treated with special care and ability. L.M.S. congregations have had no hesitation in joining the South Indian United Church; in China they have taken their due place in union movements. Among memories of 'Edinburgh'—the great Conference there in 1910—none is more pleasant than the delightful speeches of Dr Cheng Ching Yi, the L.M.S. pastor at Peking, to whom was last year accorded the high distinction of the chairmanship of the National Christian Conference at Shanghai. But none of Mr James's chapters are more interesting than those which take us to two of the three largest islands on the globe, Papua and Madagascar (Borneo is the other). The Madagascar story shows us the painful difficulties that arose from the French occupation, and Papua the cannibalism that closed the career of Chalmers — both within the twenty-five years under review. Another event of the period is sad in a different way—the abandonment of Mongolia after Gilmour's romantic journeys there, of which the *Spectator* said that Robinson Crusoe had been a missionary and written the narrative.

The Baptist History is a larger volume, and in a sense much

more important, being in fact a general history of the Baptist Church or Churches, and full of curious information gathered with rare industry. But Baptist missions, naturally, in such a book, occupy only a relatively small space, and the notices of them have less value from our point of view in these pages. There is a chapter on 'Overseas Dominions,' Canada, South Africa, Australia; a brief account of Carey and his comrades and successors; and incidental references to work in China, on the Congo, etc. But there is a frequent insistence on the three great principles of the denomination, viz. the doctrine of the Church, the baptism of believers only, the duty of world-wide propagation. The book is very exceptionally interesting as a detailed history of one of the great Protestant communions, with its struggle against what is called 'the fetish of Independency,' its efforts for unity, its divisions nevertheless. Members of other communions will find it, as the present reviewer has found it, replete with lessons, even for those least able to accept the system so skilfully set forth, and again and again correcting grave misconceptions.

EUGENE STOCK

BOURNEMOUTH

SHORTER NOTICES

The China Year Book, 1923. Edited by H. G. W. Woodhead. (Tientsin: Tientsin Press. $12.50 Mex. London: Simpkin, Marshall. 35s. New York: Dutton. 1923.) The preparation of an annual reference book in China is an excessively laborious task because of the difficulty, often the impossibility, of securing reliable information. This suggests the unusual value of this year book, for it makes readily accessible an enormous amount of important information which the ordinary person and even most of the best informed individuals could not easily obtain in any other way. A great debt of thanks is due to the editor and his staff. For those interested in missionary work, the book contains much of special interest, in addition to the very large amount of general information regarding China that will be of value to all who want to know about that country, its recent history, commerce, government, and so on. For example, the long list of newspapers and periodicals, or the chapter on the post office, are evidence of the rapid progress that is being made in these lines of the development of modern China. The list of factories suggests the beginning of modern industrialism in

this land of ancient handicraft. The chapter on education is much too brief, but even so it contains useful information. The section on opium describes the present situation. Dr Wu Lien-teh contributes a particularly valuable chapter on 'Medical Progress.' In the chapter on 'Religion' we are disappointed in finding a very inadequate statement of Christian missionary work, or of the present strength and influence of the Church. It would seem that knowledge of these facts has not yet penetrated to the Treaty Port in which the editor lives. The 'Who's Who in China' is the best that we know of. The statement on 'China at the Washington Conference,' with the text of the treaties and the summary and documents of the negotiations for the rendition of Shantung, will be much appreciated for convenient reference.

Directory of Protestant Missions in China. Edited for the National Christian Council. (Shanghai: Kwang Hsueh Publishing House. Mex. $2.30. 1923.) This is as complete and satisfactory a directory of missionaries as is published on any field. The names of all missionaries are given with their Chinese equivalents, and are arranged in three sections, grouped denominationally, arranged by provinces and cities, and arranged alphabetically. Finally, another section gives the lists of important national committees and organizations. An important supplement to the book, costing Mex. $.50, is the map of China showing the location of every station mentioned in the Directory. A. L. W.

The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa, 1923. Edited by D. C. Holtom. (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan. London: R.T.S. New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel, 25 Madison Avenue.) *The China Mission Year Book, 1923.* Edited by Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society.) These two volumes are a joy to the student. Year by year they take their place without challenge in the foremost rank of the books which equip the thinker and worker for his task. The two current volumes —the twenty-first from Japan, the eleventh from China—are more useful than ever. But to attempt even a chronicle of their contents is a serious task. Nor would such categories do justice to the excellence of both year books. It is not the range of the topics but the thoughtfulness of the presentation which is noteworthy. We congratulate editors and contributors on the really high-grade work

they have accomplished, no less than we congratulate ourselves on having such volumes on our reference bookshelves.

The Ethics of Feminism. By A. R. Wadia. (London: Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. 1923.) The author is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Lahore, and, according to the publisher's announcement, writes 'from the point of view of the Indian conception of the family.' There is one chapter dealing with 'Womanhood in the East' and some account of customs in India and elsewhere under 'The Evolution of Marriage.' For the rest, the book is a somewhat exaggerated indictment of the modern woman and her ways, and an amplification of Goethe's saying, quoted on the title page, 'Marriage is the beginning and acme of all culture.' Professor Wadia is alarmed by what he calls the revolt of woman; he finds grave danger in the opening to her of university education, industrial work and the professions, and considers that by these and other influences home life is grievously imperilled. There is always some truth in his contentions, and those who are not wearied by repetitions and contradictions will welcome his high ideals of human relationships, the place he gives to women, and his strong conviction of the sanctity of family life. In view of such a sentence as this on the opening page—'The religion of the Bible, which once seemed to have been built on a rock fathoms deep, is slowly receding into the background, shorn alike of its prestige and its power'—it is interesting to note how again and again he recognizes Christianity as the source of the ideals which he upholds.

The Home and Health in India and the Tropical Colonies. By Kate Platt, M.D. (London: Ballière, Tindall & Cox. 5s. 1923.) The writer of this sensible book has first-hand knowledge of her subject, having been Principal of the Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital for Women at Delhi. Every woman going to India, and especially every married woman missionary, will welcome sound advice regarding outfit; travelling; the management of the household; food, feeding, nerves, health and illness of the infant and child; skin troubles—and much more. G. A. G.

A Burmese Arcady: An Account of a long and intimate Sojourn amongst the Mountain Dwellers of the Burmese Hinterland. By Major C. M. Enriquez. (London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1923.) This book is devoted chiefly to a study of the Kachins, a hill-people of

Tibeto-Burman origin on the north-east frontier of Burma. For three years the author travelled incessantly, chiefly for purposes of recruiting, in all parts of Burma. He places a high value upon military service with its restraint and discipline in the development of the races of Burma. Though he attaches importance to the discovery of military instincts in new races because they give promise of the reinforcement of man-power, his attitude to Burma and its peoples is that of an observer who desires to understand that he may uplift. He pays a full tribute to the missionaries who are, he says, ' the real educating influence all over Burma.'

Persian Women and Their Ways : The Experiences and Impressions of a long Sojourn amongst the Women of the Land of the Shah, with an intimate Description of their Characteristics, Customs and Manner of Living. By C. Colliver Rice. (London : Seeley, Service. 21s. 1923.) The sub-title of Mrs Rice's book describes its contents, which will, however, disappoint readers who seek for knowledge which is not merely popular. Fragments of fact and incident, however numerous, lose their value when massed without interpretation. The subject is one of profound interest and significance, and the need still remains for some one with Mrs Rice's opportunities for observation and study to give it more than surface treatment. Mrs Rice is to be congratulated on her pleasant style of narration and the publishers on the appearance of the volume. M. C. G.

The Cage of Gold. By Sita Chatterjee. (Calcutta : Chatterjee. Rs. 2.8. 1923.) Miss Sita Chatterjee, joint author of *Tales from Bengal* which was noticed in this Review last July, is a prominent figure in the intellectual movement of Bengal to-day. Her *Cage of Gold* is a tale which opens well and maintains a high level of description, but it is too uninteresting to enhance her reputation. The writer's style is as accomplished as ever and the translator has rendered it adequately. The original is set for Indian Government examinations and this admirably faithful version can be recommended to any young officials who are looking for ' helps to undergird the ship ' of their Bengali. E. J. T.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, Secretary of the C.M.S. Egypt Mission, edited the survey of 'The Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years in Moslem Lands' which was published in the Review a year ago.

The Rev. W. Meston, B.D., of the United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission, a leading exponent of Indian education, has recently been appointed Principal of the Madras Christian College.

The Rev. R. W. Howard, for some time Education Secretary of the Home Department of the Church Missionary Society, has just accepted a mastership at Eton College.

Mr H. W. Mediwaka is a master at Trinity College, Kandy, and the son of a Kandian Buddhist Chief. He is a specialist on geography and agriculture and an authority in Kandian lore, art and customs.

Mr A. C. Cumaraswamy, B.Sc., London, is a high-caste Tamil of Jaffna and was a representative of India at the Peking Student Conference in April 1922. He is Chairman of the Student Christian Movement in Ceylon. He is on the staff of Trinity College, Kandy, and has acted more than once as Principal.

The Rev. Handley D. Hooper of the Church Missionary Society went to Kahuhia, Kenya Colony, East Africa, in 1916.

The Rev. W. C. Willoughby, F.R.A.I., formerly Principal of Tigerkloof in South Africa, is Professor of Missions in Africa at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Conn., U.S.A.

The Rev. W. Paton, formerly Missionary Secretary of the British Student Christian Movement, went to India under the National Y.M.C.A. He is now one of the Secretaries of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon.

The Secretaries of the National Christian Council of China are: the Right Rev. L. H. Roots, D.D., Bishop of the American Church Mission in Hankow and for nine years Chairman of the China Continuation Committee; Dr H. T. Hodgkin, formerly a missionary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association in West China; the Rev. K. T. Chung, of St John's University, formerly Rector of St Peter's Church, Shanghai; and Miss Y. J. Fan, a graduate of Union Women's College, Peking, recently a travelling secretary of the National Committee of the Y.W.C.A.

Dr H. Kraemer, after completing his studies of the languages and religions of the Malay Archipelago at Leiden University, was sent to Java in 1921 by the Netherlands Bible Society to study Javanese life and customs and to act as advisor to the missionaries.

The Rev. Edward Shillito is Literary Superintendent of the London Missionary Society.

The writers of book reviews are: Missionsinspektor D.Theol. M. Schlunk, Secretary of the Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund; Professor W. Schubring of the University of Hamburg; Professor A. D. Lindsay, C.B.E., who holds the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University; the Rev. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt., of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission at Poona; the Rev. R. E. Hume, Ph.D., Professor of the History of Religions at the Union Theological Seminary, New York; the Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D., Editor of the *Moslem World*; the Rev. E. W. Smith, formerly a missionary in Northern Rhodesia and now Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society; the Rev. Henri A. Junod, of the Mission Romande; Mrs Creighton, author of several biographies and other works; Professor K. S. Latourette, Ph.D., of Yale University; the Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D.D., University Reader in Chinese at the School of Oriental Studies, London; Professor Hans Haas of Leipzig, joint Editor of the *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenchaft*; and Dr Eugene Stock, the historian of the Church Missionary Society.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Professor Arthur Jeffery, Ph.D. (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsinspektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 160.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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See also *31–7* (Japan); *41*, *53* (China); *57* (Java); *67–9* (India); *73* (Temperance); *91* (Race—Africa); *109* (African Trade); *140–1* (Indian Nationalism); *149* (International Missionary Council).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

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THE
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NATIONALITY IN ISLAMIC LANDS

By CHARLES R. WATSON, LL.D.

I

The movement toward nationality seems to have reached the Islamic world at last. 'The English, the Scots, and the French,' says Ramsay Muir, 'are the first three peoples in Europe, and indeed in the world, to be inspired by the spirit of nationality, and to achieve the consolidated organization of the nation-state.' This carries us back, of course, to the thirteenth century. However, the age of nationalism is commonly placed at a much later period, namely, in the nineteenth century, following the French Revolution, by which time the idea and doctrine of nationality had become widely discussed and accepted throughout Europe. It is to this period that belong the nationalization processes of Germany, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Japan, not to mention that constellation of nation-states which have resulted from the Great War.

This movement seems now to have penetrated the Islamic world. We say *seems*, for, of course, it remains to be shown that it is the same movement and that the present-

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day manifestations of it are real and not spurious. Is what we see developing in Egypt, seething in Morocco, Syria and Tunisia, and boldly asserting itself in Turkey, something real or a base imitation of a dazzling Europe or perhaps a mere pretext for something quite different? Upon the answer, especially if we decide that the nationalism of oriental lands is real, will follow many other interesting questions such as: What does this nationalism signify in the sphere of colonial and other political relations to such empires as those of England and France? What does it signify to the Moslem lands themselves in respect to their future development, their social, intellectual and religious life? Finally, what does it mean to the Christian missionary and the missionary movement within these territories which have become nationalized, or are in process of being nationalized?

It may be seen at a glance that the orthodox Moslem conception of the state is at the opposite pole from the modern conception of nationality. In orthodox Islam, the state is a religious organism and organization, in theory, at least; it is likewise universal in its sway. It is a state-church. Its supreme body of law is the Koran and other works based upon the same. The source of its authority is divine. The form of its organization and all its methods of operation are prescribed by revelation. This divine revelation does not limit itself to principles only but covers the most particular details of life and conduct. Nor do any departments of life lie outside these particularizations; this church-state is all-inclusive in its scope. Membership in this Islamic political order is also based solely upon religious faith and confession. Neither is provision made for elements differing religiously. The Jew, the pagan and the Christian are equally excluded from all participation in the affairs of this church-state. If the system of the capitulations was adopted as a device to enable the Islamic world to traffic with foreigners and non-Moslems while preserving the exclusiveness of an Islamic theory,

it is to be noted that this was an unavoidable concession and is in no sense a part of the Islamic theory of the state. Growing out of this religious conception of the state is the further conception of its universal character. The universality extends to believers everywhere. The Moslem state has therefore no geographical frontiers; wherever the Moslem believer establishes himself, there is to be found the kingdom in a temporal and political as well as in a spiritual sense. All who have lived in Moslem lands for any considerable number of years appreciate the stern realities that lie behind the foregoing description of the Moslem state. The religious character of all Moslem political thinking and action in the past is beyond all dispute. Religious phrases colour all conversation. Religious motives are constantly appealed to. Religious considerations are ever being urged. Religious ceremonies punctuate daily life. Religious titles are conferred by way of honour, as religious curses are accounted the most damning by way of execration.

Now is there any shift from this position in Moslem lands? If there is a shift, any considerable shift, then it behoves us to characterize it and to explain it. There are those who believe that the word Nationalism best characterizes and best explains the shift that is taking place.

Two outstanding changes are noticeable in Islamic lands. One is the secularization of political life and thought; the other is its localization within distinct geographical areas.

The secularization of political life and thought in Moslem lands is manifesting itself in many ways. It may be seen in the constantly enlarging spheres within which Moslem religious law has been declared or recognized as inoperable. The penal code of most Moslem lands, for example, is no longer that of strict Islam. Thieves no longer have their hands cut off. Women caught in adultery are no longer stoned. This large sphere in the administration of public justice is no longer subject to strict Islamic ideals. Similarly, commercial law has undergone profound modernizing

influences which contravene the Moslem state theory. Courts of appeals, likewise, are being tolerated and even rapidly developed to adjudicate between Moslems and non-Moslems, in which all the ideals of the Moslem state are contradicted. The sphere within which the *cadi* may administer religious law is becoming steadily circumscribed. New codes, based upon European models, are being formulated and adopted; these set aside increasingly the domination of Koranic law. In many instances, where such codes have not yet been adopted, there is frank and unceremonious interference with the operation of Koranic law by those who administer public affairs in Moslem lands. Sometimes the pressure brought to bear to effect these changes is foreign and non-Moslem, but in many instances the changes are brought about under progressive Moslem auspices. To read the recently promulgated Constitution of Egypt is to realize how far removed is this newly organized Moslem state from the old orthodox Moslem church-state ideal. Here we read, 'All Egyptians are equal before the law. In the same way they enjoy civil and political rights and are also subject to public duties and responsibilities without distinction of race, language, and religion.' Could anything be more subversive of orthodox Moslem ideals, when we remember that the country contains a considerable minority of Christians? Everywhere, in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, this trend toward secularization is evident in political life and thought, while Turkey explodes the heaviest charge of dynamite that has ever been used in blasting away the rock of Moslem political conservatism. Turkey has secularized the former functions of the Caliphate and has limited the Caliph to purely religious affairs.

Parallelling this secularizing trend in Moslem lands there has appeared another tendency. It is the tendency toward the localization of thought and interest within the limit of national geographical boundaries. The old horizon of political thought was, as has been pointed out, co-extensive with the pan-Islamic world, because the real empire

of Islam transcended local geographical boundaries. Now there appears a manifest abatement of interest in that wider realm and an accentuation of interest in the development of the individual country. In some cases there is even a jealousy of or a hostility to adjoining national lands though Moslem. The failure of pan-Islamic appeals during the Great War might well suggest the lowered interest within each country in the universal empire of Islam; national feeling outweighed the sense of loyalty to Islam as a world-kingdom. Recently also the quarrel of Egypt with the Government at Mecca over the Sacred Carpet betrayed the decline of Moslem solidarity and the increase of national jealousy. In public discussions, in formal documents such as the new Egyptian Constitution, and in the political thinking of the rising generation there is this same trend. This new point of view is none other than that of nationalism. In a recent article on 'The Moslem Empire and Nationalism,' in *La Revue Contemporaine*, Edmond Doutté emphasizes the contradiction between this nationalistic point of view and the old orthodox view of the state. He says:

> The Caliphate has no frontiers; theoretically it is universal like Islam itself. One enters it through a confession of faith, not by virtue of habitat. The idea of nation, on the contrary, presupposes a territorial basis; the *jus soli* prevails here or tends to prevail. Religion, though conceived in universal terms, is no longer a controlling factor. These two conceptions appear irreconcilable: meanwhile, the Moslem states which have broken away from the ancient Caliphate are actually developing into nations.

This writer gives Morocco as a very interesting illustration of the absence of territorial boundaries in the orthodox Moslem conception of a state. This country has no real territorial designation in Arabic. Its Caliph was described in the treaty of 1845 merely as the Sultan of Fez, Marrakesh and Sous. Only recently and under French influence, there was invented the descriptive phrase 'Maghrib el Aksa' to cover the territory which we call Morocco. He adds that this assignment of a name marks also the development of a national self-consciousness in Morocco.

Whether all these changes prove the birth of nationality in the several areas of the Moslem world may still be questioned by some. Many have undertaken to analyse the constituent elements of genuine nationality. Since Mill defined nationality in 1862 in his *Representative Government* down to an elaborate study of the subject by Arnold Van Gennep which is even yet in process of appearing, there is to be found a wide range of standards by which the genuineness or security of nationhood may be measured, but after all little can be proved by such detailed tests. Let us take Egypt as an example. Is it linguistic unity that is required? Egypt can satisfy this test one hundred per cent, although Switzerland would seem to suggest this requirement as after all non-essential. Is it religious unity that is required? Here again we find over 91 per cent of the population adherents of one faith, while we have to remember that national unity in both Germany and England has not been seriously affected by strong religious differences within these populations. Is it identity of racial type that is called for? The strong impress of climate and physical environment upon the diverse races that have been living undisturbed in Egypt for so many centuries has eliminated any important racial differences that may have existed originally, and in any case these differences are not greater than those that have entered into the national life of Belgium, Switzerland and especially the United States. Or is it an identity of economic interests that is needed? No more satisfying response could be given by any existing nation than can be furnished by the common agricultural interests of the whole of the Nile Valley. Yet all are agreed that these things cannot, of themselves, create nationhood. Muir makes this comment:

> Some, at least, of these ties of affinity, the people that claims nationhood must possess, but no one of them is essential, or can be used as a certain criterion. How then, are we ever to be able to determine, in any given case, whether the claim to nationhood holds good or not? To that question it is impossible to give an exact answer. The history of the national idea shows that each nation in turn has had to prove its right to nationhood.

If this be so, the final proof of the genuineness of the nationalistic developments which we are witnessing in the Moslem world to-day must be left for the future to establish. For the present, however, it may be legitimately claimed that a strong presumption exists in favour of the genuineness of the movement toward nationality in Moslem lands, and the question may be taken up, What do these nationalizing processes signify for the Moslem lands which are being affected by them ?

In reviewing the history of nationalism in Europe one cannot fail to be impressed by the tremendous dynamic of the movement. The spirit of nationality has been powerful and creative to a remarkable degree. In many lands, it has come like the breath of life awakening the dead. How dramatic were the events in France in the latter part of the eighteenth century; what volcanic energies were aroused. How pure was the idealism that so often burned, if but for a moment, as when the Convention under the spell of this new consciousness of nationality voted ' to assist all peoples who wished to recover their liberty.' In Germany, the coming of nationality brought an intellectual awakening without parallel in the life of the people. New songs were born to give expression to the new national enthusiasm. A new passion for the study of history contributed to the recently awakened national feeling, story and legend, history and literature, which strengthened and enriched the national development. Equally significant was the awakening that accompanied the movement toward national self-realization in Italy. There appeared noble and high-minded writers like Mazzini, soldiers of lofty and unselfish purpose like Garibaldi, astute and powerful statesmen like Cavour, while the people themselves, deeply moved by this challenging call of Italian nationality, dedicated life itself with abandon to the achievement of national unity. It is not necessary to point out similar awakenings connected with the achievement of Bulgarian, Serbian, Rumanian and other national developments.

In Moslem lands, where the spirit of nationality has appeared there are signs of a similar intellectual awakening. Never has there been such avidity for literature. The recent survey of Christian literature in Moslem lands says:

> To-day from 217 printing-presses, large and small, Egypt pours out a voluminous literature, more journalistic than creative or studious, and including much of what Lord Cromer called 'vague declamation.' Yet, besides her seventy-seven newspapers, an undoubted force in her national life, Cairo sees every year new books of scientific interest, chiefly in translation from European works, Arabic poetry, novels and some forms of history.

And again:

> Cairo newspapers are widely read in the Persian Gulf and play no small part in the formation of public opinion there. Indeed, newspapers from Cairo are read from America to the Philippine Islands.

Similarly, from almost every Moslem land comes the report of an unparalleled eagerness for education. Schools are everywhere overcrowded. There is an almost pathetic faith in education as an open sesame to the realization of all that European progress represents. Add to this interest in literature and education the appearance of innumerable special organizations for the development of national interests: women's clubs, boys' clubs, political parties. Finally, quite apart from these tangible signs of an awakening, there is a manifest open-mindedness, a readiness to consider new proposals, a keenness for debate and discussion, a willingness to make new experiments, which testify to some new spirit animating the public and to the advent of some new stage in human progress. It would be a mistake, however, to regard the period of national self-consciousness as one of unmitigated blessing, for as G. P. Gooch has so well pointed out in his book *Nationalism*:

> The doctrine of nationality, like its twin, the sovereignty of the people, has had a chequered career. Its explosive force has torn unjust treaties to shreds and shattered despotic empires. But it has also fostered savage racial passion and repulsive national arrogance, and the cult of 'sacred egotism' has almost obliterated the sense that civilization is a collective achievement and a common responsibility.

It is not improbable that where European nationalism has been found to bear evil fruit mixed in with the good, nationalism in Moslem lands may also give expression to lamentable excesses and deplorable policies. Events in Turkey have furnished most regrettable illustration of this statement.

II

The question may now be asked, What should be the attitude of the missionary in Moslem lands toward nationalism? Three attitudes at least are obtaining in missionary circles, usually quite unconsciously on the part of those who entertain them.

First, there is the attitude of *indifference*. There are those who say, or seem to say, 'This is not the missionary's business. His business is to deal with individuals and to preach the Gospel. It is none of his business to dabble in politics.' This answer is unsatisfactory chiefly because of its implications. To be sure it is our chief business to reach individuals, but individuals can only be reached by establishing a point of contact with them, and among the strongest personalities to be reached are those who live and move within the circle of nationalism. Furthermore, what is the Gospel which we are to preach? If it has our Lord's world-outlook upon 'all nations' and has anything in common with the preaching of the Old Testament prophets, it will not fail to include in its right place and proportion the appeal to the national conscience, the vision of national righteousness and the call to national repentance. Such preaching lies at the antipodes of dabbling in politics.

Second, there are those who frankly *distrust the national movement*. They may share in Lord Acton's hostility to it and see in it 'the chief barrier to the realization of the brotherhood of man.' They may endorse Rabindranath Tagore's denunciation of it when he says, 'This nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age and eating into its moral vitality.'

It should be noted, however, that there are some who distrust nationalism in Moslem lands, not at all upon such general principles, but because they fear that nationalism in these lands is merely Islam in disguise. They regard these separate nationalities as merely pan-Islamism broken into bits, with each piece dominated by the same church-state conception of political rule. They see in nationalism no new régime, no new spirit, no deliverance from past oppression. This distrust is to be very carefully considered, for if these fears are well grounded a sad disillusionment awaits the man who puts any trust in present-day nationalistic movements in Moslem lands. In considering these fears it should be admitted at once that nationalism in Moslem lands, even where it is quite genuine, runs a very heavy risk of being overweighted with false notions, the legacy of the church-state order which previously held the field in these lands. Many will be eager to make the life of this newly-born nationality subservient to old-time issues of religious fanaticism. Nor can any one guarantee that this will not take place. Nationality in Europe only slowly and gradually found itself, if, indeed, it has yet attained. Decades after the rising spirit of nationality had incarnated itself in Joan of Arc, there came St Bartholomew's Day, but that deplorable lapse does not invalidate the reality of French nationalism nor make French nationality a mere disguise for a church-state. In Moslem lands, as in Europe, it will probably take decades to set this new force free from all the trammels of the past and enable the Egyptian, the Syrian, the Turk, the Moor, to work out the true significance of his national life.

Finally, there is the attitude of *discerning sympathy* which the Christian missionary may maintain toward these nationalistic movements. There is much to recommend such an attitude. History supports the view that nationalism marks a new stage in the life of a people and with it are born new impulses, new longings and expectations, the spirit of inquiry and open-mindedness. Would it not be a

thousand pities for the missionary enterprise to fail to avail itself of this new force in a country's life? Through an attitude of sympathy a point of contact may be found with the masses, as also with many of the strongest personalities among the rising generation. By such an attitude, the missionary can fulfil the law of Christ to serve men's needs, for at no time have Moslem lands needed help more acutely than in their present groping after this intangible thing called nationality, which they apprehend but dimly and will so easily conceive of wrongly. By such an attitude alone will the missionary be able to set forth to men the whole will of God, for the nation as well as the individual, and show the need for Christ in the reconstruction period of a nation's life.

But the sympathy shown, while whole-hearted and sincere, will need to be *discerning*. It will be necessary to take full measure of the great disadvantages which accrue to the newborn spirit of nationality out of the appallingly low standards of morality and education which have characterized Moslem lands. It will not do to assume for lands that have not had a Christian faith and character the moral resources that belong alone to such national character. The birth of nationality does not in itself change these elemental conditions of social and national life, even though it may afford a unique opportunity for setting in motion forces that can transform these conditions. It will be important to remember the part to be played by time and education and experience in the development of a strong and worthy spirit of nationality. It will be necessary also to recognize that the spirit of nationality in Moslem lands emerges heavily weighted with misconceptions growing out of the dominance in the past of the church-state theory. There will be particular need to work for an even-handed justice toward racial or religious minorities in the new nation-state. An authority on nationalism has pointed out that 'to-day in all western lands, complete freedom of religious opinion is held to be one of the essential notes of a civilized state, and is never found to weaken national

feeling.' If the missionary can help Moslem lands to such a spirit of religious toleration and freedom, what an achievement he will have made. It will be important, finally, to recognize possibilities for evil latent in a misdirected nationalism. There will be need to emphasize the spirit of patriotic altruism and to warn against the selfish spirit of office-seeking which is nothing else than profiteering in national leadership. There will be need, as in every new nation, to check a bombastic development of national organization and to point out the lines of service which really upbuild the nation and enrich her life. There will be need to point out the constant perils to nationalism from overweening pride and arrogance, and the temptation to use the newly acquired power of the nation in bullying or conquering adjoining nations that are militarily weaker. All of this calls for courage, skill, tact and genuine sympathy. Nothing but the spirit of Christ can avail for such an achievement. Here is no holiday task, but rather the task of decades. Here is no human undertaking, but one that calls for divine resources.

In conclusion, the question may be raised as to how the missionary is to give expression to his sympathy with the nationalistic aspirations of the land in which he labours. The first and most obvious way will be in and through his personal contacts with men. How quick the Oriental is to sense whether there is an attitude of sympathy and how quickly he responds to such an attitude. Indeed his perplexity with reference to this new idea of nationality will lead him to crave some contact with the western world and its experience. Of course, such personal contacts will require on the part of the missionary some intelligent grasp of the subject, for he will often find that his visitor has already accumulated some considerable knowledge because of his infatuation with the subject.

Next to personal contacts comes public speech. It may be only occasionally, and even then only incidentally, that the missionary's public messages will deal with nationalism,

but such opportunities will surely come legitimately and when they do come the fullest use should be made of them. The platform, however, from which the missionary enterprise may legitimately and constantly minister to the national development of the country is that of the Christian college and university. Here is a great service which may be rendered by the department of history or of political science through popular lectures and university extension courses. The presence of Christian statesmen from western lands may also be made to serve these same ends through courses of lectures setting forth the Christian ideals for nationality and for international life. The value of sustained educational processes in the development and maintenance of a true spirit of nationality is well set forth in the following statement by a careful student of nationalism: 'Nationality, since it is not solely or even mainly based upon racial homogeneity, can be nursed into existence, even where most of the elements of unity are, to begin with, lacking.'

The supreme expression, however, of sympathy with the oriental movement toward nationality lies not in speech but in action. To say to the Egyptian, to the Syrian, to the Turk, to the Arab, 'We sympathize with you in your national aspirations. We believe you ought to be free ultimately to determine your own national development,' involves more than may be imagined. Consistency requires that the same attitude be taken in other spheres, in respect to the development of the native Church, the development of an indigenous educational program, the development of indigenous lay leadership. Here is where the acid test of the missionary's sympathy will be found. In these spheres practical sympathy with nationalistic aims will cost many a pain of readjustment, of surrender, of forbearance, but the price paid will yield a sense of Christian fellowship, of partnership, of Christian brotherhood, which will mean more for the rapid extension of Christ's Kingdom in these lands than decades can accomplish under the old régime.

CHARLES R. WATSON

THE PRESENTATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO MOSLEMS

By ARTHUR JEFFERY

The problem of all problems to every Christian missionary is the problem of presentation—the problem, that is, of putting the Christian message in such a way as will appeal to and convince those to whom it is addressed. Obviously there are two sides to this problem, first, that of understanding the vital message of Christianity and being able effectively to set it forth ; and second, that of understanding the mind of the one to whom the message is addressed so as to present it in a way that will most surely have the desired effect. Curiously enough it is on the first of these that there is the greatest difference of opinion. Some have insisted that the vital message of Christianity is one thing and some another ; some have emphasized one method of setting it forth and some another. With regard to the second, however, i.e. looking at the message from the point of view of the non-Christian rather than the Christian, all methods, however much they differ from one another in detail, will be found to fall under one of two principles, those of agreement and contrast. Putting ourselves in the position of the non-Christian, looking at the message through his eyes, evaluating it in terms of his religious and social background, we shall find the emphasis falling either on the points of agreement between the Christian message and his own faith, or on the points of contrast. Methods of presentation, therefore, no matter where the emphasis on the Christian side may fall, will always be found to be worked out in terms of these two principles.

Methods of presentation must, therefore, inevitably vary, according to the particular type of non-Christian faith

professed by those with whom one is dealing, for the religious background in each case will be different and the points of agreement and contrast, therefore, different also. The present paper discusses only some peculiarities of the problem of presentation when the message is addressed to Moslems.

The chief peculiarity in the case of Muhammadanism is that its points of contact and agreement so vastly outnumber and outweigh the points of contrast. Islam grew up during our Christian era, borrowed enormously from Jewish and Christian sources during its early development,[1] and indeed had from the beginning much the same monotheistic outlook as Judaism and Christianity, so that it is not remarkable that in it we find so many points of similarity with our message. This, at first sight, would appear to be an enormous advantage to Christian missionaries, who would thus find the way to a large extent prepared for them. The fact, however, is the exact contrary; the peculiar difficulty of the Moslem problem is that many points of contact have robbed us to a large extent of saving points of contrast.

This can best be shown through some examples: [2]

(*a*) As to MONOTHEISM: Unlike the polytheist religions, Islam is an upholder of the unity, and claims to be more rigidly monotheistic than Christianity is. It is the constant claim of the modern Moslem that whereas Christianity in its doctrine of the Trinity has degenerated from the pure faith of monotheism, in Islam this truth has been preserved in all its purity, so it is they who should come with a monotheistic message to Christendom.

Moreover the monotheism of Islam owes its peculiar characteristics to Christianity and Judaism,[3] and thus its doctrine of God moves in the same theological 'atmosphere'

[1] For discussion of Jewish influences, see Geiger's *Was hat Muhammad aus den Judenthume aufgenommen?* (1833); and Becker's *Christentum und Islam* (1907), for proof of the Christian influence.

[2] [By permission of the writer, the manuscript has been somewhat condensed up to the end of Part I, in order to save space.—ED.]

[3] Becker's *Christentum und Islam*, 1907, p. 9.

as ours does. The whole line of approach open to us in dealing with polytheism and idolatry is closed when we come to Moslems, for their doctrine of God is a doctrine not of immanence but of transcendence. 'Your God is one God, there is no God but He' (Sura ii. 158), thunders the Qur'an, as definitely and distinctly as the Deuteronomist. God has no partners, begets not, is the only subject of praise and far removed above all earthly complications; *shirk*, or the contaminating of His isolated uniqueness, is the unpardonable sin. So in dealing with Moslems one fundamental method of our approach to the non-Christian mind, that of our monotheism, seems blocked at the outset.

(*b*) As a second example take our BIBLE. Christianity goes out to the non-Christian world as a religion of a book. It translates its book into the languages (however crude and imperfect) of the people among whom it arrives, and it puts its sacred book into the forefront of its missionary propaganda. This fact denotes two things: That Christianity is a religion of letters, standing for education and enlightenment, and also that Christianity is no esoteric religion. One of its first cares is to translate its Sacred Book into the vernaculars of the people to whom it preaches, and it gives them that Book freely and with no reserve.

It is obvious what these two things mean to us in our Christian propaganda among peoples who are priest-ridden and superstitious. But with Islam this way of approach seems unavailable, for Islam is also a religion of a book, and its book, moreover, is a later one than ours and claims to supersede it, and be itself the latest and final revelation of God to mankind, abrogating all others. Islam also teaches its converts to read its book, and it, like us, disclaims any esoteric source of divine wisdom outside of its book and its experience.[1]

(*c*) Take again our appeal from the fact of our ORGANIZED

[1] Simon's *Islam und Christentum*, 1910, pp. 129, 130. See also Dr Simon's remarks on p. 83 ff. of *The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam*, 1915. He has also dealt with the place of the Qur'an in Muhammadan propaganda in Section II of his more recent work *Der Islam und die Christliche Verkundigung*, 1920.

COMMUNITY. One of the norms of our Founder's teaching was the Kingdom of God; from the very first there was an organized community and there can be no doubt that this 'brotherhood of believers' had a big appeal, and it appeals to-day to the pagan world.

But Islam is also a brotherhood. The most striking illustration of this is the Pilgrimage, where it is realized as one of the great vital forces of Islam. One can easily understand what the effect must be on the individual pilgrim when in the Sacred City he meets men from every quarter of the globe, yet all enthused with the great ceremony at the Holy House. Modern Moslem missionaries in their work among pagan tribes make much of the vast Islamic organization they are asking the pagans to join, and the superiority of this Islamic community to those of Europe.[1] Moreover Muhammadanism presents to the pagan what appears to him as a more real brotherhood than the Christian missionary has to offer. Christianity draws the colour line; Islam does not. And the pagan draws his own conclusions as to the type of brotherhood offered him by each. In this instance again then, it would seem, Muhammadanism cuts from us one of our fundamental avenues of approach to the life of the non-Christian world.

(*d*) One further example we shall find in the case of our claims on behalf of our religion as the religion of a GOD-SENT PROPHET. Christianity was born into and developed in a world which was emphatically demanding an ideal example for human life, who should also be a Saviour. Into this world came the Christians preaching 'nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' And the Christians triumphed because they presented to the world not only an ideal man and a Saviour, but because their ideal man, their Saviour, was a warm and living personality.[2] In this same fact lies one of the great appeals of the Christian missionary to the pagan world.

[1] *Moslem World*, vol. i. p. 13; vol. ii. pp. 391, 392; vol. xi. pp. 300, 302.
[2] Glover's *Conflict of Religions*, pp. 117–8.

But in preaching to Moslems this method of approach is challenged, for Islam too has a Prophet, no mythical Prophet like the Hindu avatars, but a real historical personality whose influence is potent in the experience of his followers. Moreover, it is the claim of Islam that as Muhammad is later than Jesus so he is greater than Jesus, because as a married man, a warrior, a diplomat and in many other ways, he more fully satisfied the human demand for an example. Jesus came to an age of great wickedness with a message of asceticism, thus setting the best possible example for His age. But when Muhammad, the seal of the Prophets, came, he set the example of the all-round man, to which, of course, nothing can be superior.

The results in Muhammadan propaganda are obvious. While Christianity comes to the heathen world with the message of a Prophet who is an ideal example, and calls on man to make the grievously hard effort to follow that example of purity and goodness and truth, Islam comes to them with the example of another and later Prophet which is much in conformity with the native weaknesses of human nature and does not expect too much.

Here then, again, Islam would seem to have cut off our method of approach.

Further points which illustrate the same thesis could be easily found, but these four are sufficient to demonstrate how peculiarly difficult is the problem of presentation when we are face to face with Islam; at first sight it might seem so serious as to be a ground for despair. If these avenues of approach be taken from us, it may well be asked, what have we left? Is there any approach at all to the Moslem world?

The answer is—Yes. There are still open to us avenues of approach to Islam where the points of contact have not overwhelmed the points of contrast. First among these the missionary would probably place the Christian ethic, which is poles asunder from the Moslem ethic, and on which the history of Christian nations as contrasted with Moslem nations is a striking and easily available commentary. But

the present writer would suggest that the most effective avenues of approach are those very ones which have seemed at a first glance to be hopelessly closed to us. Let us look at them.

(*A*) First as to MONOTHEISM: Metaphysics, since the time of the Greeks, has been busied with the problem of the One and the Many, and though it may not, even yet, have furnished a satisfactory solution of the problem, at least it has proved to us that no Absolute can be Real which does not preserve multiplicity in unity. Religion, however, in its quest of the Absolute which it calls God, has ever been, as Ritschl found, impatient of metaphysics, and thus religion in the intensity of its practical life has tended to throw the emphasis on one or the other of the two elements, either bringing out the unity into strong relief as in Judaism, or equally strongly emphasizing the multiplicity as in Hinduism, or like Zoroastrianism falling into a confessed dualism in attempting to do complete justice to both sides. Where the emphasis has been on the side of the Many, the result has been either a nightmare of demonolatry or a plunge into the spiritual morasses of pantheism; where the emphasis has fallen on the One, the tendency has ever been for the One to draw farther and farther away from humanity into a barren abstraction, and religion, thus deprived of its living source of life, to develop into an equally barren and formal ceremonialism.

It is into this latter pit that Islam has fallen, and even Judaism at its worst was never so barren a formalism as is orthodox Islam. The result has been that, as spiritual life cannot live on the dry husks of this formal ceremonialism, wherever and whenever we find vigorous spiritual life in the Muhammadan world we find it taking the form of a revolt against the barrenness of the orthodox monotheism.

The most obvious example of this, of course, is among the Sufis, the mystics of Islam. Sufism commenced as a form of Quietism induced by an overwhelming consciousness of the awfulness of Islam's transcendental God, but largely under Christian influence it discovered in its Quietism a

Way, and following that way it turned from transcendentalism to a pantheism, deposing the one transcendent God and worshipping in His place an indwelling Beloved, whose throne is more in the heart than in the heavens and who dwells amidst His works in all places. This is far enough in all truth from orthodox Islam, but the point of particular interest is that the Sufis were able, in spite of their pantheism and wide divergences from the primitive monotheism, to gain a recognized place for themselves within the fold of orthodoxy. Surely there can be no explanation of this other than that which sees in it an evidence of the consciousness of Islam at large of the unsatisfactoriness of its doctrine of God, and the need of linking a doctrine of immanence with that of transcendence.

Another example will be found in the teaching of the Dervish Orders. These are brotherhoods of a practical mysticism, mysticism of a very low order it is true, but still a practical mysticism. With them the *summum* is the ecstatic union of the soul with God, an ecstasy which all their practices, and particularly the *dhikr*, are designed to attain. How gross the pantheism they reach is may be seen in page after page of the description of their practices given by Depont and Coppolani,[1] a pantheism sometimes culminating in the worship of the Sheikh of the Order as God. Now it is true that in some forms of Dervishism this pantheism is pushed to an extreme, but the point to be emphasized is that it is in these Dervish Orders that the real religious life of Islam lies for vast numbers of Muhammadans. Here in Egypt almost all our servants belong to one or another of the Orders, and are as regular in attendance at the Thursday night *dhikrs* as Christians at home are in attendance at the Thursday night prayer meeting. The real life of Islam as a religion (not as a social system) lies for them not in the orthodox transcendent God but in the immanent God whom they find in the practices of their Order.

There are other evidences one could bring forward, but

[1] *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes.* Alger: 1897.

these suffice to demonstrate that here is a way of approach for the Christian missionary. The barrenness of pure transcendence starves the soul : pure immanence runs to the stagnation of pantheism. But in our Christian Gospel we have the two united in the saving person of Christ—very God of very God, yet born of a woman under the law and tempted in all points like as we are ; Son of God, but equally Son of Man. Nowhere save in Christianity do we find transcendence and immanence so wedded that neither overwhelms the other, where their union is so intimate that one is obviously the complement of the other. And since this is so, Christianity has a very definite message to the Moslem world. The great fact they stress so insistently—the uniqueness of God's unity, we preserve in all its uniqueness, but where they have blindly sought after the complement of this unique unity and have floundered badly in that search, we have found the complement without prejudice to the unity in the incarnate Sonship of Christ.

How we can best bring home to the Moslem world this fact, and most successfully interpret to them our faith in the immanence of the transcendent God, is a much more difficult question. The present writer can only offer a suggestion : that the understanding of our position will come far more through experience than through argumentation. Our intellectual presentation may be logically conclusive, but men are not greatly stirred by logical demonstrations. They are stirred, however, by living experiences, and the writer's own experience is that Moslems have come nearest to being gripped by the truth of our position when they have been in personal contact with Christians who have manifested as great a reverence and awe for the majesty of God as Moslems themselves, and yet live on terms of affectionate intimacy with God such as not even Sufis in their ecstasy ever attain. Indeed it was a Sufi who remarked, ' We too feel like that about God in moments of rapture, but with you it is a habit. How do you do it ? ' The answer of course is ' Jesus,' for *ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος*

and yet σκηνοῖ ἐν ἡμῖν. It is there that the secret of our presentation seems to lie. Moslems get a new conception of God when they come in contact with the daily joy that Christians experience in their indwelling Lord, and then discover that for the Christians that indwelling Lord has all the values of their transcendent God of majesty and power, as well as all and more of the values that they seek with such excess of tribulation and so rarely find in the exercises of their spiritual fraternities.

(*B*) Then as regards our SACRED BOOK, we have open a way of approach, and we have it because of two great contrasts which study of the question immediately throws out between the Bible and the Qur'an.

The first is the question of *inspiration.* Moslems are tied down to a rigid, mechanical theory of inspiration.[1] According to the orthodox doctors, the Qur'an was all written down on the Preserved Table in Heaven ages before the birth of Muhammad. Then at the allotted hour it was brought down to the lowest heaven and from there it was bit by bit dictated by the angel Gabriel to Muhammad. Thus the Qur'an contains not Muhammad's words but God's. Every word of it is divine and a direct revelation from God to men. Muhammad was merely the channel by which it passed from God to men. That is what the orthodox Moslem is bound to believe. Yet when we come to examine the book, we find that it contains numerous mistakes as to historical facts, contradicts itself not infrequently, narrates foolish legends whose origin we can trace, promulgates a false cosmology, deals to an unproportionate extent with trivial details of Muhammad's own domestic affairs, and can be shown to bear an intimate chronological relationship to the Prophet's own changing circumstances.

Such a theory of course cannot stand the light of historical criticism, and with the increase of education in the East, Moslems are beginning to find that sooner

[1] For fuller details of the orthodox Muhammadan theory, see Sell's *Faith of Islam*, 1920, caps. i, ii.

or later their holy book will have to justify itself before the light of historical criticism. Thus even now enlightened Moslems of the type of Syed Ahmad Khan and Amir Ali have broken away from the traditional theory.[1] But Christians are in no such dilemma for they are tied to no such mechanical theory of inspiration.[2] The Christian Scriptures invite criticism, and all the years of careful, scholarly research have only served to make brighter the light they shed. Orthodox Islam has been exceedingly fearful of translating the Qur'an and demands that it should not be studied by a man until after he had accepted Islam,[3] whereas Christianity exerts itself to translate its Scriptures into all languages, even the crudest and most uncultivated, that all men may in their own tongues examine its message.

The second is the *intelligibility* of the book. It is a very famous Orientalist who is credited with the remark that he could not conceive of any Westerner reading the Qur'an a second time except as a matter of duty. While it is undoubtedly true that to the Oriental there is a certain charm about the rhythm of the original Arabic, apart altogether from its meaning, it must be confessed that even to Orientals the Qur'an is a wearisome intellectual puzzle. One has only to read a little of it with a Moslem sheikh to be convinced of this. Part of its unintelligibility is due to its arrangement. As is well known, no attempt at chronological arrangement of its parts was made in the preparation of the ' canonical ' edition, revelations from different periods often being hopelessly mixed together in one and the same

[1] See particularly Syed Ahmad's *Tafsir-i-Ahmadiyya*.

[2] This statement needs some qualification, for unfortunately there is a type of evangelical Christianity (and more unfortunately a type often found on the mission field) which is committed to a theory of verbal inspiration almost as rigid and hopeless as that of the Muhammadans themselves.

[3] See Margoliouth's *Early Development of Muhammadanism*, 1914. Lecture I. ' The Koran may not be sold to Unbelievers, soldiers are advised not to take it with them into hostile territory for fear the Unbelievers should get hold of it ; and many a copy bears upon it a warning to Unbelievers not to touch. . . . Let people pay homage to it first, recognize that it is the divine revelation, and then they may, and indeed must, study it.'

chapter. The general principle of arrangement was to put the longest chapters first and the shortest last, and as these shortest ones were almost all early revelations, it is roughly true to say that you get the best chronological view of the Qur'an by reading it backwards. But even more of its unintelligibility is due to the disorderly mind of the Prophet, who, especially in the historical portions of his revelations, got things hopelessly tangled.

In strong contrast to this confused, disorderly, self-contradictory and ill-arranged book stand the Christian Scriptures with their consistent, perspicuous and orderly account of God's dealings with Israel and His message to man through Jesus and the Apostles. One of the foremost Moslem converts in this land of Egypt gave it as his testimony that the first conviction that came to him of the truth of the Christian message was from the intelligibility and orderliness of the Scriptures. In the Qur'an which he had learned from childhood he read of Adam, Abraham, Jesus, Moses and the others, but in no case did the Qur'an give any consistent history of them. Who they were, where they came from, what their chronological relation to one another was, was left to the imagination. (The present writer recently was witness to the amazement of a sheikh trained at Al Azhar on learning that David was not contemporary with Moses.) Whereas, when he read the Christian Scriptures, there was the whole history plain, each one coming in his own order, playing his individual part, and passing away to make room for the next figure, and the gradual unfolding of God's will and purpose becoming plainer and plainer as the history went on. Here was a consistent and self-evidencing story of God's dealing with men and God's revelation to His creatures, and the contrast with the Qur'an was itself a conviction of the truth of the Christian claim.

Here then is a method of approach for us. We should welcome the Moslem claim that they have a sacred book, encourage them to study it (for, particularly outside of Arabic speaking countries, Moslems are frequently sadly deficient

in knowledge of their own book), and invite them freely to make their own choice after examination of the two books. Christianity has nothing to fear from the most searching examination of its Scriptures. Islam has everything to fear, particularly as education becomes more and more widely spread. And their own claim for their scriptures may be utilized by us as perhaps the most sure intellectual approach to the citadel of the Muhammadan position.

(*C*) The third main problem in presentation is the question of the ORGANIZED COMMUNITY. There is no need for us to minimize the greatness of Islam's brotherhood. It has had important social and political consequences in the past, and particularly in view of the message of Pan-Islamism may have even greater consequences in the future. Islam's brotherhood is great and is effective; let us confess it at the outset, and let us confess also that in some respects it may even go further as a matter of practice than our own Christian brotherhood often does. But having said so much we must not forget to recognize that there is a fundamental and far-reaching difference between Islam's conception of brotherhood and ours. The difference lies in this, that the Christian brotherhood is founded on love, and the Islamic brotherhood on pride. 'We know,' says John, writing of the life of the community, 'that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren,' and that love of the brethren which John makes the test of Christianity was founded on the love between Christ and His followers and was extended in His teaching to be the Christian relation to all who were out of the Kingdom, even to those who hated, despised and persecuted His followers. In Islam, however, the humility which is recommended to be shown to fellow-believers is ever based on the 'haughtiness' they are to show to unbelievers (Sura v. 59).

The effects of this radical difference in conception of brotherhood are strikingly brought out both in the relations of the brotherhood to those outside the fold and in their relations to one another within it.

As already mentioned, Christ's conception of the brotherhood of His Kingdom was that the love which His followers were to have toward one another should also be on all occasions extended to those who were without the Kingdom (Matt. v. 38 ff.).[1] Moslem controversialists are fond of quoting the 'let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican' of Matt. xviii. 17, as a disproof of this, but even waiving for the moment the question of this passage being an interpolation, the point of the passage, as John Wesley shrewdly remarks,[2] is not that he must be considered as an outcast, but as one to whom the Christian owes 'earnest goodwill' and an attitude of love. The Moslem conception, however, is the very antithesis of this. Its attitude toward all outside the brotherhood is one of haughty toleration. There are more kindly phrases at times in the Qur'an, but they are from the early period when the Prophet had hopes of winning men by persuasion. The later injunctions on Moslems are that they are ever to be hostile toward unbelievers, not to sit with them or be friendly with them or keep faith with them; and this is the attitude that has become fixed in the development of Moslem law. Even in the case of the Tolerated Cults, their witness is not to be accepted against a Moslem, they are not to be allowed to hire Moslems in their service, for a Moslem to kill one of them is not considered a crime, and they are at all times to be kept mindful that they are humble and degraded.[3]

Islam's brotherhood, in a word, implies brotherliness only toward those within the brotherhood, and its attitude to all without the brotherhood is ever that of hostility, even if veiled hostility. As Canon Gairdner says in an excellent little pamphlet published early this year:[4]

[1] *Vide* particularly the interpretation of this Christian attitude in Hogg's *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*, 1916, pp. 87 ff.

[2] *Notes on the New Testament, in loco.*

[3] See further Margoliouth's *Early Development of Mohammedanism*, 1914, cap. iv.

[4] *Brotherhood: Islam's and Christ's* (published by the U.C.M.E., 2 Eaton Gate, London); a little pamphlet deserving of serious study by all who are interested in the problem of the Moslem World, and particularly by those who have been influenced by the pro-Muhammadan propaganda of the Woking Mosque circle.

However generously we may concede to the Islamic fraternity idea our admiration, and find in it our rebuke, we cannot get over its fatal and even ghastly limitations. It is not founded on a universal God-like love; it is founded on a haughty pride in being the chosen people, a pride which is flattered and fed by accessions, and brings with it a bitter scorn for those who choose to remain without; a bitter scorn which results in a strange antipathy; an antipathy which can easily break out into furious hostility and hate.

Turning now to the relations within the brotherhood, we find when we come to examine the matter closely that there is again a fundamental defect. The fact is that Islam's brotherhood has not yet advanced to the position of having such ethical value that Moslems can trust one another. In Cairo, for instance, it is a notorious fact that Moslems are tremendously shy of entering into business partnerships with one another for this very reason, and the same fact has been apparent all through Moslem history. This has been the reason why Christians have been so largely employed in the bureaux of Moslem governments. As Margoliouth points out, ' public business had somehow to be transacted, and few Moslems were qualified to transact it, *while little confidence was reposed in those who were qualified.*' [1]

The fact is that there is only one foundation for a worthy conception of brotherhood, and that is love, such love as Christ had for His followers and as He commanded them to have for one another. And once this love is realized in the community, it is inevitable that it will be exhibited toward those outside the community. Criticism is often made, particularly in India, that among missionary communities at work in the Orient, racial distinctions are constantly being emphasized. But I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that where Christ's own love has been realized on both sides, racial differences never come up, for we are all one in Him. And here is our very real means of approach to the Moslem world. Moslems are very conscious of the distinction between our brotherhood and theirs, and in the movements of revolt there is a feeling out after the new

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 122. The italics are mine. See also his account, on p. 130, of the Fahimid Caliph who wished to poison his son.

brotherhood of love. The Sufis have caught a vision of it [1]; in the Dervish Orders there are some attempts being made after it; and if only Christians can find some way of making real to the Moslem world all the rich content of the Christian brotherhood, it seems to the present writer inevitable that the Moslem will respond. Great things have already been done in this direction by medical missions in Arabia, Persia and elsewhere; much is being done in Egypt, Syria, Turkey and India by educational missions; but the real need seems to be for the Christian world as a whole to reveal to the Moslem world (not necessarily by assenting to the political claims of certain Moslem bodies) how great and rich and beautiful a thing is the brotherhood of believers which springs from the love of Christ.

(*D*) And lastly, as to our PROPHET. Here we need no laboured arguments. Islam has a Prophet. Yes, but he is dead and his followers are hopelessly tied to the ideas and example of an Arabian of the seventh century who himself was bound by the inevitable limitations of his age and peculiar environment. But Jesus lives, and is ever born again in the lives of His followers, so that He is timeless and yet of every age. The content of Muhammad's life was exhausted long ago, and wherever his followers have advanced they have done it by breaking away from the content of that life. But Jesus is exhaustless. No man or age has ever reached the depths of His life nor has the passing of the ages lessened one iota of the wonder of it. No one has ever turned to Him for inspiration and gone away empty, and all our advances of science and philosophy have but served to reveal more clearly and fully the riches that we have in Him.

So here our way of presentation is obvious. It may be true that the easy morality of Muhammad and his low ethical standards will appeal to some people, but they can never satisfy; with the spread of culture they will satisfy less and less. The proofs of this are apparent to all who will

[1] *Vide* Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, 1914, cap. iv. It is very probable, however, that in this matter they have borrowed from Christianity, as they so often do.

read. Islam has been in India for nine hundred years, evangelical Christianity for a century, yet after but half a century of Christian efforts Keshab Chandra Sen, looking for a source of inspiration for the new great reform movements in Indian life, could write for his followers *India asks—who is Christ?* No Hindu social reformer has ever turned to Muhammad for inspiration.[1] Again, China has a Moslem population of perhaps eight millions and Moslems have been there continually since the early years of the eighth century while Christianity gained no serious footing till the eighteenth. Yet the infant Chinese Republic, facing the tremendous problems of its future, addressed its prayer not to Muhammad but to Christ. What Keshab wrote of India is true of the Moslem world also :[2]

> He comes to fulfil and perfect that religion of communion for which India has been panting, as the hart panteth after the waterbrooks. Yes, after long centuries shall this communion be perfected through Christ.

The Christian missionary should welcome the Islamic challenge of the superiority of their Prophet, being well assured that the detailed and consistent study of the lives of Jesus and Muhammad can only lead to one issue where minds are frank and fair and sincere.

The Islamic problem is no unsolvable problem, however difficult it may be and however much the Church up till now may have shirked it. The solution, as the preceding pages have endeavoured to make clear, lies in the living Christ who dwells in us and abides with us, the perennial source of our life of spiritual experience and our inexhaustible treasure-house of revelation of spiritual things. When we have learned how to lift Him up in our lives and in our preaching, He must draw all, including the Moslem world, unto Himself.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

[1] A fine testimony along similar lines is quoted in a letter from Mr Kingsley Williams, published in *The Student Movement*, June 1923.

[2] *Lectures in India*, p. 258.

THE LEADER OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT IN INDIA[1]

By C. F. ANDREWS

No great movement of the human spirit affecting vast multitudes of people can be without significance to those who are praying each day for the coming of God's Kingdom. In this article I shall attempt to describe, as far as I am able to do so, something of the spiritual meaning to humanity of the great movement which has penetrated India from one end to the other in recent years, called Non-Cooperation. I feel certain that there are deep currents of moral and spiritual emotion running through it, which give it a religious colour and tone and represent something new in the religious life of humanity. At the same time, I am fully aware that at the present time its political aspect is most prominently before the public. I should wish to add that in what follows concerning one whom Indians universally call Mahatma Gandhi I am not writing from hearsay. It has been among the greatest privileges and blessings of my life to be associated with him as an intimate and personal friend, loved closer than a brother. But if I write with the fullest warmth of affection, I shall also endeavour, as he would wish me, to be critical. I trust that I shall not be misinterpreted if I take up in all that follows what may be called the Indian position. It is not possible to tell the story without attempting to see things from the angle of vision of the Indian people themselves. That it is necessary to do this appears to me to be implied in the statement of the Sermon on the Mount, that

[1] [Mr Gandhi is the leader of a powerful political movement, and political questions lie outside the scope of this Review. But he is also a great religious teacher who more than any other in this generation has influenced the mind of a people constituting one-fifth of the human race. We are therefore glad to publish this interpretation of his life and teaching by a writer who is his intimate friend.—Ed.]

we should seek to do to others what they would desire us to do to them. We should do our utmost to see one another's point of view before passing a judgment.

A short time ago, a rumour suddenly went round the whole of the Indian press, receiving eager comment and wide attention, that Mahatma Gandhi had actually been awarded in Europe the Nobel Peace Prize. From all sides, even from his political opponents, arose a chorus of joyful and expectant approval. No choice would have been more popular all over the East than this. That the rumour was regarded as highly credible, in spite of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi was in prison at the time as a passive resister for ' waging war upon the British Government in India,' is itself an index of the thoughts of the people of India concerning their spiritual hero. For his fellow-countrymen regard him as, above all, an apostle of world righteousness and world peace. They are certain that his place in history will be that of a modern saint. They regard the prison where he is now confined[1] as the crown of his sainthood; and references are not infrequently made to another Prisoner, who was tried by a foreign government many centuries ago and put to death upon a Cross.

What has been of supreme moral and spiritual interest is to find in the saintly character of this modern Indian leader, who has so deeply stirred the hearts of men, the portraits of a Savonarola and a S. Francis of Assisi combined—if one may venture to use western comparisons for one who has sprung from the heart of the East. For in him we come into touch with a man who is acknowledged on every hand to be a religious devotee, with much of the tenderness and joyfulness, the sacrifice and childlike nature of S. Francis, and yet withal a political reformer of an intensely active character and disposition, dealing with world governments and powers. For Mahatma Gandhi is the gentlest of human beings, living a life of extreme poverty in his religious retreat at Sabarmati, where every bird and beast and living creature

[1] [Written before the unconditional release of Mr Gandhi on medical grounds.—Ed.]

is dear to him and little children are the most precious of God's gifts. Here one night not long ago at evening worship, during the singing of a hymn, a cobra crept on to his shoulder ; but he stilled the alarm among his boys and went on with his meditation. Yet the same bare-footed saint has been like a warrior at the head of the greatest political movement that modern India has ever seen. He has been waging ' war ' (as he has loved openly to express it) against the autocracy of the British Government in India, not by the use of modern scientific weapons of destruction, but by the tremendous unity of a people's sovereign will, guided by his own personal inspiration.

Put briefly, the non-cooperation movement, which Mahatma Gandhi started, was an attempt to bring about by moral force a ' change of heart ' in the Government of India. I shall explain later what direct change of heart was required and how he intended to accomplish his main object. Here I would simply state that a great wave of indignation against the British Government swept over India in the year immediately succeeding the war because of the tragedy of Amritsar. Where the people expected bread they were given a stone. They turned to the Indian saint in their humiliation, and he promised them victory if they would faithfully observe his teaching of strictly passive resistance, and fulfil his discipline by suffering injury but never striking a blow in self-defence.

The movement itself expressed outwardly the sudden rise of national feeling which swept over the East at the conclusion of the war in Europe. In Egypt it brought Christian and Musulman together. In Asia Minor it led to armed resistance under Mustapha Kemal. In India it produced the passive resistance movement called Non-Cooperation.

If the character of the Indian struggle is to be rightly understood, the personality of its leader must be studied. What I would like to make clear at the very outset from my own personal knowledge is this, that Mahatma Gandhi's

affection for the British people and for the British character has remained unshaken throughout. To bear this in mind is essential to the correct understanding of his purpose. He believed, with all his heart, that if he did not flatter Englishmen, but stood up against them where they were in the wrong, and forced them to see where they had done wrong, he would succeed in the end. He believed, that is to say, in their innate sense of justice and acted upon that faith. I know personally, from intimate association with him, that it was this fundamental belief in the British character as susceptible to generous feeling that carried him forward with a certainty of moral victory. He had, as he often told me, in the course of a long and strenuous life put this belief to the test and found it answer truly. Englishmen have ever been and still remain among his faithful friends. His whole theory of moral warfare depends upon a belief in the generous response of human nature. That was his ultimate appeal. He believed that he had discovered a principle which would work for the redemption of wrong-doing in the world and for the recovery of the wrong-doer. This principle, when applied in action, he called Satyagraha, which means 'Truth Force.' Man's nature was, he believed, essentially good not bad. It could not possibly resist the final appeal of suffering voluntarily endured for the sake of truth. This has been his one fundamental and unshaken faith.

It is necessary to describe something of his previous history. He had originally gone out to South Africa as a young barrister, not intending to stay there. But when he saw the humiliation to which his fellow-countrymen were subjected on account of their colour and race, he determined to remain. Soon he became their champion. He gave up all his own private wealth, which was considerable, and lived as a peasant clad in an Indian homespun peasant's dress. He did everything possible to show his goodwill towards the British in South Africa, often returning kindness for injury. Twice over he acted as stretcher-bearer in times of war, tending the wounded of friend and foe alike under the Red Cross.

He had the privilege, which he greatly treasured, of bearing Lord Roberts's only son out of action and carrying him eighteen miles on a stretcher to the base with the help of some Indian companions. At the same time he stoutly refused to allow any indignity to be put upon his own people after the Boer War was ended. Twice over he won the victory in a passive resistance campaign by which he maintained the honour of his fellow-countrymen. In one of these conflicts against injustice more than 2000 went to prison out of a population of 12,000 all told.

Ten years ago I had lived with him in South Africa for some time, towards the end of his third and greatest moral effort, and I had watched him applying his principle of passive resistance by means of a small body of Indian people who were perfectly moulded to his will and obedient to his direct inspiration. These willing sufferers, carefully prepared by him to go through any amount of hardship, were the Indians domiciled in Natal and the Transvaal, who were struggling to maintain the few rights that were still left to them and to resist certain things, which they rightly regarded as intolerable evils. One of these evils which they resisted was a £3 poll tax. This had to be paid even by women and adult children, with the penalty, if they did not pay it, of being forced back into indentured labour on the sugar plantations. This was one of the iniquities against which the struggle had to be waged to the bitter end and it can easily be imagined how sharp the conflict was.

It should be mentioned in a parenthesis—for it is of great importance for a clear understanding—that Mahatma Gandhi had with him in all these different passive resistance movements not only his fellow-countrymen but also Europeans who were his closest friends and followers. He endeavoured to raise the issue to the plane of humanity and to keep it from being merely ' national ' or ' racial ' in its character. I know from his own conversations what immense stress and importance he gave to this aspect of the struggle.

While I watched Mahatma Gandhi at this time in South Africa he appeared to me to have all the ardour of a scientist on the eve of making a new discovery, and he carried on his experiment. The odds against him were tremendous. Yet he came out victorious in the end. Early in the year 1914 General Smuts acknowledged the wrong which had been done to the Indians in Natal. The £3 tax was abolished and an equitable settlement was reached. Thus the passive resistance movement in South Africa was brilliantly successful. It was an almost perfect vindication of moral strength as the only means of righting evil in the world. The greatest victory of all was this, that not a single act of violence could be charged against the thousands of Indians who took part in the struggle. As a direct consequence, the long conflict which had been waged ended in goodwill and friendship restored. The Europeans in South Africa spoke and wrote of the Indian leader with great respect and admiration on his departure.

On his voyage back to India he went by way of England and arrived at Southampton on the very night of the outbreak of the war, August 4, 1914. With characteristic promptness and self-sacrifice he offered the next morning his services at the India Office as stretcher-bearer and hospital worker. He promised to serve in any capacity as a minister to the sick and wounded for the whole duration of the war. His services were accepted and he worked unremittingly; but an attack of pleurisy in England in November 1914, which was nearly fatal, made it imperative for him to return to the warmer climate of India. When he had fully recovered, twice over he offered for hospital work in Mesopotamia. He was prepared to raise a company of 500 workers who should be under the strictest discipline and ready for devoted service. But on both occasions his offer failed to obtain acceptance at the headquarters of the British Government in India.

His last strange act of service on behalf of the allied cause, in whose righteousness at that time he fully believed,

was to start a recruiting campaign in his own province of Gujarat to enlist Indian fighting men. This was, and has always been, to me quite inexplicable on his part ; because he himself is the strictest believer in moral force as contrasted with physical force. I have mentioned this inconsistency because it pained me very greatly at the time and led directly in his own case to another almost fatal illness and complete physical prostration. During this critical time of illness I was with him and learnt to know the beauty of his character as I had never known it before. Throughout all these years which I have now rapidly recounted I do not think it would have been possible for anyone to have shown more clearly by act and deed his deep affection for the British character and for men of the British race.

Soon after the war was over a supreme disappointment met him. It was, he told me, like receiving a sudden blow in the face. This was the forcing through the Viceroy's Council of the Rowlatt Act—the Black Act, as Indians soon learnt to call it. The measure was regarded on all hands as tyrannical. When it came up before the Council not a single Indian member voted in its favour. Every possible effort was made by Mahatma Gandhi, through interviews with the Viceroy, to warn him of the impending danger. Mr Srinivasa Sastri made a truly prophetic declaration as to what the certain consequences would be, if the Act was forced through. But against the will of the whole people the Act became the law of the land. The injury and insult were felt most keenly of all because the people of India had been expecting something quite different—some measure of generosity—now that the war was over.

When everything else had been tried in vain, Mahatma Gandhi stood up before the people and called for passive resistance.

It was in a condition of physical weakness that he launched his assault, using in his great offensive the one signal weapon of passive resistance. He called upon the people of India to resist this arbitrary decree of Government

only by moral weapons, and to prepare to go to prison in their thousands until the Act itself was repealed. The response in every part of the country was immediate, for the moral indignation was great indeed.

But in making this new experiment in passive resistance, the Indian leader had omitted from his calculation one factor which proved to be of paramount importance. Since his return to India after long absence in South Africa, he had often tested on a small scale, at Champaran, Kaira, Ahmedabad and elsewhere, the endurance of the people. But he had not fully realized that the masses in India, numbering many millions, had never been schooled in suffering and patience like the tiny Indian domiciled community in Natal and in the Transvaal. He began the experiment on the same scientific lines as those he had laid down in South Africa, but almost immediately, even before the movement was fairly launched, an error of the first magnitude appeared. The Panjab has been for generations the home of the fighting men of India. Its people did not understand what passive resistance truly meant. Mob riots suddenly broke out and ruined the whole effort. With a glorious sincerity of purpose that revealed in a moment the saint rising above the politician, Mahatma Gandhi, at the first breath of violence, called off the whole movement, and with a penitence which went to the utmost lengths of self-humiliation confessed in public that he had made a ' Himalayan blunder.'

Between the tragic end of this first struggle and the beginning of the second, I was away in South Africa, where the Indian people were again faced with cruel wrongs and hardships. The racial situation there had once more become critical. Mahatma Gandhi had asked me to go out and I could not refuse. But before I went I could understand that trouble was brewing afresh in India itself of a most serious character. The Amritsar massacre and all that followed it in the Panjab had at last become fully known to the Indian public ; the people of England, on the other hand, had no conception of the humiliation which it had caused and the

burning sense of outrage that remained unappeased. As a second cause of trouble, the treatment of Turkey after the war, and the disclosure of the secret treaties with regard to Turkey's dismemberment, had brought the whole Mohammedan population to the extreme point of indignation. They declared with one voice that they had been cruelly deceived, when they had helped the allied cause against the people of their own religion. These were the 'two wrongs' that were mentioned so often by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. They were called the 'Panjab' and 'Khilafat' wrongs. For them, repentance had to be made by the British Government in India. The power of that Government, which had thwarted the wishes of the Indian people, must be bent to the people's will. Self-government was long overdue, and it must be speedily obtained so that such injustices might not happen again.

As I have said, I was not present in India when the preparations for the Non-Cooperation Movement began. I know, however, that Mahatma Gandhi employed every effort he could think of before taking the final step. For passive resistance, with him, always represents the last resort when every other method has failed. It is, according to his principle, like a final declaration of war—a war, not of physical might, but of moral force.

This time, when the struggle opened, it was evident at once that the people had been schooled and disciplined in the practice of non-violence as they had never been before. The Musulmans, who believed in the sword, had entered into a solemn compact with Mahatma Gandhi not to use the sword as long as they took part in the movement. This compact was strictly observed. As a result of this, a Musulman outbreak in the North, accompanied by bloodshed and violence, was happily prevented. During this critical time, the Viceroy and Governors went about with absolute safety owing to the passive character of the movement, which was strictly observed by Musulmans and Hindus alike. I was present in the Moplah area in South India during the

rebellion and came to the conclusion that its origin could not be justly charged to the Non-Cooperation Movement.

But though, in this larger sphere and among the educated classes, all violent revolutionary acts were rigidly banned and complete passive resistance was observed, yet among the masses in distant villages over such an immense area as the whole of India the violent temper of the people could not altogether be restrained. The spirit of violence again and again appeared among the masses like a fire smouldering beneath the ashes. It was an ugly temper, altogether contrary to that mind which Mahatma Gandhi required in order to make his experiment work out successfully to the end. For unless goodwill and friendship came at the last, when the will of the people had been accepted, the experiment would fail.

Mahatma Gandhi himself went about the country and everywhere the simple village people flocked to him in tens of thousands. He drilled them and disciplined them in peaceful methods with all the power of his magnetic personality. His nearest followers in the different provinces made almost superhuman efforts in the same direction. But the whole movement grew beyond control. In Bombay, at the time of the Prince of Wales' visit, the conflagration broke out with all its force, and not even the presence of Mahatma Gandhi himself could stop it for some days. At last, at Chauri Chaura, a mob riot of a peculiarly brutal character occurred, in which non-cooperators themselves, using their saintly leader's name, appear to have joined with the mob.

The agony of spirit which Mahatma Gandhi went through during those days, is only known to those who were nearest to him. An angry meeting of leaders took place at Delhi. They wished to go forward in spite of the violence that had occurred, but Mahatma Gandhi refused to carry on the struggle in its further stages while violence was abroad. He sadly confessed, with an almost broken heart, that 'the spirit of violence was in the very air.' He was himself

arrested almost immediately after this, and sentenced to imprisonment for six years. At his trial he took upon his own head the guilt for any act of violence which had been committed in his name. Nearly two years of that long sentence have now been passed in prison. The movement itself has suffered greatly owing to the absence of its leader. Nevertheless among a considerable number of his followers in every province his imprisonment has meant a fresh consecration in acts of service and devotion. Throughout the length and breadth of India a new living energy is visible, which has changed the face of the country. Much of the spirit of subjection—the spirit of fear and flattery and weak concession—still remains. But a fearlessness and independence have entered into the hearts of the younger generation which mean nothing less than a revolution.

The Non-Cooperation Movement has by no means run its course. In some directions it has only started to go forward. In others it has come to an impasse. Yet it is quite possible, even at this early date, to look back and draw some lessons from it and consider how far its method has already helped forward the progress of world peace. Let me give one instance, which I saw with my own eyes in the Panjab itself, where the warlike spirit is strongest and the restraint from physical violence most difficult. It will be remembered that the Panjabis had been the first to break out into open violence in the earlier struggle over the Rowlatt Act which I have already recorded. But at Guru-ka-bagh I saw them, during this present struggle, stand up against military police with no weapon in their hand. They were hurled to the ground, time after time, but they suffered it all joyfully without striking a single blow in return. I saw them one by one carried away stunned and senseless. But on the next day when I visited them in the hospital and watched their faces, they were happy like children in their religious fervour as they uttered in reverence and love Mahatma Gandhi's name. When I asked them whether they would be prepared to go through

the same suffering again, their faces lighted up with joy as they answered ' Yes.'

This is only one out of the hundreds of sights that I have witnessed. They have convinced me that the lesson of non-violence has been learnt at last in India in a truly wonderful manner. Perhaps in India alone is there a tradition strong enough and an idealism high enough to carry out faithfully and purely the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. It was not lightly or unadvisedly that the President of the All-India Christian Conference in December, 1922, declared that Mahatma Gandhi was ' the greatest living Indian Christian.' The phrase was well understood all over India and its implication was accepted by the Indian people as embodying a true idea.

Mahatma Gandhi, during the last stage before his imprisonment, lamented the fact that ' popularity had dogged his steps.' He declared that if he had had only those hundred followers who implicitly believed in him and understood him, instead of the millions who shouted his name, he would have been able to win a victory for the truth in India as he had done in South Africa. It would appear that this most difficult lesson of working by the few and avoiding the excitement of multitudes had to be learnt by bitter experience. He has been humble enough to learn it. The duty of bringing a great empire to repentance cannot be undertaken by a host of untrained and undisciplined men. In a passive resistance struggle, the victory is only retarded when the shouts of the passionate multitudes drown the still small voice of conscience. For it is this inner voice which has to be appealed to in true moral warfare if ultimate success is to be obtained.

But if individual men and women could be so inspired that even in isolation they would be prepared to carry out to the end this principle of suffering without retaliation, the influence of their lives over the hearts of men might be incalculably great. It is quality in this warfare that counts, not quantity. The salt of the earth must not lose its savour.

The light of the truth must not be confused or obscured but must shine like a lamp set on a high place. It is in this way, through individuals who have had the courage to believe and suffer and also to acknowledge their mistakes, that all the greatest spiritual movements in history have been adventured.

It has seemed to me, while I have watched with eager sympathy the course of Mahatma Gandhi's struggle, and taken part in certain phases of it which won my whole-hearted acceptance, that the lessons of failure have now at length been truly learnt. A greater movement is about to begin, in which the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi's teaching will be carried out with firmer confidence and fuller certainty of ultimate victory. His followers will go far beyond the field of external politics to the principle of growth within the soul. They will learn more patiently first to reform and discipline themselves before they reform others.

In Mahatma Gandhi's own personality there has been a rare blending of the currents of the East and West in one stream. His early manhood, spent away from India in the midst of the fiercely aggressive pioneer life in South Africa, has given him a fiery energy of spirit which is almost volcanic in its power of upheaving the sluggish nature of men's minds. But all this strength of personality, which had been hardened into steel by contact with the opposition of the West, has been moulded and welded together with a temperament peculiar to his birth and ancestry in India and his Hindu religious tradition. This has been for generations producing a gentleness and refinement which eschewed violence and passion. It is this twofold character in him that has made his movement so remarkable an event in the history of mankind. To the best minds in East and West alike the whole spiritual adventure of his life should prove powerfully arresting, as an attempt to combat evil in the world without once employing the dread ultimate arbitrament of physical force. To the West, it has been an appeal—for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear—to abandon

the material basis of power in dealing with the East, to give up relying upon 'white prestige,' and to assume normal human relations. To the East, it has been a message of hope, recalling India to her own vast domain of inner spiritual strength, bidding her to throw aside timidity, feebleness and sloth, and to declare in no uncertain voice the supremacy of man's soul. It may be that the 'moral equivalent for war' which Mahatma Gandhi so fearlessly adventured forth to find, has not yet been gained, or its regions of practice in human life yet wholly explored. But the shores of this land of promise and of peace towards which humanity is straining its eyes are not altogether now an unknown harbourless coast owing to his agonizing strife. Its capes and headlands have already been marked out upon the chart, and soundings have been taken of an anchorage from the storm and a desired haven.

This article was written on board ship in the month of November 1923 while returning to England. I have just received by post from India a very remarkable editorial written by a Hindu leader, Mr K. Natarajan, who was unable to follow Mahatma Gandhi in many important points of the non-cooperation programme on its political side, but yields to none in his devotion to him as a social and religious leader. The editorial was written for Christmas Day, 1923, and it embodies sentiments which prevail everywhere in India to-day. I quote the following passage :

> More than nineteen hundred years ago, Jesus Christ was nailed upon the Cross by a Roman governor. The orthodox Jews who instigated Pilate to commit this infamous crime were no doubt satisfied that the great movement which Christ had set on foot had failed. Failed! It was Roman justice that had failed, it was Jewish bigotry that had failed. An empire which had ceased to heed the voice of justice and humanity in the pursuit of its own selfish interests which are always ephemeral, is like a rotten tree which but awaits the first passing blast to come to the ground. The Roman Empire fell, and upon its ruins the Church of Christ rose to a great height of power. And to-day though organized Christianity but feebly reflects the spirit of its Master, the personality of the Master Himself stands forth before all the world with a compelling grandeur.

Never before have so many earnest minds of all races and creeds turned to Him for light and guidance in their perplexities. The number and insight of the new lives of Christ are alone evidence of this fresh and deepened interest in His life and teaching. But the most impressive proof of it is that Mahatma Gandhi, a Hindu, has sought for the first time in history to apply the Master's teaching to politics as the best means of raising the people of India to a consciousness of their duty to themselves and to humanity. Mahatma Gandhi, it is true, is 'buried alive' under the order of authority. But a seed which is 'buried alive' does not die, but gets the opportunity without which it cannot fulfil its purpose. That is the reflection which on this Christmas eve occurs to us, and we commend it to the reverent thought of all our readers, Christian and non-Christian.

Mahatma Gandhi's movement has made the central teaching of Christ known and cherished in quarters to which a hundred years of the propaganda of Christian missions had not been able to penetrate. And it has presented it in a form readily assimilable to the Indian mind. Not only among Hindus but among Indian Christians also are being revealed a new meaning and a new purpose in the message of the Galilean Prophet, not antagonistic to or destructive of their precious national heritage, but setting it forth in its full intrinsic worth and value.

These are the words, not of an Indian Christian, but of a Hindu social reformer. They may serve to show the importance of considering carefully and fully the meaning and implication of the movement to which they refer.

C. F. Andrews

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN FORCES IN INDIA

By ALEXANDER McLEISH

During the past year almost complete statistics have been obtained by the National Christian Council for the Indian and Ceylon mission fields. A Directory showing the geographical distribution of the missionary force and of missionary institutions has also been issued. These together with the figures of the recent Census, so far as they are available, give us a considerable amount of new information. It is no easy matter rightly to interpret such statistics, and this article is merely a tentative effort to obtain a general view of the missionary occupation of the Indian Continent; Ceylon and Burma are excluded except where the contrary is stated. Before referring to the provinces in detail some general facts may be noted.

Out of a total returned of 44,319 Indian Christian workers, there are 30,385 men and 13,934 women—twice as many men. Comparing the revised figures of the National Christian Council and those of the Directory, the total number of foreign workers for India, including wives, is 5330 (wives number 1458)—about 100 more men workers than women for the Indian Continent, including those on furlough. A comparison of Indian workers with foreign workers gives a proportion of 8·2 to 1.

The provinces vary greatly in the proportion of Indian workers to foreign: Assam has 32·3 Indian workers to 1 foreign; Hyderabad, 21·4; Ceylon, 21·3; Madras, 21·3; Coorg, 14; Sikkim, 13; Bihar and Orissa, 9; Baroda, 8·4; Panjab, 6·8; United Provinces, 6·5; Bengal, 6; Mysore, 5·4; Bombay, 5·3; Central Provinces, 5·2; Gwalior, 4·7;

Baluchistan, 4; Central India, 3·3; Delhi, 3·3; Rajputana, 3·2; North West Frontier Provinces, 1·6; Kashmir, 1·4.

The Protestant Christian community is returned as 2,350,991, of which 35 per cent are communicant members. The Roman Catholic Church in their own statistics give their community as 1,847,642, which is about 500,000 less than the Indian Protestant community, and 2,906,437 less than the total number of Christians in India. There are 287,069 European Christians and roughly 400,000 Christians of the Syrian Church not included in these figures. This total of 4,885,702 is 131,623 more than the Census (1921) figure for the total Christian community (4,754,079). This comparison shows our present statistics to be as accurate as they are ever likely to be. The excess in our figures is more than accounted for by the reports of certain Census Commissioners that many Christians, especially in mass movements districts, are returned under their old castes.

The Protestant Christian community has increased 33 per cent during the last ten years compared with 37 per cent during the preceding decade. The actual figures of increase are 970,487 in 1901–1911 and 1,179,309 in 1911–1921. The total population of India, however, has increased only 1·2 per cent as compared with 6·4 per cent in the previous decade. In relation to the total population, therefore, the rate of increase has been ·88 per cent (1901), 1·13 per cent (1911), and 1·5 per cent (1921)—a jump of ·25 per cent in 1901–1911 and of ·37 per cent in 1911–1921, showing that the rate of progress in relation to population is 48 per cent greater in 1911–1921 than in the previous decade. In the last decade the Hindus have decreased 852,272, the Sikhs increased 224,337 (or 7 per cent) and the Mohammedans increased 2,057,934 (6 per cent).

To those interested in statistics the following comparisons are noteworthy: there is 1 Indian worker to every 6898 of the population, 1 foreign worker to every 56,616, or 1 worker to every 6169. Or again, there is 1 foreign worker to every 435 of the Protestant Christian community and 1 Indian

worker to every 54; or what is more significant, 1 Indian worker to every 18 Indian Christians in full communion.

As to MEDICAL WORK, there are now only 98 foreign men doctors, 164 women doctors and 650 nurses. From this it appears that 262 qualified doctors are in charge of 670 hospitals, asylums, sanataria and dispensaries. The outstanding facts are the dearth of men doctors and the inadequate staffing of institutions. It has to be remembered, however, that there are 584 qualified Indian doctors and 233 qualified women. Among these institutions are 64 leper asylums and 8 tuberculosis sanataria. Another point which could be investigated from the Directory pages by those interested would be the proportion of medical workers resident in cities as compared with villages.

As to EDUCATION, the total number of schools given in our statistics is 13,537, but the number of different grades is not recorded. We learn from the Directory, however, that there are 40 colleges, 243 high schools, 280 middle schools, 162 industrial schools, 113 boarding schools, that is, 838 higher and special institutions. This leaves 12,699 primary schools, which is about the number estimated by the recent Indian Village Education Commission.

The total pupils in these colleges and schools is 536,283, of which 314,060 are non-Christian. That is to say, we are educating 91,837 more non-Christians than Christians. Of the total Protestant Christian community, 1 in 10·5 is under instruction. Children of school age should be at least 25 to 30 per cent of the community; 10 per cent therefore represents a distinct falling off. The exact figures and percentage of decrease will be obtained later from the Census reports which are not yet fully published.

In PASTORAL AND EVANGELISTIC WORK there are 1028 men foreign workers and 935 women, that is, 1963 in all, while of Indian workers there are 13,000 men and 5120 women, or 18,130 in all. Roughly we have a total evangelistic force of between 20,000 and 21,000. This shows 1 foreign worker to every 9 Indian workers, and 1 worker

to every 15,800 of the population. These workers, however, are not distributed uniformly. Occupation is a very difficult thing to estimate, and not only are great tracts quite unoccupied, but in occupied districts many castes and even races are not being worked among. A glance through the Directory will show the extent of quite unoccupied territory. Some of these areas we have since discovered are occupied by Indian workers, but allowing for this and taking only complete administrative units (Census districts) we see that one-third of the area of India with one-eighth of the population is unoccupied. One-third of the area of Burma with one-third of the population is also unoccupied.

The question is often raised nowadays as to the proportion of evangelistic workers to educational workers.

Educational workers are in excess in 8 provinces : Ceylon has 3·4 educational workers to 1 evangelistic; Assam, 3·2; Bengal, 1·8 ; Mysore, 1·7 ; Madras, 1·6 ; Delhi, 1·5 ; Baroda, 1·3 ; Gwalior, 1·1. Not much can be inferred from these figures as Ceylon and Assam have Christian populations which largely account for the excess, and Delhi, Baroda and Gwalior are small areas. The small areas of Baluchistan and Sikkim have equal staffs. On the other hand, 10 provinces have an excess of evangelistic workers over educational. The Central Provinces have 1 evangelistic worker (Indian and foreign) to ·5 educational workers ; the United Provinces, 1 to ·5 ; Central India, 1 to ·5 ; Panjab, 1 to ·61 ; Hyderabad, 1 to ·62 ; Bombay, 1 to ·67 ; North-West Frontier Provinces, 1 to ·69 ; Kashmir, 1 to ·85 ; Bihar and Orissa, 1 to ·85 ; and Rajputana, 1 to ·97. The average for India and Ceylon is 1 evangelistic worker for 1·23 educational—or 25 per cent more educational workers. In comparing these two fields of service these figures will be of value, though there are many other considerations to be kept in view and the question is by no means simple. The whole expense of evangelistic work falls on mission funds, a large proportion of the cost of educational work falls on government grants and fees, a considerable number

of non-Christian teachers are associated with Christians in colleges and high schools, there is also the question of providing for the educational needs of large Christian communities, the difficulty of distinguishing educational and evangelistic responsibilities in mass movement areas, and the fact that the 12,699 primary schools are direct evangelistic agencies —all these considerations are factors which must be taken into account in any final judgment.

As to the DISTRIBUTION of the Christian forces apart from work in the towns and cities (the number could be roughly ascertained from the Directory), Christians are resident in 39,727 villages. Foreign workers reside in 996 places only. It would be interesting to find out what proportion of workers are resident in villages as compared with cities. We can get no exact figures. Fuller information is desirable on this point in relation to the question as to whether village work can be adequately overtaken by workers resident in towns and cities. For economic reasons Christians tend to gravitate to the towns, and Church and missionary institutions have followed. There is evidence, in districts where there are no mass movements, of a distinct tendency to develop city and institutional work often at the expense of rural work—a tendency which has been accentuated recently both by the decrease in the amount and in the purchasing power of money since the war.

The time seems to have come when it is no longer wise to base questions of occupation on foreign occupation alone. A comparison nevertheless of such occupation in India and China is interesting. Taking foreign workers on the same basis as that of the recent China survey, we have 5925 in India, Burma and Ceylon as against 6562 in China, and 996 foreign residential centres in India compared with 675 in China. The population of China is 118 millions more, and so while 18 represents the number of foreign workers per million in India 15 is the figure in China. The question of what constitutes occupation is, as we have said, a difficult one, but it seems to be only right to take the total number of

workers, Indian and foreign, as the basis of comparison. Our revised figures give us the following order of occupancy with the numbers per million of first, foreign workers, then Indian workers, and finally total workers: Ceylon (43 foreign workers, 912 Indian workers; 955 total workers); Assam (13·9, 466; 480); Madras (18·5, 395·5; 414); Delhi (92, 311; 403); Sikkim (24·4, 318; 342); Hyderabad (9·9, 212; 222); Bombay (25·2, 135; 160); Panjab (15·4, 105·5; 121); Mysore (18·4, 99·6; 118); Central Provinces (18·7, 98·4; 117); United Provinces (14, 92·3; 106); Coorg (0, 85·4; 85); Bihar and Orissa (7, 63·3; 70); Bengal (9·8, 60·4; 70); Baroda (6, 50·8; 57); Baluchistan (11·2, 44·8; 56); Central India (9, 30·3; 39); Rajputana (5·5, 17·6; 23); Gwalior (4, 18·8; 23); Kashmir (6·3, 9; 15); North West Frontier Provinces (5·5, 9; 14). Taking the provinces in this order we find:

Ceylon (955) is the most strongly occupied. Every one of the 23 districts is occupied by one or more of the 15 missions. A great deal of devolution of work has taken place and, compared with the 220 foreign workers (which includes 67 wives), there are 4106 indigenous workers—twenty times as many. The great feature of the work is the predominance of education which absorbs 2753 workers as compared with 804 evangelistic workers. The Protestant missions return only 66,119 out of the 443,582 Christians in the island. There are 14 medical and 925 educational institutions.

Assam (480), with a population of 7½ millions, has 13·9 foreign workers per million. Eleven missions are at work among 13 districts. With the exception of the frontier tracts all the districts are occupied. There are 32·3 Indian workers to 1 foreign worker. The Indian workers number 3546. Thus it has relatively the largest number of Indian workers in India. An important fact is that there are 2602 educational workers compared with 808 evangelistic—over three-quarters of the total. These work in 1006 educational institutions, mostly primary schools. The educational work therefore appears to be largely for the Christians, which number 171,746 as returned by the missions and only 130,106 as returned by the Census.

Madras (414) has 68 missions working in 27 districts and 5 States. The population is about 48 millions and there are 18·5 foreign

workers per million. There are 842 foreign workers and 18,893 Indian workers—over 20 times as many. A great deal of transfer of work to the Indian Church has taken place. Two districts and two States are unoccupied. More than half the Indian workers are engaged in educational work (11,289) in 6717 educational institutions. Less than one-quarter of the foreign workers are engaged in educational work, and more than one-third in pastoral and evangelistic work. Medical work is weak for so large a province, with only 21 men foreign doctors and 141 Indian men of all grades, 28 foreign women doctors and 9 Indian, with 238 nurses. These work in 125 hospitals and dispensaries. Madras city district is heavily occupied with 17 missions as compared with the next best occupied district—Kistna—with 9 missions.

Delhi (403), with a population of 500,000, has 92 foreign workers and 311 Indian per million of population. Thus it is relatively well occupied by 4 missions all working in and from Delhi city, where 304,420 of the population reside. Colleges and schools absorb nearly half the workers. The actual number of workers is 15 men and 32 women missionaries, while Indian workers number 164. There are 2 women medical institutions and 47 educational institutions of all grades.

Sikkim (342), owing to its small population of 81,721, comes next, although it has only 4 foreign and 26 Indian workers. In such a mountainous country these numbers, small as they are, count for less than in the more accessible plain districts. There are 370 Christians.

Hyderabad (222), with a population of 12½ millions, has 9·9 foreign workers per million. Eleven missions are at work among 17 districts, of which 4 are unoccupied and 2 have only one or two workers. There are 2648 Indian workers or 212 per million. In evangelistic work there are 58 foreign and 1144 Indian workers; in educational, 35 foreign and 717 Indian workers. The evangelistic work is stronger, as we should expect in a Native State. The missions have 858 schools, nearly all primary and connected with evangelistic work. There are 112 hospitals and dispensaries with 10 foreign (3 men and 7 women) and 44 Indian (28 men and 16 women), with 18 nurses.

Bombay (160) has 32 missions at work in the 37 districts of the Presidency, and yet 3 districts are quite unoccupied and 2 have only one worker each. There are nearly 5½ times more Indian than

foreign workers. About 250 out of the 675 foreign workers are located in Bombay and Poona cities alone. Educational work is strong although there are 1831 evangelistic workers compared with 1241 educational. The Protestant Christian community is only reported as 158,194 out of the 264,917 total Christian population. There are 38 medical institutions and 1107 educational.

The Panjab (121), with a population of 25 millions, has 15·4 foreign workers per million. Twenty missions work among 30 districts and 17 Native States; of these 5 districts and 13 Native States are unoccupied. Two districts have only 1 (or 2) workers. Evangelistic work is strongest, with a total of 1667 workers. The proportion of evangelistic workers is 1 to ·62 educational workers. There are 10 foreign men doctors and 28 women, also 28 Indian men doctors and 19 women, together with 115 nurses. These work in 52 hospitals and dispensaries. Medical work is therefore relatively weak. There are 501 educational institutions.

Mysore (118) has 14 societies at work among a population of 6 millions residing in 11 districts. Two of these districts are unoccupied. There are 119 foreign workers, of whom 94 are resident in Bangalore and Mysore cities. We have 13 medical institutions and 166 educational, considerably more in number than the total number of foreign missionaries.

Central Provinces (117). Here there are 20 missions at work among 37 districts having a population of 16 millions. Eleven Native States are unoccupied, and 2 districts have only 1 foreign worker. There are twice as many evangelistic workers as educational. The Native States, with a population of over 2,000,000, are scarcely occupied at all. Two missions are at work among them, with 3 foreign workers and 127 Indian.

United Provinces (106). These two provinces, with a population of 46½ millions, have 14 foreign workers per million. There are 29 missions at work among 51 districts, of which 4 are unoccupied and 8 have only 1 or 2 workers. There are 657 foreign workers and 4294 Indian. There are twice as many Indian workers (2776) engaged in evangelistic work as there are in educational work (1313). These latter work in 905 educational institutions. The mass movement has raised the Christian community to 338,589. This is largely in excess of the Census figures (179,694 in 1911 and 203,179 in 1921); allowing 30,000 for Europeans, we get only 175,000 Indian Christians. As a number of mass movement Christians have been returned under

their castes and some mistakes are acknowledged in enumeration, the Census Commissioner is prepared to admit the number as 250,000. This leaves 88,589 unaccounted for who appear in mission returns. We learn, at least, from this that many of the mass movement Christians still keep in their old castes. The increase in the Christian community between 1901 and 1911 is given by the Census as 74 per cent, between 1911 and 1921 as 50 per cent. Medical work is weak, with 7 foreign men doctors and 32 Indian helpers of all grades, and 16 women foreign doctors, with 41 Indian women doctors and 67 nurses.

Coorg (85), with a population of 163,838, has no European workers, but has 13 Indian men and 1 woman, of whom 11 are in educational work. Two villages are occupied. There are 6 primary schools, no medical work, and a Christian community of 325.

Bihar and Orissa (70), with a population of about 40 millions, have only 7 foreign workers per million. Twenty-one missions work among 47 districts, of which the 21 districts of British territory are all occupied, and 3 have only 1 worker. There are 26 Native States, in one of which there is 1 foreign worker. Twenty-two have some work in charge of Indian workers, 3 are quite unoccupied. All, therefore, are very inadequately staffed. There are 269 foreign workers and 2405 Indian. Evangelistic and educational work absorbs about equal numbers of workers (1 to ·85). There are 694 educational institutions. Christians are reported as residing in 5093 villages. There are 3 foreign men doctors and 18 women. Fifty Indian men are employed in various grades of medical work who, with 31 Indian women doctors, work in 48 hospitals and dispensaries.

Bengal (70), with a population of 47½ millions, has only 9·8 foreign workers per million. Twenty-nine missions work in 30 districts, of which 1 Native State is unoccupied and 5 districts have only 1 or 2 foreign workers. There are 467 foreign workers and 2875 Indian. Educational work predominates with 1910 workers as compared with 1080 evangelistic workers (1·8 to 1). On the other hand there are as many foreign workers engaged in evangelistic as in educational work. These are employed in 925 educational institutions, mostly primary schools. There are 56 hospitals and dispensaries with 9 foreign men and 13 women doctors and 5 nurses. Indian doctors number 65 (59 men and 6 women) with 34 Indian nurses.

Baroda (57) has a population of 2,126,522, and is worked by 1 mission, the agents of which reside in Baroda Camp. There are

12 foreign workers (3 men and 9 women), and 108 Indian workers (49 men and 59 women). Fifty-eight schools and 1 hospital are reported.

Baluchistan (56), with a population of 800,000, has 11·2 foreign workers per million. Three missions work among 13 districts and States. Five of the 6 districts are unoccupied as are all of the 7 Native States. Nine missionaries reside in Quetta with 36 Indian workers. Four neighbouring villages have Christians resident in them. There are 805 Christians, 2 schools and 4 hospitals and dispensaries, with 1 man and 1 woman foreign doctor, with 6 Indian helpers of various grades.

Central India (39) has a population of about 6 millions. There are only 4 missions working among 29 States. Nineteen of these States are unoccupied and 5 have only 1 or 2 workers. There are 55 foreign workers, excluding wives (21), and 182 Indian workers (113 men and 69 women). There are 9 foreign workers per million. Evangelistic workers predominate—32 foreign and 86 Indian. Educational work is carried on in 28 institutions, mostly primary schools, with 54 Indian and 12 foreign workers. Foreign doctors number 4 men and 2 women, with 3 nurses; there are also 10 men and 9 women Indian doctors, with 10 nurses. There are 13 hospitals and dispensaries.

Rajputana (23), with a population of 10½ millions, has only 5·5 foreign workers per million. Seven missions are at work, 5 of which, however, are only outposts of neighbouring missions with from 1 to 4 workers. The British Territory of Ajmer-Merwara (pop. 495,271) is well occupied with 36 foreign workers belonging to 4 of these missions. There are 227 Indian workers (104 men and 123 women). This is a proportion of 1 foreign worker to 6 Indian. The Native States number 21 and are poorly occupied by 4 foreign workers per million. Eleven States are unoccupied. There are 10 Indian workers to 1 foreign. This area is one of the most sparsely occupied in India. Unoccupied States are now difficult to enter. Two attempts made to enter new States had to be abandoned owing to determined opposition by the rulers. Another has been entered by Indian workers, but it seems unlikely that foreigners will be allowed to reside there. Indian workers in these States have increased 50 per cent and the Christian community 100 per cent in the decade. There are 52 schools in British territory and 65 in Native States in which three times more non-Christians are being educated

than Christians. One in 6·5 of the Christians is receiving education, and 50 per cent of these are in middle and high schools. There are 12 hospitals, 3 foreign men doctors and 7 women, with 5 nurses. Indian doctors number 7 and women 3, with 48 nurses.

Gwalior (23). This State has recently been made a separate Census area and has a population of 3,186,075. Two missions are at work in 3 towns, making 4 foreign workers per million for the State. There are 7 men and 7 women foreign workers, 29 Indian men and 31 women. Twenty-six workers are engaged in evangelistic work, and 29 in educational. There are 7 schools. The Christian community numbers 486 and Christians reside in 15 villages. The 3 medical institutions are manned by 2 foreign men and 1 woman doctor and 1 nurse, 8 Indian medical workers of all grades and 1 woman doctor and 2 nurses. The Census returns the total Christian community as 1649, and the missions return Indian Christians as 486.

Kashmir (15). With a population of $3\frac{1}{3}$ millions, there are 6·3 foreign workers per million. Five missions are at work, but the missionaries are resident in three towns in Kashmir proper—Islamabad, Ranawari, and Srinagar, and in Jammu in Jammu Province. In Ladakh the Moravian missionaries reside at Leh, with 1 outstation. Nine districts are unoccupied, having a population of 2,167,961. There are only 8 foreign workers (excluding wives) outside Srinagar. Of the 30 Indian workers, 17 do evangelistic work and 15 educational. The latter work in 19 schools. There are 3 hospitals and dispensaries. The Christian community is 1036 and Christians reside in 33 villages.

North-West Frontier Province (14). With a population of 5,076,476, there are 5·5 foreign workers per million. Four districts of British territory are occupied and one is unoccupied. Of the four occupied districts one has 1 worker, one 3, one 4, and one 20. The Agencies and Tribal Areas, with 2,825,136 people, are unoccupied. Twenty of the 27 foreign workers are in Peshawar district alone. There are 50 Indian workers, of whom 10 are women. Indian workers are equally divided between evangelistic and educational work, while 10 foreign workers do evangelistic and 4 educational. There are 7 educational and 7 medical institutions. The Christian community numbers 1133, and Christians are resident in 60 villages. There are 4 societies and the Y.M.C.A.

French Territory has a population of 269,579. Three missions are reported with 1 worker each in Pondicherry district. The other 4 districts are presumably unoccupied by Protestant missions.

ANDAMANS AND NICOBARS. There is an island population of 27,086, of whom 15,675 are in Port Blair alone. The Census reports 1586 Christians, but there is no mission work carried on here. The Bishop of Rangoon has for some time been planning to open up work.

ADEN (beyond the Indian Continent) has a population of 56,000, which has 2 missions at work. Relatively to population it is well occupied, but still there are only 9 foreign workers, 2 ordained men, 2 doctors and 5 ladies. Both the missions work in and around Aden where most of the population resides.

BURMA. Full statistics are not yet ready, but from the Directory we find that there are 363 foreign workers (including wives) or 28 per million of the population of 13,212,192. There are 7 societies and 4 associations (Y.M.C.A., etc.) at work among 43 districts. Nine districts have no foreign workers and 12 districts have only 1 or 2 workers. An interesting fact is the concentration of workers in the three large cities of Rangoon, Mandalay and Moulmein, where 200 of the 263 foreign workers reside.

In compiling the last edition of the Directory 1397 names were cut out and 2491 new names added. That is to say, there were in two years at least 1397 changes in location. Most of these were within the same language-speaking areas, but in the case of several missions many were transfers to different language areas. There is perhaps no country in the world where change of station and work is more harmful to the whole cause than India, and it would seem that the perpetual changes in personnel constitute one of the great weaknesses in our work to-day. One hopes that this may be accounted for by an excessive number of retirements or by the after effects of the war. Judgment must, therefore, be reserved till the figures from the new edition of the Directory, now in preparation, are ready.

ALEXANDER MCLEISH

THE PROBLEM OF MANAGEMENT IN INDIAN EDUCATION

By W. MESTON

In the January number of this Review an attempt was made to deal with the problem of control in Indian education. Consideration of that problem showed a very significant development. In the presidency of Madras control is gradually being devolved from a centralized department to bodies representative of the various interests concerned; while in the presidency of Bengal devolution of a similar character has been influentially advocated. There can be no doubt that this system is bound to extend even into provinces where at present the Department of Education keeps matters in its own hands. As interest in education grows the desire for a voice in its control will also grow, and the satisfaction of that desire will be found rather in *ad hoc* educational bodies with powers extending over some considerable area and confined entirely to educational matters than in local and municipal bodies with powers that are largely parochial and that are concerned with education as only one of the many pieces of business with which they have to deal. But it is obvious that this form of devolution cannot bear good fruit, and may indeed be dangerous, where there is not in existence a strong inspectorial staff. In this cadre of inspecting officers, unifying, stimulating, informing, there lies the best means whereby the educational department may exercise a direct control over education, and the best safeguard which the rate-payer can have of the quality of instruction imparted to his children. Now this matter of control is intimately bound up with that of management; and it seems to me that the time has come for a recognition of the fact that many of the difficulties connected with

management are to be met in a way analogous to that which solves the difficulties connected with control, namely by a courageous scheme of devolution.

I

What is the present system of management? Reference to the Quinquennial Reviews or to the Reports of the Directors of Public Instruction in the various provinces shows that educational institutions fall into two main groups, public institutions and private institutions. The private institutions are relatively few in number and the total number of pupils attending them is a mere fraction of those attending public institutions. Throughout the whole of India there are less than 700,000 pupils in private schools, while the public ones are attended by over seven million pupils. The reason is that private schools give instruction in some Indian classical language only, or in the Koran, or in a vernacular mainly, or in some subjects which do not conform to departmental standards; they are not necessarily inspected, and they are for the most part indigenous. They are managed by individuals or by private bodies. Even though among these schools is included the well-known Gurukul near Hardwar they do not follow the regular educational system of the country, and their pupils inevitably suffer from this handicap. Public institutions are those which follow the courses of study laid down by the educational department or by the university; they present their pupils for public examinations, and are open to inspection. They are classified according to their management into those under public management, e.g., those managed by municipalities, and those under private management, e.g., those managed by committees. This terminology is not free from the possibility of confusion; and even in documents where accuracy would have been expected 'public schools under private management' have been misleadingly termed 'private schools.' The official nomen-

clature, if somewhat cumbrous, is free from confusion; it is when brevity is sought for that confusion creeps in. The private school follows in the main indigenous courses and methods, the public school follows the courses prescribed or recognized by the educational department. The subdivision of public schools according to their management is worth while dwelling upon.

Some of the public schools are managed by Government. They are staffed by teachers who are in government employment, all the fees collected are credited to the State, and any deficit in the working of the school is met in its entirety from public funds. Others of these public schools are managed by local bodies. These local bodies are of two main types, the district board which 'exercises jurisdiction in matters of education, sanitation, roads, ferries, etc., over the area of a district,' and the municipality which exercises similar functions within the area of a town. The district board may delegate some of its functions to a body which under its general control exercises these functions in a subdivisional area; this body is known as a local or taluq board. When we read the Despatch of 1854 we find no mention made of local bodies. At that time there were only two forms of management, the Government and private individuals or bodies. It was almost thirty years later that this new form of management arose, when in 1882 Lord Ripon set up 'elected municipalities in the towns and district boards in the rural districts, for the declared purpose of providing the Indian peoples with a training in self-government in preparation for the future.' The system of local self-government thus inaugurated has made rapid strides, and much of what was carried on sixty years ago by provincial governments is now entrusted to these municipal and local bodies. Education, as has been already mentioned, is one of the matters that come under their jurisdiction, and the growth of schools under board management is one of the most marked features of recent years. The development in this direction has been helped by recent

legislation conferring on these bodies greatly increased powers, executive and financial. There remain to be noticed the public schools which are privately managed. These schools are institutions recognized by the Educational Department and forming an integral part of the public system of education. Their managers, however, are not government or local bodies but representatives of private effort. In some cases they are committees of Indian ladies and gentlemen interested in education, in other cases they are missionary societies, in others again individuals who find in this way an outlet for their philanthropy. These managers have established a school, put money into it, staffed it in accordance with the Educational Department's requirements, received recognition of it from the Department, and in the majority of cases have had grants assigned to them by the State, the amounts being regulated by the code obtaining in their province, because of their efficiency. But there are managers of schools who do not receive grants, either because they do not wish to be beholden to the State or because their schools have not as yet been able to comply with all the demands of the code. These schools thus privately managed, whether aided or unaided, form the third class of institutions that take their place in the national scheme of education.

A few figures may make the significance of this classification more apparent. In the table on page 221 the educational institutions in the presidency of Madras are classified according to their managements, and the number of institutions under each head and of the pupils attending them is shown as at the 31st March 1922.

If we confine ourselves to what is done in public institutions, that is in schools and colleges which conform to departmental standards, we find that 4 per cent of the pupils attend government schools, 34 per cent board schools, and 62 per cent schools under private management. Education in the presidency of Madras is thus mainly dependent on what is provided by private effort. This is far from

being the case in the Panjab, where 5 per cent of the pupils attend government schools, 68 per cent go to board schools, and only 27 per cent are in schools under private management. Statistics show that in Bombay, the United Provinces, the Panjab, and the Central Provinces board schools are the most favoured, while in Madras, Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa schools under private management have a preponderating influence. There are two remarks that suggest themselves in connexion with this consideration of management. One is that, in provinces where private effort

Class of Institution according to Management.	Number of Institutions.	Number of Pupils.
A. Public Institutions		
I. Under Public Management—		
1. Managed by Government . .	948	71,068
2. Managed by Boards:		
Municipal . . .	1,103	87,904
Local	8,843	502,619
II. Under Private Management—		
1. Aided	23,322	1,000,231
2. Unaided	2,988	80,671
B. Private Institutions	3,443	94,529
Total	40,647	1,837,022

is strongest, education is most largely disseminated. The Panjab has a population of 20,685,000, and the number of its pupils is 627,000. The population of Madras is 42,319,000, and the number of its pupils is 1,837,000. That is to say, the population of the Panjab is half that of Madras, and the number of pupils attending schools and colleges in the Panjab is one-third of that in Madras. The other remark is that care must be exercised in urging the truism as to a large dissemination of education not being the same as a dissemination of good education. Any one who is acquainted with India knows that there are large tracts where expansion

of education and a high standard of education have admittedly gone hand in hand. And where there has been a discrepancy between the two it will be found that this has been caused in large measure by the failure of the State to discharge its recognized responsibility of subsidizing financially and inspecting adequately. This point does not require to be argued. Paragraph 21 of the Resolution of the Government of India, issued in February 1913, is an official admission of the fact. There is no reason why expansion and adequacy should not advance *pari passu*, provided that Government discharges its responsibility as the ultimate controller of the whole system of education.

II

We have now reached the point where, if we are to take any step towards the solution of the problem of management in Indian education, we must clearly distinguish between control and management. Nothing is more common than a confusion between these two notions. The method pursued in the Quinquennial Reviews of dealing with 'Private Managing Agencies' in a chapter entitled 'Controlling Agencies,' does not tend to that clearness of distinction which ought to be made between a controlling agency and a managing agency. Even so careful and informing a writer as Mr H. R. James, whose pronouncements on Indian education are always worthy of weighty consideration, leaves us with the impression of a lack of clearness in one of the paragraphs of his most stimulating book on *Education and Statesmanship in India*.[1] On page 136 he refers to the recommendation of the Commission of 1882 that 'in all ordinary cases secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid' as a recommendation 'for the withdrawal of Government from the direct control of higher education.' The Commission was fully in favour

[1] Longmans. 6s. 6d. 1917.

of Government ceasing its management of schools, but it was far from being in favour of Government withdrawing from the control of these schools.

Let me mention another way in which this confusion not infrequently occurs. It is sometimes said that the level of education in a locality is so poor that it can be improved only by the strengthening of government control. And when it is asked how this control is to be exercised a very common answer is : By the establishment of a government school, or by the taking over by Government of a school at present under board or private management. Such an answer makes government control synonymous with government management. And these two are not one. The State has a direct responsibility for the education of its citizens of which it cannot divest itself. And where in any area, large or small, district or province, the character of education is deteriorating or the results are unsatisfactory, the State is faced with a situation which, in the interests of sound government and healthy life, it must investigate and set right. It is open to do this in either of two ways, in what I may call the official way or the national way. The official method consists in provincializing schools and colleges, that is, in the assumption of the management of these institutions by Government which meets their net cost from public funds and staffs them with those who are its educational servants. The national method consists in enlisting the interest of all who have a stake in education in the district, in placing responsibility upon them through boards or councils, in granting these schools subsidies to enable them to improve staff and equipment, and in giving to the managers of the schools in the area the benefit of capable and sympathetic inspectors. The official method plants one or more government-managed schools in an area the maintenance of which is a large and ever-increasing drain on public resources, with the practical result that only limited funds for schools under private management are available, and what should be generous grants to these schools become

to all intents and purposes doles. The unfairness of this method is equalled only by its ineffectiveness. A good school is established, without doubt, but half a dozen schools which have in them the potentiality of being equally good are left struggling or starving. The adequate grants which would have made all the difference are not sanctioned, at an enhanced cost one school flourishes where several might have prospered and the general level of education in the district is not improved. Educationally then the official method is unsound. It is indeed an anachronism. It is a relic of the time when Government departing from its avowed policy exercised its power in the educational field as a rival not as a co-operator. It is as great an anachronism as the first proposals for the establishment of the Dacca University, proposals which would have made the university a state concern maintained by Government and staffed by government officials. When we read through the recommendations of the committee we might imagine ourselves perusing a Prussian memorandum. And yet the report of the committee was published at the end of 1912, so that it is separated from our time by less than a dozen years. Anyone who would propose that an Indian university of to-day should be a state organ, staffed, financed, and directed by the State, would be looked on with all the interest of a Rip Van Winkle.

The same confusion between management and control was made by the Government of Madras when in 1910 it proposed to take under its management nineteen schools and to make them ' Model High Schools.' The extra expenditure on this scheme was estimated to be a recurring amount of almost four and a half lakhs per annum. The opposition that was raised to this proposal was both vigorous and continued. Every nerve was strained by those who knew what the avowed policy of Government was, and who saw how the scheme proposed to absorb an increasing amount of public funds in the effort to extend departmental influence without the faintest indication of any endeavour to encourage the extension of private educational effort. There

was more than a question of policy involved. There was the assumption that with Government alone lay the exclusive prerogative of setting up schools that might be called model. There was no proposal that a certain sum of money should be set apart to make the schools of local bodies and private managements model in character although these schools did, in actual fact, serve a much wider field than schools under official management. Furthermore those who would be placed on the staff of these schools would be members of a service to the exigencies of which they had to submit; and anyone who looks over the reports on government institutions and the changes in staff recorded will have no difficulty in forming an idea as to the educational dislocation which these exigencies entail on schools. The scheme was abandoned as the result of the opposition which it encountered, but not without some strong feeling. A high government official spoke to me a few years ago of the evils which those of us who had taken part in the opposition had inflicted upon education, since, as he said, it had weakened government control over secondary schools. The old confusion thus came out years after the controversy had ended. To the official mind official control was practically inseparable from official management. Such a position, I repeat, is an anachronism. These two are not one.

III

Having seen some of the unfortunate results of a failure to discriminate between control and management in Indian education we are now in a position to see where the crux of the problem of management lies. I am all in favour of government control; I am increasingly averse from government management. The control of the State in the field of education is a serious obligation the implications of which, as it seems to me, have not as yet been fully realized. If the service of control received the attention and financial support which are its due it would more and more be recog-

nized as salutary, beneficial, and indispensable. But state management in Indian education is at best a makeshift. A makeshift may do what is valuable and what is even for a long period invaluable. My own belief is that the government management of general education, with all that this has involved, has done for India much that apart from it would have been impossible. To call a method a makeshift detracts in no ways from the benefits which it has provided. It only indicates that it is not a permanent method, and that when the time comes it naturally gives place to one that is more suitable. To my mind that time has come. The framers of the Despatch of 1854 foresaw developments although the precise nature of these was hid from their eyes. After seventy years we are now realizing that the time has come when, under a representative Government responsible for education, the makeshift may give way to a more permanent arrangement.

What is it that the present position involves ? It is this. As the educational system of the country is now maintained, the State is not only the power which controls the whole of education, it is also one of the managing partners. It administers the education of the country, and to do this employs three managing agencies—local bodies, private effort, and the Educational Department—and these three agencies are, in virtue of their participation in the system of national education, partners. As regards education then the State is at once co-ordinate with other agencies and superior to these agencies. Could any arrangement be conceived more difficult to work or requiring greater delicacy of operation if it is to work at all ? Forty years ago the Education Commission made it plain that only by sympathy could the arrangement succeed, and it was looking back on almost thirty years of working, a period during a considerable portion of which, as the evidence showed, the necessary sympathy had not been operative. Since the time of the Commission the system has failed more than once at this very point, notwithstanding the best efforts of many officers.

It seems too much to ask of the State that, with the growth of education, it should treat itself as both a managing partner and a managing director. The attempt to do this has been always difficult, in many cases unsuccessful, and the result is that the spread of education has been prejudicially affected. Even all the fairmindedness and liberality of thought which have marked educational administration and administrators, and we have had in India a generous share of these, are unable to outweigh the inherent difficulties of the existing system. Now that the interest in education is more intense than it has ever been, now that there are those on whom educational responsibilities may safely be reposed, the time is ripe for very serious consideration of the question whether government control of education cannot be made so effective and stimulating that government management may be withdrawn.

Attentive observation of what has been taking place within the last five or six years shows that a process of transference of educational institutions from official to non-official management is definitely taking place. It occurs at both ends of the educational ladder. Colleges which were formerly under government management have in certain instances passed out of departmental hands through the creation of unitary universities. In these cases the university has become responsible for the instruction that is required, and the colleges have become practically hostels. For instance, in the unitary teaching University of Dacca, what was formerly the Dacca College managed by Government has become the Dacca Hall, a place of residence, as the definition goes, ' provided or maintained by the University.' Analogous to what is taking place in connexion with higher education, but on a much larger scale, is what is taking place in the field of elementary education. For there schools are being quite definitely transferred from the management of Government to that of public bodies. What I plead for is that the process which is now going on in a more or less casual way should be adopted as a policy.

The carrying out of such a policy is faced with many difficulties both of principle and detail. But the general lines of transfer and withdrawal on the part of Government are not hard to trace. In the case of unitary universities the matter, as we have seen, is solving itself. But a different situation arises where a local university is not unitary but is made up of several constituent colleges as in the reconstituted University of Madras. This is the situation contemplated by the Calcutta University Commission when it deals with the establishment of a teaching university in Calcutta. In the course of the thirty-fourth chapter of their report the Commissioners take up for consideration the position of the Presidency College in the university. They get to the heart of the matter when they give it as their opinion that in a university consisting of many colleges ' it is undesirable that one college should stand in a specially intimate relation to Government, and be regarded as having a prior claim to government funds available for higher education, solely because of that relation.' The constituent colleges of a university are bound to differ in the funds which they can expend, the staff they can appoint, and the accommodation they can provide. But while differences in such respects are inevitable, differences based on government relationship are too artificial to be lasting. They have their origin in what is unacademic ; and when the academic asserts itself with sufficient strength, as it is now doing over the breadth of India, the knell of such a distinction is sounded. The time for the elimination of government management has thus come.

But if Government is not to manage these colleges, may not the university itself assume the management ? This is a question that is being asked in several quarters at the present time. It seems so easy ; the university is a corporation capable of acquiring and holding property, and it has an expert body of advisers on matters administrative and academic. Why not therefore transfer to the university the functions previously exercised by Government ? The Cal-

cutta University Commission has a two-fold answer to this which needs to be carefully pondered at a time when any scheme which holds out the prospect of economy starts with a feeling in its favour. 'In the first place,' says the Commission, 'being a university-controlled institution, the college would be placed in a wholly different position from the other arts colleges. It would not be to anything like the same extent as the other colleges a distinct corporation with a character of its own. The corporate life of the college might suffer from this, and in that case the life of the university of colleges would be impoverished. Secondly, it would be apt to be regarded with jealousy by the other colleges, which would suspect, with or without reason, that it enjoyed preferential treatment at the hands of the university.'

The first of these reasons has not received the consideration that is its due. It tends to be forgotten because in a few parts of India there has been a willingness to adopt the type of university which is called unitary, a type in which 'all the teaching is centralized under direct university control.' But though this pattern has been followed in the United Provinces and in the University of Dacca, it is not the pattern which the Calcutta University Commission has recommended for adoption in the city of Calcutta, nor is it the type which has been followed in the recently established universities of Rangoon and Nagpur or in the reconstituted University of Madras. It will be no good day for India when attention is so concentrated upon the university that the college pales into insignificance. Much has been said in criticism of the affiliating university, but that criticism is mainly in points where the area of affiliation is large and the control of the university over its colleges is weak. Within a comparatively restricted area the affiliating system helps to spread university education and to stimulate the desire for it in a manner that is wonderfully effective. And much of its efficacy depends on this, that it has given to the country colleges, large and small, which are a national asset. Whether then we look at the universities which continue to exercise

the functions of affiliation, or at those that are made up of constituent colleges, we are forced to the conclusion that a system which would absorb colleges in the university and deprive them of all separate existence would be of more than doubtful value. India cannot afford to lose colleges which have built up worthy traditions and have proved channels through which there flow streams of thought and aspiration that make their characteristic contribution to the life and health of the nation. And he who advocates a plan that robs the colleges of their individuality renders a serious disservice to education and to his country.

The second reason merits no less careful consideration. To transfer a college from the management of Government to the management of the university is not to solve a problem but to continue it. Any authority, be it a government, a board, or a university, which controls a number of institutions and also manages one of these institutions, renders the institution which it both controls and manages liable to the suspicion of preferential treatment. And unfortunately it cannot be said that the suspicion is without reason. In the story of Indian education the suspicion has been justified. And if a system of education is to flourish there must be in that system no factor which by its intrinsic nature will engender suspicion or leave the impression that the system is based on rivalry rather than co-operation.

Thus, though there are not a few who urge the transference of colleges now under government management to the management of the university, consideration of their advocacy makes this plain, that they weave suspicion into the very texture of university education and impoverish the intellectual and national resources of the country.

Is there any method by which government colleges may be transferred to a management that will preserve the individuality of the colleges and at the same time free them from any suspicion of preferential treatment ? Two methods suggest themselves according as the colleges pass under public or under private management. They might be vested

in trustees, or they might be handed over to local bodies. The former method would seem the more fitting for the larger colleges ; the latter might be adopted with success for the smaller. The board of trustees would contain representatives of Government and would either constitute, or more appropriately appoint, the governing board. The trustees would have vested in them the property of the college and such funds and endowments as belonged to it ; for current revenue it would depend on the rules regulating government grant. It goes without saying that when actual transference took place the interests of those on the staff of the college would be matter of definite safeguard.

That local bodies should become the managers of colleges would be simply an extension of the principle of local self-government which is being fostered in so many directions. And if it be said that a college serves a larger area than a school and cannot be associated so definitely with any one district, then the most natural course would be for several districts to combine in assuming the responsibility. In a draft bill intended to amend the law relating to Local Boards the following clause was inserted : 'A local board may, and if so required by the local government shall, join with one or more than one other local authority in constituting a joint committee for any purpose in which they are jointly interested or any matter for which they are jointly responsible.' A clause such as this has only to become a statutory provision in order to prove a most valuable ally to education. By means of it a strong board of management for a college could be obtained, and a wide-spread local interest secured.

The means by which Government may divest itself of the management of its colleges in favour of non-official managements are ready to hand. By the agency of trustees or public bodies a transfer is possible without difficulty and with, at worst, a passing inconvenience. The handing over by Government of its secondary schools to suitable public or private managements presents still fewer difficulties.

In regard to elementary schools the process, as has been already mentioned, is actually at work.

A comprehensive policy of transfer has thus been prepared for. To my mind the time for its inauguration has arrived, and I trust that it will find a place speedily in all provincial educational programmes.

IV

There may be some advantage if, in closing this article, I indicate the benefits which seem to me certain to accrue from the relinquishment by Government of the management of all schools and colleges while it retains its control over the whole educational system.

In the first place there is a great advantage in eliminating a form of management which gives rise to an anomalous situation, and in relying on the two great agencies of local bodies and private enterprise. The suspicion of preferential treatment is excluded, and the management of education is undertaken by those who are either the representatives of the people under a system of local self-government or the friends of the people in an endeavour to spread the benefits of education. In the one case the resources are forthcoming through corporate taxation, in the other through personal generosity. The one form of management enables a community to adopt that form of education which satisfies it as a whole, the other makes it possible for an education to be given which meets individual needs. The one, through its inability to find a common religious outlook in the society concerned, may have to forego any specific religious instruction, while the other through its appeal to particular sections may combine religion and education without difficulty. In the one education receives the benefit of local organization, in the other it receives the benefit of individual initiative. In this manner the one form of management supplements the other, and by the existence of both side by side the educational system of the country is maintained in vigour and elasticity.

A second gain will be a better system of educational organization. The existence of government schools and colleges has meant the existence of a government educational service. So far as teachers are concerned this has not had the most happy results. Teachers tend to be classified according as they belong or do not belong to government service, and a separation based on anything but educational qualifications is the consequence. When government management ceases it will be possible to appoint all teachers not to a service but to definite posts, and to organize teachers on a professional not on a service basis. This will involve much attention to detail so that the qualifications of teachers may be properly recognized, their prospects rendered attractive, and a satisfactory provident fund established. But all that will admit of comparatively easy treatment when the main position is granted, and teachers receive their rank and recognition in virtue of their being members of a profession and not because of any extraneous consideration.

A third gain will be a better financial system in education. The closer co-operation of public and private effort will tend to economy; and what is saved on the services will be available for larger grants and subsidies. This matter is so important that its full exposition demands more detailed treatment, but even the two considerations that have been mentioned hold out the prospect of a widely increased spread of education.

Another gain will be this. At present government control is jeopardized by the fact of government management. As a manager the Government of Madras has appointed selection committees to guide the principals of government colleges in their admission of students. The object of these committees is to secure a satisfactory representation of various communities in the colleges maintained by the State. Objection has been taken to this on the ground that admissions to state colleges are being regulated by considerations which are not of an educational character. The reply to this is that Government is manager of its own

colleges, and managers may adopt any rules they please for the admission of their students provided they infringe no rule laid down by the University. But Government is more than a manager; it is the controller of the whole system. Thus it may conceivably happen that the rules which Government lays down as manager may react prejudicially upon its position as controller. From the possibility of such a prejudice Government should be entirely free. And when it ceases to be a manager it will obtain this freedom.

The final benefit that may be mentioned is that the educational system will be moulded into a coherent whole. As soon as any important decision or action has to be taken the educational system as at present constituted tends to fall apart into two sections, departmental teachers and inspectors on the one side and non-departmental teachers on the other. This line of division is most unfortunate and hampers education. There is a natural line of division: on the one side the inspecting agency exercising control over the system, on the other the teachers welded into one organized profession in virtue of educational qualifications and experience. It is this line of division, a helpful and not an unhappy one, which will be alone recognized when Government withdraws from the function of management. And the result will be an organized, unified, and effective educational system.

W. Meston

CHANGING PROBLEMS OF THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA

By J. LEIGHTON STUART, D.D.

The establishment of Christian colleges in China has implications for the enterprise of foreign missions, many of which could not at the time have been foreseen. While these implications are, to be sure, more or less inseparable from all phases of missionary activity in China, yet in the field of higher education they inevitably become more apparent and more acute. In certain features they are not unlike those that have had to be faced in the planting of colleges for foreign religious propaganda in any of the great mission fields. But here again the situation in China includes factors that are peculiar or that reveal themselves in aggravated form. The world-wide Christian movement has more at stake perhaps in the development of these China colleges than in any other single aspect of its great task. They have to do with one-fourth of the human race, now and probably continuing to be a single homogeneous culture, a virile people of high mentality and possessing abounding natural resources; they will largely set the thinking and supply the leadership for the nascent Chinese Church; to the Chinese public at large they are the most conspicuous and convincing evidences of the bearing of Christian work on China's welfare; they are involving their supporters in ever-increasing financial burdens; their range and compass of interest is such that they have a superb opportunity to interpret the significance of Christian faith for all aspects of human life in the China of to-day—political, educational, industrial, social, moral; they—with a few of the better equipped hospitals—will remain as the permanent memorials of western friendship for China, after the smaller plants and simpler pro-

grammes of evangelistic and lower educational effort have been absorbed into the organic life of the Chinese Church. European and American Christians having entered the field of secular higher education in this vast nation, plastic now as it never has been and never will be again, have assumed enormous responsibilities for their own immediate objectives, for the eager young students whom they have undertaken to equip for life, and for the broader applications of the Christian spirit to modern knowledge and to international relations. The institutions which they have brought into being are in the midst of conditions strangely unlike those in which most of them began. All of this has been set forth in detail in Chapter III of the *Report of the Educational Commission* with various specific recommendations for increased efficiency. The present paper aims rather to describe the possibilities and the problems of the Christian college in China under changing conditions from the standpoint of one who is working at this fascinating yet formidable creative task.

The genesis of the Christian college was usually quite simple—the desire to secure qualified Chinese Christian workers, the logical development of secondary schools, the extension of Christian influence. As a rule, colleges were naively projected as part of a denominational programme, their policies controlled by a body composed almost wholly of men and women trained for and concerned with evangelistic rather than educational duties, the teachers appointed perforce from their own number and with little if any special preparation. However crude in content and method of instruction, they were better than any other schools, for there were no others. If there was no comprehensive planning, no elaborate anticipation of forces that have to be reckoned with to-day, it was evidence of the true instinct which led to their erection. It was no artificial scheme of doctrinaire promoters, but the natural process for meeting an immediate need by men in the thick of the job and with the most effective use of available resources. And they

have done well. To quote from the Report referred to above:

> On the whole, the colleges have been able to achieve a large measure of success in these various aims. They have been the pioneers of modern collegiate education in China, and have supplied many of her most valuable leaders in government, industry, education and religion. . . . Their very conception was in more than one case a daring adventure of faith and a significant instance of Christian idealism and international good will.

Chinese of all types unite in generous recognition of this.[1]

What in the present and future is the distinctive function of these colleges, and how can they best fulfil it? What should be their relation to the Christian movement as a whole, to one another, to the Chinese educational system? What are their remediable defects, their peculiar difficulties, their most serious dangers? Are they to be thought of and built up primarily as part of the machinery of a western-controlled propaganda? Or as a far-sighted provision for the Chinese Church that is to be? Or are they to be an expression of the friendly desire of western Christians to serve the Chinese people by sharing with them in love the finest benefits of their own culture, studiously adapted to China's present needs, supplying thus her one supreme lack of a new leadership moralized and made hopeful and resolute by religious faith, and spelling out in language as costly as it will be clear the meaning of the Golden Rule, trusting the spiritual life so generated to organize itself according to racial genius and the guidance of God's living spirit? These various relationships and aims are by no means incompatible, but the proportionate emphasis and the proper procedure call for the best collective wisdom and the sympathetic insight of all concerned. It may be helpful to attempt to analyse some of the elements in the present complex situation.

1. That our colleges are maintained by foreigners is the fact about them most obvious and most objectionable to Chinese, and naturally least so to ourselves. This has of

[1] Vide *Education in China*, a collection of papers by leading Chinese educationalists, published by the Society for the Study of International Education, Peking, 1923.

course always been the case. But whereas in earlier days this Chinese attitude was due to ignorant prejudice, it now springs from an intelligent and not ignoble national self-consciousness, all the more sensitive because newly awakened, bruised by much un-Christian treatment at the hands of those very countries whose missionaries we are, and bitterly aware of its own political impotence. Our colleges —unlike those in Japan, India and elsewhere—are located and operated in defiance of or rather with indifference to Chinese wishes, because of treaties forced on China by western military strength. In the political disintegration of the country and with heavy investments of property and life, China's best friends would scarcely advocate the abandonment of extra-territorial protection yet. But should we conform to the requirements of the Government, as though it had the power to compel conformity? How may we prepare our institutions and public opinion for the time when it will have the power? We can at least scrupulously maintain the same academic standards, co-operate with the semi-official and very promising National Association for the Advancement of Education, and all local agencies, and in every way that does not vitiate basic principles identify ourselves with Chinese life. But the Chinese complaint that we are too foreign goes further and touches the question of personnel. Their own colleges employed at the outset large numbers of Japanese and western teachers, whereas now these constitute not over one per cent. I venture to quote a few opening sentences on this problem from an article written with one's fellow-craftsmen in mind:

> That Christian activities of all sorts should pass more completely into Chinese control has become an axiom of missionary policy. Especially is this recognized in educational work. There are now large numbers of qualified Chinese who have either studied abroad or in local schools for teacher training. Not a few of these are the product of our schools and are Christians in faith or in sympathy. Yet to the present writer the inability to secure and retain more of such men and women appears to be—all things considered—the most serious administrative defect in Christian education in China to-day, both in the practical losses resulting therefrom and in its disclosure of spiritual failure.

For such potential teachers have either not been fired with enough Christian idealism to make them eager to share with us the service we are attempting to render their own people, or else our policies—the restrictions and limitations under which they would work—are such that they seem to feel they can use their lives elsewhere to better advantage.[1]

Another excessively foreign characteristic in their eyes is the insufficient attention to Chinese scholarship. This has been due not merely to the shortcomings of foreign teachers but to the desires of our students. Whatever our motives in opening these colleges and our hopes for the students who enter them, we need have no illusions as to their own motives and those of their relatives. These are almost wholly for economic considerations. Not a thirst for learning, still less religious hunger, but increased earning capacity attracts the great majority. For this reason they have wanted English and western learning generally. There is, however, a growing reaction in favour of their own cultural heritage and we shall do well to assist in this to our utmost. There is a yet deeper recoil in Chinese thought against our colleges which is essentially national in that it springs from racial outlook. This is the very fact that they exist for religious propaganda, an educational objective abhorrent to their instincts. It is not merely that it is a religion imported from abroad, not at all that it is Christianity as such. Attempts among themselves to establish Confucian and Buddhist colleges have aroused scarcely any response. The almost universal atheism and contempt for all religion as a superstitious left-over and a hindrance to progress which prevails among the young intellectuals does not explain although it greatly accentuates this attitude.

The problems of our colleges in relation to Chinese Nationalism have been stated with unflinching frankness. Some of them are inherent in the situation. But, despite them all, the present writer is unhesitatingly of the opinion that our colleges will be welcomed more and more on one very reasonable condition, which is that with due considera-

[1] *Educational Review* (*China*), October 1923, p. 334.

tion for the national point of view they are maintained educationally efficient. It may seem a paradox, but government educators themselves want us in direct proportion to our superiority to their own schools. We can win a place for ourselves stronger than gunboats can give, and where our religious emphasis will be freely accepted, if the quality of our schools in standards of scholarship, in working equipment, and in fitting for life-needs is as it ought to be.

2. Our surest hope therefore of winning a permanent hold for our colleges in the life as well as on the soil of China lies in their worth as educational institutions. This happily coincides with our own ideals for them. Anything bearing the Christian name should connote honest values and be as good of its kind as circumstances permit. But this goal is not as simple as it seems. What are the results to be sought in college study, and is the present curriculum of the typical western university best adapted to obtain these? There has apparently been of late much questioning on this subject in America by those most competent to discuss it. In China, where conditions are more complicated, our colleges are controlled, administered and taught largely by amateurs. Meanwhile there is an increasing number of Chinese who have mastered the principles of modern education and who can accurately appraise our work. There are government universities manned by Chinese whose technical qualifications compare quite favourably with those of most missionary teachers, and whose ideals compel admiration. True, the government schools in the present political disorder are suffering from a financial stringency which necessarily deranges their work; they abound in insincerities and superficialities; they are becoming more and more involved in internal politics as well as in the party strife of the times. Numerous mushroom colleges with pretentious names are forming, and every military swashbuckler is announcing himself as patron of a university existing or proposed. There are thirty-nine 'universities' in the city of Peking alone. But the government and private Chinese institutions

have unlimited potential resources, and if ever political conditions become stabilized we can be sure that their schools will be taken care of. Even now when the mission colleges are crowded with applicants, and when the government colleges are known to be in a precarious condition, yet the better government institutions cannot receive one-tenth of those who sit for their entrance examinations. This is a suggestion of the preference for their own colleges. Unless we depend for our prestige on the weakness of competitors, we must maintain standards that are absolutely good. Only by so doing will we attract the best material to us. Furthermore, educated Chinese in their present mood have developed their critical faculties more than the constructive. They know what first-class, up-to-date education is, even when they do not achieve it themselves. This critical attitude, and the fact that we are being observed by them, and by no means entirely without sympathy, can be utilized for a powerful testimony to the out-working of the Christian spirit.

Turning to the content of the curriculum perhaps the most practical question is as to the place of vocational education. Is there any call for a four years' course of general culture? The new government scheme provides that after the first two years of preparatory study it should all be occupational, continuing through only the two following years, or with one or two years of post-graduate work, according to the demands of the subject. Apart from the danger of becoming too utilitarian, for what vocations can training most suitably be offered in a Christian college? Those that prepare for the ministry and all forms of organized Christian activity, and others that, in the fine phrase of the Educational Commission's Report, tend most toward the strengthening of the Christian community. That, however, allows a broad scope, and the resources of the colleges are very limited. Realizing this, the Commission attempted to indicate how the colleges could be co-ordinated so as to avoid all needless duplication and offer the greatest variety of technical courses with a minimum of expenditure. In

addition to the rise of strong Chinese universities and the clamant demand for vocational training, such correlation would seem to be the easier and the wiser policy in view of two other rather recent phenomena thus described in the Report of the Educational Commission:

(*a*) The fading of western denominational interests and the tendency towards a united Chinese Church, with the result that separate colleges exist largely because of administrative convenience rather than living distinctive principles.

(*b*) The increasing ease and rapidity of communication, with the result that colleges are now as many hours apart as they were days, and students have ceased to consider distance from home or provincial lines in deciding what college to attend.

In view of the far-reaching issues involved has not the time come when the mission boards or the trustees to whom they have delegated their responsibility should take a more immediate and more united part in the direction of the China colleges, and associate with themselves as advisers in this task the most capable and experienced Christian educators in their respective countries ?

3. The attainment of educational standards is primarily a question of money. Those in charge of the colleges are quite conscious of existing unsatisfactory conditions, and passionately desirous of meeting adequately their present opportunities. With two exceptions, their institutions are the creatures of mission boards which had not counted the increasing cost even of normal and necessary growth or which are caught in grievous financial cross-currents at home while being appealed to from the field for enlarging programmes. The result is that most of the colleges, like lusty under-nourished children, are hungrily begging 'on their own.' These efforts are costly and relatively unsuccessful, and they tend to remove the institutions of higher learning out of direct relation to the home Churches and their organized missionary agencies as such, which is bad financially for all concerned and may result in weakening the control of that phase of mission work which needs it

most. On the other hand, even on the most economical re-organization of the colleges they must have largely increased resources if they are to exert the influence they should in the China of the present and immediate future, and any one who allows his imagination to play upon their surpassing potentialities will agree that the returns on such investments should be enormous.

It is a pertinent question why we cannot count on larger Chinese support. That Chinese support should increase and ultimately be the sole source is agreed to by all. But most of the colleges will first have to justify themselves in Chinese eyes, as yielding more of a real service to China's conscious needs, as being more truly by and for the Chinese, as not necessarily less Christian but less of a foreign propagandist instrument. The present political chaos and consequent economic troubles are another factor, as is the fact that the alumni of our colleges have either not had a chance to enter lucrative careers, or have been influenced deliberately to give themselves to more idealistic callings. That Chinese support will come in time and in no niggardly terms need not be feared if we build our programmes wisely and maintain the standards that will win endorsement.

4. One of the assets of the mission college is the broadening touch it gives with other lands. It tends to develop as one of its finest by-products an international habit of thought in teachers scarcely less than in students. Recent events have given poignant emphasis to the importance of such an outlook on life. If, as is being frequently asserted by publicists, the road to the peace of the world lies through China, just as does the provocation for another world-war, the presence of colleges exemplifying world-wide brotherhood assumes a new significance. But really to accomplish such a cross-fertilization of cultures, they should be as inclusive as possible. For this reason Anglo-American co-operation should be encouraged, and if impracticable in certain institutions, it constitutes an added argument for a closer inter-relation among them as a group. Similar

association with continental societies, or at least the presence of individuals from other European countries, is distinctly an advantage. All this gains much greater force when we look forward to increasing Chinese control in these colleges. They will come thus into a heritage more comprehensive and catholic than if in each case they merely perpetuate an American or British or Scandinavian type. Whether therefore in a given university or whether by intimate association in a system of Christian higher education, the fusion of the distinctive features of each country makes for the enrichment of the whole and prepares the way for them all to become in the fullest sense Chinese.

5. There has been no change in the religious purpose of the colleges themselves. But there have been revolutionary changes in their environment. There is first the general transformation in life and in thought caused by applied science. One notable result of this has been marvellously increased ease and rapidity of communication both for persons and for knowledge. The nations of Asia are becoming quite well acquainted with western civilization and are eagerly appropriating those features which they conceive to be of value to themselves. In a certain sense it is no longer true that the Christian religion will not move beyond our shores unless we carry it. The hitherto radically anti-religious National University of Peking is offering a course this session in the History of Christianity. The older scholars and officials have organized syncretic movements in all the principal cities of China in which Jesus is worshipped on an equality with their own religious leaders. Greater, however, by far than the easily accessible knowledge about Christianity is the effect of modern science on Chinese thought. Whether or not we so inform them, our students are aware of the fact that study of the physical and social sciences is having its inevitable effect upon traditional interpretations of Christian faith and that the same method is being applied to the study of the Bible. Our teaching of these subjects cannot avoid exposing them to such

questionings any more than can our teaching of religious truth.

It is not surprising that the impact of western science on the youthful heirs of China's age-long civilization has produced a violent ferment of new thought. This intellectual awakening involves a protest against all that fetters or obstructs the free discovery of useful truth regardless of cherished sanctions. Notwithstanding its excesses, its ideals are largely Christian in spirit, and perhaps at least indirectly so in origin. Its motto to investigate and test can readily be made into, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.' One conspicuous phase of it, however, is the widespread repudiation of all religion as superstition, an avowed acceptance of the philosophy of materialism, and a vigorous polemic against the Christian faith as its most dangerous obstructionist influence. Nor is it surprising that the intellectual currents of our age have produced reactions in the China missionary body and the Chinese Christians. The alignment is no longer one of western sectarian divisions but of attitude to the relation of current scientific knowledge and methods to Biblical interpretation.

The Christian universities and their related schools of theology must carry on their work in this setting. They have been founded to win students to Christ and to fit them for His service; they must also as colleges teach the truth of each subject without fear and without restraint. Some of their students come from mission middle schools satiated with required religious duties or steeped in doctrines which college experience will perhaps disturb, others come from government schools knowing little of any Christian teaching but rather prejudiced against it. In all of them the college seeks to develop a Christian faith, living and vigorous, free but earnest, made sufficiently their own to stay with them through life. The Chinese students of to-day are beset with intellectual perplexities which must be dealt with frankly by constructive methods loyal at once to enlarging knowledge and to established beliefs. The New Thought Tide with its

passion for freedom and truth must realize that as our Master taught of these so do His followers live in them. They must thus be ' liberal,' in the real sense of this misused word, by aiding their students to win the freedom of thought and will that comes from searching for and living by the truth that personal experience has vitalized. It is the function of the colleges to do this for individual students, and also for the Chinese Church which needs to be made independent, not merely in matters of self-support but in the scholarship of its leaders as well. This is the two-fold goal of foreign missions and there is an intimate relation between them. True faith will be confident that by thus freely sharing whatever new knowledge has come to us, Chinese scholars will be able, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to recognize and retain all the enduring articles of Christian belief. But the colleges must also be ' conservative,' again in the original meaning of conserving essential values. There is the danger of Chinese Christian thought being too much dominated by one or another school of foreign teachers. But there is the greater danger of prematurely organized independent movements under undisciplined leaders or those whose policies would involve a break with the sacred deposit of which the Western Churches have become the stewards. The thoroughgoing mastery of scientific methods of study, with open-minded search for truth, in the atmosphere of a truly Christian college, ought to result in securing a historic continuity not otherwise possible and a discriminating evaluation of the abiding things as against the accidents and accretions of western religious life. That Chinese are going to learn of the consequences of modern knowledge for religious faith goes without saying. The only questions are whether they shall do so in studies mediated to them by those who have consecrated their lives to winning them to faith in Jesus Christ as their Divine Saviour, and with such fulness and freedom as will make their expression of the faith thus found in harmony alike with all truth, whether old or new, while also genuinely Chinese.

J. Leighton Stuart

THE TREND OF MEDICAL MISSION POLICY IN CHINA

By HAROLD BALME, F.R.C.S.

The history of the medical missionary enterprise in China may be regarded, for purposes of description, as having passed through three fairly distinct stages. There was in the first place the stage of expansion—the period of pioneering, when the chief emphasis was laid upon the advance into new territory and the utilization of the medical mission as a means of making contacts, removing prejudice and suspicion, and attracting large numbers of possible converts to Christianity. This was followed in turn by a stage of concentration, characterized by the development of well-equipped hospitals in the more strategic centres, and the use of such centres for a daily demonstration of what was popularly spoken of as ' the Gospel in action.' But in more recent years a third stage has gradually come into view—a stage of devolution, in which the main objective is the transference of the responsibility for the care of the sick upon the shoulders of Chinese Christian physicians and nurses, the equipping of such leaders for their new task, and the training up of a Christian consciousness in all matters concerning the ' redemption of the body.'

It is of course obvious that in a country of the size and complexity of China, where vastly different degrees of development are to be found in the cities and rural areas, the three stages above mentioned cannot be separated by distinct chronological epochs—indeed each of them may still be found to exist to-day in different parts of the same country. But from the point of view of the evolution of medical missionary policy, the division referred to is probably fairly accurate, and will serve as a useful guide in any

consideration of the newer problems which are now confronting the medical missionary whose work lies in the more progressive centres of Chinese life and thought.

The most significant change which has come over all forms of mission work in the Far East during the last decade has been the recognition, on the part of a large body of missionaries, that the true criterion of success consists in the effectiveness and permanence of the organization which they are setting up, rather than in the efficient service and administrative genius which they may personally display. The foundation and spread of the Kingdom of God in China demands to-day a policy which, as Dr C. Y. Cheng has well put it, should be 'Church-centric rather than mission-centric.' And the western missionary who would desire to make a humble contribution towards that great end needs so to shape his course that he may leave behind, not merely the fragrant memory of a life of self-sacrificing devotion—immeasurable as such an influence assuredly is—but rather a living memorial in the form of a group of men and women in whose lives he has reproduced himself, and who will be able to carry forward his work as he himself could never have done. In other words, the successful missionary of to-day is the man who makes himself not indispensable, but dispensable.

Such an objective calls for a life no less heroic and self-denying than that of the pioneers of old—indeed the whole difficulty of carrying out what would appear, on the surface, to be an obvious proposition lies in the reluctance of most of us to practise the necessary self-effacement in order to assist others to 'increase.' But unless this policy of devolution is kept ever before us the building up of the indigenous Church will be seriously retarded and crippled.

There are three directions in which this newer policy is expressing itself to-day in China in relation to the medical missionary enterprise.

I. The Building up of a Christian Medical and Nursing Profession.—Ever since missionary physicians

commenced their labours in the Far East, the necessity of training Chinese assistants has been realized. But it is only within the last few years that missionary societies have regarded it as within their function to establish and maintain modern medical schools. As recently as 1913 the China Medical Missionary Association was prepared to recognize as medical colleges eight missionary institutions, not one of which would have been allowed to act in such a capacity in the West owing to the utter inadequacy of staff, equipment and current income. But extraordinary strides have been taken since that day, and the conditions now laid down by the Council on Medical Education of the China Medical Missionary Association for the recognition of any medical school compare favourably with what is demanded by the Medical Councils of Great Britain, America or Japan.[1]

This demand for full modern standards on the part of missionaries actively engaged in the work of medical education has been repeatedly challenged by those who are concerned with the vast amount of suffering and preventable disease prevalent in China. They argue, with great cogency, that until China has a better educated medical profession of her own it is a counsel of perfection to insist on standards comparable to those which obtain in the West, and that it would be of far greater service to the myriads of sufferers if the men and money now concentrated in a very few medical schools were divided up amongst a large number of institutions of admittedly inferior grade.

In support of this claim reference is commonly made to the practice in India and Japan, where, in addition to the fully trained university graduate in medicine, the Government also recognizes a large number of physicians of inferior training, known respectively as sub-assistant surgeons or licensed medical practitioners. These men and women, within the limitations officially imposed upon them, are able to render effective service. Without them it would be almost impossible to carry on a great number of valuable

[1] These conditions are published in the *China Medical Journal*, 1923 (July), p. 599.

hospitals in India to-day, and they are able, in addition, to bring relief and comfort to numerous patients in the towns and rural districts. The question therefore arises as to whether medical missionary organizations in China should not similarly attempt to raise up a large corps of physicians of this type, whose preparation and instruction would require far less expenditure of man-force and of mission funds than are demanded by the modern medical school of to-day.

In attempting to answer that question it is permissible to ask another. For what special purpose should the missions seek to train such men? Would it be with a view to their acting as general practitioners in outlying districts not served by fully qualified physicians? Or would it rather be for the sake of the service which they could render as assistants in the mission hospitals themselves? If it is the former which is urged, it must be remembered that the essential condition which makes this temporary expedient an undoubted success in India and Japan does not unfortunately exist in China, where there is at present no central government of sufficient strength to impose the necessary restrictions upon practitioners with this inferior training. It would, therefore, be a serious matter for missions to follow a policy which would appear to place their imprimatur upon a course of instruction admittedly below modern requirements, in the absence of any means of protection and safeguard.

If, on the other hand, it is the securing of able assistance in the mission hospitals themselves which is the primary objective, we need to inquire whether this desideratum cannot be better obtained in other ways. The efficient work which has been done during the past few years by the Nurses' Association of China has proved without question that the ordinary service of the hospital wards (the dressing of surgical cases, the recording of clinical observations, and the carrying out of general lines of treatment) can be attended to by well-trained Chinese nurses quite as efficiently as by the student-assistants of a former generation. At the same

time, the recent recommendations of the Council on Hospital Administration of the China Medical Missionary Association, looking to the establishment of an Institute of Hospital Technicians, give promise of providing the hard-worked mission doctor with the laboratory technicians, the pharmacists, the X-ray operators and the anæsthetists of which he has been so sorely in need in the past. Such an institute can never be criticized as a third-rate medical school, as it will not be giving the ordinary course of medical instruction. It should, however, be able to supply a sufficient force of well-trained assistants for the various departments of hospital practice.

There is another factor in the situation which cannot be lost sight of. Christian educators of to-day are coming increasingly to realize that the value of the contribution which they are able to make to the vast problem of education on the mission field is almost negligible when reckoned in purely quantitative terms. The potency of its influence depends solely upon the excellence of its standards, and the spirit which permeates it. Whatever policy they may pursue, the medical missionary force at work in China can only hope to produce the tiniest fraction of the doctors and nurses which so vast a country requires—just as the mission hospitals which such a force can maintain only minister to less than one per cent of China's suffering patients. Is it not therefore of primary importance that such work as can be accomplished should be characterized by the excellence of its quality, and by the spiritual influence of the men and women whom it produces, and thus be able to make a deep and permanent impression upon the educational ideals and religious life of the whole country ?

The action of the China Medical Board in establishing a first-class medical school and hospital in Peking has necessarily affected the whole situation profoundly, whilst the Japanese Medical College at Mukden (which is now of university rank), the revived German Medical School in Shanghai and the Medical School of Hong-Kong University

are also following modern western standards. It is true that the Chinese government medical schools are at present of lower grade, most of them admitting students straight from middle schools and merely offering a four-year course, largely didactic in character. This however will not long survive if once the Central Government becomes stabilized, and adequate funds are available for educational purposes. The Board of Education ten years ago accepted as its standard of medical instruction a memorandum carefully drawn up by Dr Wu Lien-teh, which was in no respect behind the accepted standards of the General Medical Council of Great Britain; whilst the present policy of the National Society for the Advancement of Education—one of the most progressive organizations in China, which includes all the leading educators in the country—is mainly concentrated upon the advance of scientific teaching throughout all Chinese schools and colleges. This society, which was formed in 1921 on the occasion of Professor Paul Monroe's visit to China, has already secured the expert advice and co-operation of men like Professor Twiss, Professor McAll of Columbia, and Professor Coulter of Chicago, all of whom have made extended tours of investigation in China. Such an organization is bound to have an increasing influence upon the raising of educational standards throughout the country. With such forces at work, the missions will do well to watch their own institutions with great care lest they become out-classed and discredited.

2. The Development of Preventive Medicine, and of Public Health Education.—It is freely admitted in the West that the great advance which has been made during the past two decades in Europe and North America in the reduction of disease incidence and mortality has been due in the main to preventive rather than to curative measures. It is therefore somewhat surprising to notice that until very recent years medical missionaries have paid but little heed to the implications of this fact, and have been almost exclusively engaged upon the herculean task of

attempting to stem the tide of actual suffering and disease. Isolated physicians, of whom Dr Macklin of Nanking is a conspicuous example, have done yeoman service in the publication of tracts dealing with the preservation of health, whilst in times of exceptional danger, as for example during the various outbreaks of plague and cholera, mission doctors have always sprung to the rescue and various prophylactic measures have been improvised. This, however, has for the most part been of a purely temporary character, and as soon as the force of the epidemic has abated the medical missionary and nurse have returned to their ordinary tasks.

It was the National Y.M.C.A. of China which was the first missionary organization to attack this problem on constructive lines, by the appointment of a whole-time worker, Dr W. W. Peter, to organize a Health Division in the Lecture Department of the Association. Three years later the China Medical Missionary Association followed suit by establishing a Council of Public Health, which from its inception co-operated closely with the Y.M.C.A. Health Department. Other bodies subsequently joined in this new effort, and there has now been formed a Council on Health Education upon which all these forces are strongly represented. Three Christian physicians—Drs W. W. Peter, Vivia Appleton and S. M. Woo—have been set aside for the work of the Council by the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and the National Medical Association of China respectively, whilst several of the leading mission boards are now assisting by means of financial grants.

The main work of the Council is at present being carried out by the production of health literature and charts, and by the organization of health campaigns in the leading cities, as a result of which local associations have been set up in several centres. So successful has this work been that although the Council is still in its infancy it was able to report the circulation of more than a quarter of a million health bulletins last year.

Meantime the important problem of protection against

disease is being attacked from several other angles. The Society for the Advancement of Education, to which reference has been made above, has organized a special section on school hygiene, and text-books dealing with this subject are being widely used throughout the country. Infant welfare and the physical care of the school child are similarly being studied by special groups, and during this past summer the Council on Health Education organized three very successful summer schools for teachers, when lecture courses and demonstrations on the various subjects allied to disease prevention and to the preservation of health were delivered by experts. The medical schools are also beginning to make their contribution from the scientific side, and during the past few years important departments of preventive medicine, under the direction of first-class hygienists, have been organized at Peking, Tsinan, Changsha and other centres.

The interest which has been aroused in this matter amongst the Chinese themselves is full of promise. Ever since the disastrous outbreak of bubonic plague in 1911, there has been an efficient Plague Prevention Bureau in Manchuria, under the able management of Dr Wu Lien-teh ; whilst within recent years a well-staffed institute for the preparation of prophylactic vaccines and sera, and an isolation hospital for infectious cases, have been established in Peking. The National Medical Association of China, from the time of its initiation in 1915, has always placed the subject of preventive medicine in the very forefront of its programme, and during the year 1922 established a National Health Association of its own which secured over 5000 members within its first month.

This is a promising beginning, but it is only a beginning; when one pauses to consider the vastness of the problem in a country of the size of China, where such fundamental conceptions as those of sanitation, quarantine, a pure water supply and protection against infectious disease are almost unknown, it is easy to be staggered by the prospect. If

however the medical missionary force is concerned about the cure of sickness and suffering, it is plain that therapeutic measures alone are quite inadequate, and that nothing short of energetic measures directed towards the building up of an enlightened public opinion against the source and spread of disease will suffice. This matter is engaging the attention of medical missionaries in China in an increasing degree, and formed the main topic of discussion at the last biennial conference of the China Medical Missionary Association.

3. The Mobilization of Chinese Philanthropic Forces.—Writers on China of a past decade have often done a grave injustice to the Chinese people by omitting all reference to their works of philanthropy, thus conveying the suggestion that they know but little of the 'milk of human kindness.' Such is by no means the case. All over the country evidence of genuine acts of charity can be discovered—beggars' kitchens, foundling asylums, orphanages and such like. Though these may not compare in quantity with lands which have enjoyed the influence of Christian thought and practice for several centuries, they represent a spiritual value which should certainly be capitalized.

Visitors to the so-called 'model city' of Nantungchow can never fail to be impressed with the numerous philanthropic institutions which have been organized there by Mr Chang Chien and his family; these include schools and refuges for cripples, for blind, deaf and dumb, for the aged and destitute, and for the victims of the social evil. A splendid orphanage, capable of accommodating a thousand children, and equipped with all the latest requirements for the well-being and industrial training of the inmates, has been erected in the Western Hills of Peking by Mr Hsiung Hsi-ling; whilst in the city of Tsinan the Tao Yuan (an esoteric cult, which is seeking to form a new synthesis from the main religions of the world) has recently opened a home for incurables in addition to several other philanthropic ventures.

In looking to the future of our mission hospitals, and the devolution of responsibility for their upkeep upon Chinese shoulders, careful thought is now being given to the possibilities underlying this growing interest in philanthropy. It is true that in many cases these charitably disposed Chinese gentlemen and ladies are not members of the Christian Church, and for that reason some missionaries have hesitated to invite them to join the board of a mission hospital. Where, however, such an invitation has been extended—and in such cases the Christian members of the board have always been in the majority—it has invariably been found that their presence has in no way interfered with the missionary objective and service of the hospital. Unless such men possess a genuine interest in the teaching of religion, they are unlikely to be willing to associate themselves with a hospital whose avowed object is the propagation of Christianity; whilst such an association, when formed, may often lead to a sincere investigation into Christian truth.

Hospital boards are now being formed in connexion with many mission hospitals in the larger centres in China. In some cases they are composed solely of representatives of the mission staff and of the Christian Chinese business community; in others they include a proportion of non-Christians, as mentioned above. But the value of such an organization cannot be overestimated. Not only does it represent a solid gain in the securing of local financial support—some mission hospitals in the more wealthy treaty ports are now wholly financed by such boards—but at the same time it is bound to exert a far-reaching influence in educating the community in their responsibility towards the indigent sick.

The day must surely come when the missionary societies of Europe and North America will hand over to the Church of China the whole care for the evangelization of her people, the pastoral care of her members, and the education of her sons and daughters. When that day arrives, the Church should also be ready to take upon her shoulders full responsibility for carrying on the work hitherto undertaken by

the medical missionary agency. The greatest contribution which the medical mission forces can make to the Chinese Church at that time will not consist in the buildings and equipment which have been amassed ; it will be represented by the body of earnest and highly qualified Christian physicians and nurses who have been educated, the enlightened public opinion on the prevention of disease and the responsibility for the souls and bodies of the sick which have been raised up, and the self-sacrificing communities of enthusiastic hospital supporters which have been trained.

HAROLD BALME

MO-TI AND CHRISTIANITY

By LEWIS HODOUS, D.D.

The growth of nationalism in China is causing a new evaluation of the cultural heritage of the past. The influence of certain teachers who have occupied high places in the hearts of the Chinese is being undermined. Other teachers who have been held up as a warning are being studied and appreciated. One of these latter is Mo-ti. For over two thousand years he has been held up as an enemy of the orthodox teaching. To-day his works are being published. Commentaries upon them are multiplying. His teachings are being discussed and approved by an increasing number of people. Some of these teachings resemble those of Christianity and hence they are of interest to the missionary and to the Chinese Christian.

While China is noted for its conservatism, yet it has produced extreme radicals. Its government has been intolerant towards new sects and religions, and yet it has preserved their writings from age to age. One of these great radicals is Mo-ti. He lived between the time of Confucius and Mencius, say between the years 500 to 425 B.C. Born in the state of Lu and educated as a Confucianist he soon tired of the regulations and exacting ceremony of the Master and developed a teaching more suited to his nature, and to the times in which he lived. His age was one of transition from feudal ideals and forms to monarchical institutions. The authority of the Son of Heaven had become a mere shadow. The great feudal lords were oppressing the small ones. Large families were oppressing the small families. Intrigue, internal strife and rebellion were rampant. Religion was losing its grip and morality was at a low ebb.

Mo-ti met the situation in an original way. Confucius and his school were seeking the ideal in antiquity in models revealed to the sages in curious signs. They were building up an ideal world of abstract ideas and were attempting to fit the present to it. Mo-ti started with a radical method. He studied cause and effect. He noticed how things worked. He judged the tree by its fruit, the system by its results. The meticulous attention to the minutiæ of Confucian ceremony, its interference with the growing individual, the elaborate funeral ceremonies, the strife between the classes were to him the evidences of a system unsuited to the best interests of the individual and the social group.

Mo-ti realized that the system was supported by hoary ideas. He tried to displace these by rational ideas. He found the idea that the state was originated by Heaven or was built upon the family. He advanced the theory that the state was established by the free choice of men. In this he anticipated the theory of the social contract by two thousand and more years. He says :

> In olden times when men were first born into the world, they did not have organized government because they had different ideas. Each man had his peculiar notions. Where there were two men there were two purposes. Ten men meant ten different purposes, so many men, so many purposes. By granting one man's wishes you ran counter to other men's wishes. On this account mutual intercourse came to naught. Those in families, father, son, elder and younger brother, were jealous and hateful and became separated. There was no harmony. The people under heaven injured each other by means of water, fire and poison. In case one section had surplus energy it could not share it with others. Surplus wealth rotted because it was not shared. Good doctrine was hidden and was not passed on. The confusion of all under heaven was like that of birds and beasts. Now it is evident that the confusion in the world arose from the fact that there was no ruler. On this account they chose in the world a man who was sagely good, saintly wise and made him the Son of Heaven and caused him to serve in uniting the purposes of the world.

The hereditary principle was so strong in his day that the idea of recurrent election of the rulers did not seem practicable. The ruler once chosen and the society organ-

ized seemed quite sufficient to him. He leaves to Heaven the change of rulers who no longer serve the welfare of the people.

Mo-ti strongly opposed the luxury and extravagance of his time. He urged upon his countrymen the necessity of producing much and consuming little and storing up the surplus for times of scarcity. He opposed all innovations and investment of capital in things which did not provide for the essentials of life, food and shelter. Houses were to be built for keeping out the cold and separating the sexes. Pleasure carriages, ostentatious dress and music he tabooed. He criticizes the dress of his day as being made for the eye rather than to protect the body. His ideas of the simple life made him an opponent of the elaborate funerals of his day and the long periods of mourning. Such customs reduced the population by shortening the period of bearing children. The excessive weeping, fasting and wearing the flimsy mourning garments injured the health. The large quantity of wood in the coffin and the elaborate and expensive clothing used up valuable property. He says, ' When a member of the people dies they use up the family property. When a feudal lord dies, they empty the treasury of the country.'

Mo-ti saw the necessity for a revival of religion. The attitude of Confucius and his successors was not so much agnostic as it was indifferent to the religion of the people. Mo-ti realized the consequences of this loosening of the faith of the people. Morality declined, virtue hid her face and vice stalked shamelessly through the land. He believed that a revival of faith in the spirits and in the power of Heaven was necessary for a normal social life. His conception of Heaven approaches the idea of God as expressed in the Old Testament. Heaven is a personal being, who is everywhere, who knows all things, rewards the good and punishes the evil. Heaven loves all. Heaven not only demands service, but requires man to be righteous according to the standards of Heaven.

This personal conception of the power of the spirits and of Heaven in the life of the individual arrayed Mo-ti against the prevalent conception of fate. He held that the idea of fate was invented by the oppressive rulers of antiquity in order to help the people to submit to their tyranny. Accordingly he advocated the abolishment of the belief in fate and the employment of energy. He says :

> Why do rulers and great men judge cases and administer affairs from early dawn till dark dispensing justice the whole day without daring to stop and be remiss and lazy? Because they believe that those who exert themselves certainly rule and those who do not exert themselves will surely have disorder, the strong will enjoy peace, the weak surely incur danger. Therefore they dare not be remiss and lazy.

He illustrates the idea from the life of farmers and housewives showing how those who work are successful and those who wait upon fate are doomed to failure. During his day, many were advocating the power of blind force. Mo-ti preached personal energy as the great force in the world.

Mo-ti's greatest contribution to China was his conception of universal love. He made a study of the causes of trouble in society and puts down the following : strife, plots to seize another's place and authority, acting contrary to justice and reason, robbing and deceit. These are all the expressions of an egoistic nature. Besides these causes he found a stratified society in which each one occupied a status and measured his love to people according to the degree of relationship. The Confucian system expressed this by observing various times of mourning for the different degrees of relationship. His remedy for this state of affairs was that of mutual or universal love.

He illustrates his conception by introducing two protagonists, one called universal love and the other limited love.

> Limited love says : 'How can I treat my friend as I would myself, regard my friend's relatives as my own?' And so he disregards his friend. When his friend is hungry, he does not feed him, when cold he does not clothe him,

and when sick he does not attend him and nourish him, and when dead he does not bury him. Limited love talks this way and acts this way. The protagonist of universal love is not like this. He says, 'I have heard that the great man in the empire will certainly regard his friend as himself and regard his friend's relatives as his relatives. When he does this then he is really the great man of the empire.' Therefore, he treats his friend in this way. When he is hungry, he feeds him. When cold he clothes him, when sick he attends him and nourishes him, and when dead he buries him. The one who loves universally talks like this and acts like this.

His passages explaining universal love glow with enthusiasm. In one place he says:

If people regard the property of other families as their own, who will steal? If men regard other men as themselves, who will rob? If men regard other families as their own, who will cause disturbance? If they regard other countries as their own, who will go to war?

Then he sums up the advantages of following his teaching:

If one regards other countries as his own country, treats other families as his own, treats other men as himself, then feudal lords will love one another and there will be no barbarous wars, the heads of families will love one another and there will be no usurpation of power, men will regard one another with mutual love and there will be no robbery. The high will not abuse the low, the shrewd will not deceive the foolish. All calamity, oppression, hatred under heaven will be prevented from arising.

Mo-ti shows that his teaching is not visionary but has a basis in the behaviour of men in times of stress and danger. When war has been declared and roads are infested with robbers, the official who is called away from home entrusts the members of his family and his possessions to his friends, knowing that they will take care of them. He relies instinctively on this universal trait of men. All men possess this heaven-born capacity to requite love with love.

The practice of mutual love is related to motives. Mo-ti holds up Heaven as the great pattern. Heaven loves all, protects all. Heaven desires all men to love one another. Men should pattern their lives after Heaven. Moreover, Heaven has so ordered affairs that those who model their conduct after Heaven are rewarded and those who disobey

Heaven are punished. Universal love is profitable. He who loves will be loved. Mo-ti realized that there were people who could not or would not see that the practice of his teachings was the most profitable proceeding. Hence he proposed that the rulers should compel the citizens to follow this principle of mutual love. This they should do by their example and by regulation. Just as they carry on wars and engage in intrigue and compel men to do what they hate, they should themselves practise and compel others to practise mutual love.

Mo-ti was no mere philosopher of the study. He was an ardent reformer. He was a missionary. A writer soon after his time says that 'he did not allow his chimney to get black.' He was ever on the road preaching his doctrines. In this respect he differed from Confucius and his school. Confucius waited to be questioned before he imparted his teaching. Mo-ti did not wait until he was questioned, but exhorted and warned on all occasions. We read :

Kung Meng Tzu spoke with Mo-tzu saying, 'The princely man respects himself. He waits till he is asked and then speaks. If he is not asked he does not speak. He is like a bell. If you strike it, it rings. If you do not strike it, it does not ring.' Mo-tzu said: 'If the official is managing the Government and is about to bring the country into trouble, then he should be warned. Under these circumstances although the bell is not struck, it should sound. Take another case. If the ruler unjustly desires to fight a state which has committed no wrong and those who are to be attacked and those who are to fight will not derive any profit from the war, under these circumstances although he is not struck, he should sound.'

The opponent of Mo-ti continues his argument by further appeal to the inhibitions of a long established educated class. He continues :

'If you really do good who will not know it? It is like a fine gem. If you keep it hidden, it has all the more excellence. It is like a beautiful maiden. If she keeps hidden men will strive in seeking her. If a man praises his own deeds, men do not know how to prize him. Now you go all over after men prating your doctrines. Why the trouble?' Mo-tzu said: 'At present few seek goodness. If there are not earnest speakers men will not know.'

There was another great difference between Confucius and Mo-ti. Confucius addressed himself to the ruler and scholar. Mo-ti addressed all classes. A later writer says of him :

> Above he explained his doctrines to the ruler, the minister, the men in high positions. Then he turned to the common man. He said: 'If the ruler, the minister and the high official employ my words the country will be well governed. If the ordinary man employ my words conduct will be cultivated.'

The results of this zealous activity were remarkable. At one time it was an open question as to whether Confucianism or Mohism would dominate China. An old writer says : 'His pupils filled all under heaven.' Lü Pu-wei, who died 237 B.C., says : 'The pupils of Confucius and Mo-tzu were very many. Their pupils were very numerous filling the empire.' Huai-nan-tzu says that Mo-ti had one hundred and eighty pupils. He means, of course, prominent followers.

What was the cause of the decline of the movement which promised so much ? The time was not ripe. The agricultural civilization favoured the patriarchal family and that is the basis of Confucianism. Mo-ti struck at this in his opposition to elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning and by his teaching of universal love. His economic theories were also out of harmony with the ideals of the family. Moreover, his followers divided into several schools which were noted for their idiosyncrasies. One school went off into logical vagaries, disputing about the difference between the abstract notions of 'hard' and 'white.' Another was lost on the road of the simple life wearing ancient caps and priding themselves on their antique garments noted for their small requirement of material. After his death, the pupils divided into hostile camps. The Han dynasty took over the teaching of Confucius as the foundation of the monarchical state and the teachings of Mo-ti were ignored for two thousand years.

Only a few years ago the answer to a missionary sermon was ' the doctrines of Mo.' The scholar uttered these words superciliously and advised the speaker to read Mencius who had refuted Mo-ti for all ages.

The revival of the teachings of Mo-ti is significant for the cause of missions. It has been stimulated by the work of the missionary. He not only preached the doctrine, but began to build up groups of men and women whose aim in life was to realize that they were children of the one great Father and who tried to practise universal love.

Furthermore, the revival is significant because it is the reaction to social changes which make such teaching practicable and necessary. In the first place, the old isolation and independence of the patriarchal family have been broken up. The railway, the steam launch, the telegraph have brought communities long separated into relationship. They have given larger freedom to the individual and have made him dependent upon a large number of other individuals who are not related to him by ties of blood. This new situation emphasizes the usefulness of altruistic traits in others and leads him to demand such traits in other people.

This new evaluation of the individual is not entirely recent. It has been prepared by the teaching of Buddhism and by the development of Confucianism—Chu-hsi (A.D. 1130–1200) integrated Confucianism with Buddhism and made a step toward a larger regard for the individual. Wang Yang Ming (A.D. 1472–1528) carried on the teaching much further and laid the foundations of modern democracy. He held that human nature is one with reality and so from human nature may be read the meaning of nature and the universe. His system laid the emphasis upon the individual and released him from the bondage of the old authorities.

The freer communication combined with the new commercial life and the development of modern industry are loosening the family and local ties and are causing the gradual disintegration of the patriarchal family. At present

it is a common matter for the members of a family to divide the family property and for each small family to set up for itself. In fact, in some places the property is divided before the father dies. Some years ago such a proceeding was rare, and caused much unfavourable comment on the part of the neighbours. To-day it is taken as a matter of course. The public is surprised if the family decides to live together.

The modern education, the commercial life and industry are creating a new class of individuals who are democratic. It is the rise of this new middle class which is making necessary and practicable these moral virtues. It is this new class which will become the bulwark of democratic institutions in China. The literary revival of Mo-ti is a harbinger of this new power in China, a power destined to lead the Chinese people into the new world.

The missionary should rejoice at this revival. It reveals to him that Chinese conservatism is not something blind and unchangeable, but is based upon a necessity of the situation. When the situation changes, the Chinese respond to new conditions in a remarkable way. They are now reviving that indomitable Chinese spirit which meets new situations by drawing on the spiritual resources of the nation. The missionary should ally himself to this ancient spirit and show how Jesus Christ fills full the aspirations of this people after a larger personality whereby to meet the requirements of the new age and solve its problems and bring about the Kingdom of God.

LEWIS HODOUS

THE APPROPRIATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY PRIMITIVE HEATHEN IN CENTRAL CELEBES

By ALBERTUS C. KRUYT, D.Th.

The way in which the primitive heathen community in Central Celebes appropriate Christianity when it is brought to them opens up some delicate problems in missionary work.

Here is a heathen people with age-long traditions and pronounced mental characteristics. To them come missionaries with totally different traditions and mental disposition bringing the Gospel; hence many complicated problems arise. How can missionaries create in the minds of these heathen people a desire to appropriate Christianity, and when they have become willing to be Christians how does the appropriation take place? To avoid any misunderstanding, I emphasize the fact that through the operation of the Holy Spirit a tribe has now and again suddenly caught the deeper sense of Christianity. But these cases are exceptional. The ordinary process of appropriation which we are reviewing in this article proceeds slowly.

We need a very clear conception of what primitive heathenism wants. According to the ideas of the heathen, invisible powers dwell in all objects, and are either harmful to man or are conducive to his welfare, these he seeks to make serviceable to himself. His whole mind is bent upon searching for means to employ such powers for his benefit or to devise ways to dissolve them and make them harmless. The heathen does the same thing with his gods and spirits. His offerings and his ritual have no other aim than to induce the gods to serve him. His power of thought is not enough

developed to be able to imagine an entirely spiritual existence. Everything is connected with matter; even the soul, one might say, has a material existence.

When Christianity is brought to a people feeling thus, they are told that this earthly existence is but transitory and that the highest aspirations of man must be to make his soul right before God. They are taught that God's Son has not come to the earth to bring material advantage to man but to show him the way to God. It is more difficult to form an idea of the impression made upon the primitive heathen by the preaching of the Gospel than it is to fancy oneself back in the mind of a child. I have learned that in the beginning he does not comprehend anything of the new teaching, since it places him in a world which is not his. But after a time some elements in that Gospel touch his heart. The confidence with which God's Word is brought to him is a proof that it must be true, and although he does not understand it the Gospel speaks to his religious feeling. The men who bring him this message have power and reputation; therefore what they bring must also be good. Thus he inclines to become Christian.

At first Christianity remains far above the conception of the new adherents. They only obey their teacher, who tells them what they as baptized persons have to do. The Gospel has not become their property yet. It is still lying on the surface, but gradually they appropriate it—that is they seek to make the Gospel serviceable to their material welfare. They keep Sunday holy to guard themselves against influences which might harm them. In fact the holding of Sunday as sacred is to them one of the most comprehensible things in Christianity because of their own tabu-days. Hence this part of the Christian religion makes an early and deep impression. 'I shall in future be more careful not to plant my fields on Sunday,' said the chief of a village to me, 'for the failure of my crops this year cannot have another cause than my planting on Sunday. All other fields have borne fruit because they did not plant on Sunday.'

Thus the Sunday is gradually taken up in daily life; it becomes their property, but at the expense of its intrinsic value. The more this process continues the more strictly the Sunday will be kept holy. Even church-going becomes part of it. When a man is ill the cause is found in the fact that he has neglected a few times to attend divine service.

Baptism also is made serviceable to bodily welfare. It is considered harmful for a man who has been baptized to conform to any part of his heathen creed. Such a thing is considered to be like taking two different sorts of medicine; one neutralizes the good action of the other. With that as a reason attempts are often made to withhold a child of Christian parents from being baptized. For instance, a heathen grandmother asks her Christian children to let one of their children remain unbaptized. This child then is for her who has retained her heathenism. She will bring it up according to heathen principles without its suffering any harm by it. Sometimes the parents acquiesce in such an arrangement, but as a rule they want all children to be baptized, in order that all may meet after death in one place—the heaven of the Christians.

When the meaning of Christianity is understood by the baptized Toradjas, baptism replaces a habit which is valued highly among them. As soon as a child is born a priest comes and makes its soul soar up to heaven to ask the Lord for vital power for the little one that it may be able to resist the evil powers which try to kill it. In conversation with ignorant converts it is often found that they expect that from baptism the child will get more power to resist and to remain in life. It has happened that children who could not be baptized because the parents were still under instruction have been brought to church to pray for them and 'show them to God,' as it was expressed.

When baptism is appropriated in such a way by the people it loses much of its significance. It has become a magic act. Is the missionary to oppose this with vigour? I should think not, for the only result would be that this

Christian rite would remain above their comprehension. They would continue to ask for the baptism of their child, because it ought to be baptized, but beside that the heathen ceremony of asking for vital power for the little one would live on and a greater value would be set upon it than upon baptism.

The first time the Lord's Supper was celebrated they did not know what to think of it, though the communicants were fully prepared for the celebration. They simply considered it one of the marks of being a Christian; the ceremony remaining superficial to them for some years and not being appropriated, one often heard foolish remarks at the celebration. The significance of the sacrament as an expression of their faith in the love of Jesus, in His obedience to death for sinners, they could not conceive. That was still beyond them. But gradually the deeper meaning of the Lord's Supper was discerned by them, and it began to obtain a place in their life and thought. I know many instances of those who excluded themselves from partaking because of a sin of which their fellow-villagers knew nothing as yet. They had come to ascribe a magic significance of their own to the Lord's Supper, and therefore they felt drawn to it. The explanation seems to be that for a people like the inhabitants of Central Celebes a repast is an expression of friendship and communion, and to the Toradja eating means more than the consumption of the nutritive ingredients of food, the properties inherent in it are consumed also. When the figure of Jesus stands before their eyes (and to that all our teaching is directed) then the Lord's Supper becomes a positive communion with the Crucified and Risen Saviour. And in the appropriation of the Lord's Supper, whatever be the earlier mistaken conception of it, we are glad to see that through the steady influence and education of God's Spirit the minds of these people become clearer and clearer.

The same process of appropriation arises in the case of the missionary. When missionaries first came to Central Celebes, they were not accorded any place until the people

began to expect services from them which their own priests had previously rendered. Then the missionary had to visit a sick person and pray, for according to their ideas his prayer would have more effect than their own. He had to consecrate the planting of the fields by his prayers; his presence was needed when moving into a new house for it alone would annihilate all evil influences.

Often did a Toradja tell me 'You have the breath of man in your hand,' meaning that it was in my power to let them live or die. 'How could a witch or ogre do you harm?' one asked, 'You keep the whole neighbourhood in your hand.' When a smallpox epidemic broke out an old woman clung to me saying, 'Do not go away for you can save us!' This notion is also attached to the person of the native preacher. I have heard it said to a stranger, 'For years the rice crop failed, only after the arrival of the preacher did we get food again.' Sometimes when a missionary has discovered that he is always called to be present at the inauguration of a house, as his 'magically' strong presence is thought to be necessary, he has refused to be present on such an occasion. I do not think this is the right line of action. Knowing for ourselves that we are men as others are, sinners before God, we accept the position these people thrust upon us because they are unable to conceive us otherwise. We must make use of that position not for the purpose of self-glorification but to draw the people nearer to God.

When we have learned from experience in the mission that the Indonesians have to go through a period of magical or superstitious Christianity, because mentally they are not developed enough to conceive the Gospel in all its glory, then we shall view the superstitious Christians differently. Missionaries will take care not to promote superstition, but always to bring the true Gospel. Yet they should not treat that superstition in a rough manner, nor exterminate it by force, for there is great danger that the missionary by opposition or by attempting to drive the people to be more

spiritual than they are capable of being may promote their becoming free-thinkers and atheists.

Let us consider now what Christmas means to these people. When the Toradjas were all still heathen they celebrated offering-feasts on various occasions which were the climax of their lives. It was characteristic of these feasts that all participants were active, that they had to perform some function. When they became Christians most of these feasts could not be celebrated any longer, and Christmas now has become the greatest of the Christians' feasts. The inhabitants of a number of villages assemble at one place. All meals are taken jointly. In the evening of the day on which the guests meet, the magic lantern is shown as a rule. After the performance is over it is quiet in the village; people do not dance. On Christmas Day itself they meet first to hear the Christmas Gospel, and in the evening they meet round the Christmas tree with its sparkling lights. But after the conclusion of each Christmas celebration I feel unsatisfied, because it is so evident that the feast is not the feast of the Posso men themselves; it is too much at our instigation that the feast is held. It makes little inward impression because the Christmas Gospel has not yet been appropriated by the people.

Should we condemn the Christmas tree because they attach a magical significance to it? If we could tell the people it causes rain and sunshine to favour their fields they would take a great interest in it. But as a symbol of the light which Jesus, Son of God, has brought to the world they do not understand it, or if they do, they see the light in the material advantage and progress which come to them with the introduction of Christianity. When we find afterwards that they still attach a magical sense to the tree we must not be upset, but avail ourselves of that magic sense, a natural quality of the people, to bring them nearer to Jesus.

Easter was of little importance to our Christians until quite recently. Jesus had not yet been sufficiently taken up

into their lives for them to base any value on the Resurrection for themselves. The resurrection of Christ was commemorated in a meeting only, but now the way to make this feast of greater importance has shown itself.

The Christians always partook with pagan relatives in the annual commemoration of the dead. They thought it natural to do this as it was also a Christian duty to remember the deceased. The significance of this commemoration of the dead for the heathen is however not only a duty of reverence, they perform it in order to gain the help of the deceased with their work in the fields. Therefore this commemoration is held at seedtime.

We could not forbid our Christians to keep the graves of their deceased relatives in good order, though we knew how easily they might revert to heathenism by doing so and again trust those dead to assist them. Then it occurred to us that the custom must be made use of to present the Gospel to the people. The heathenish part of the commemoration of the dead was connected with the time at which the celebration was held. If that could be fixed when the crop was bearing fruit, and when the assistance of the dead would not be necessary, then the danger of the Christians sinking back to heathenism would be avoided. Accordingly we fixed the commemoration for Easter Monday.

In this way Easter has become connected with their own deceased and the feast of the Resurrection means much to the people. For weeks ahead they discuss the ' tidying up of the graves.' On Easter Saturday the graves are trimmed and on Easter Sunday the Gospel of the Resurrection is preached. On the next day all assemble in the churchyard. There they pray, sing and are exhorted to a life with God to prepare to appear before God's Throne one day ; after that a united meal is partaken of. These things have assumed an immediate interest for them ; we can bring them to a living belief in the risen Saviour because He has been connected with their own departed.

We make another attempt to help the people to take

Christianity into their lives through their harvest feast. Here the question arises again—How should this be celebrated ? Must we force the people into a direction which fits our purpose but which is entirely strange to the Posso people ? No, this should not be done. One of the favourite parts of their harvest feast is the *mopapasangka*. Two poles are erected, one for the men and one for the women and round these they sing. In their chants they relate how they ascend to the Lord of Heaven. At the conclusion of the song men hang presents on one pole for the women and girls, and the latter do the same on the other for the men and boys. The idea of these presents is to induce the Lord to be generous and grant them a rich harvest the following year. The heathen think this ' harvest home ' to be necessary for the success of the tillage. Perhaps this thought lingers also in the minds of the Christians, but in the course of time it will get another meaning. So we left the harvest feast as it was and now we notice in the oldest communities that the songs slowly conform to Christian thoughts, though still expressed in a childlike and naïve way.

We can understand the working of a child's mind when it calls a chair a horse and gets angry when we try to teach otherwise. The Toradja says an onion or a piece of ginger-root is his sickness because their pungent qualities make him think of the pain caused by illness. These ideas, which are called prelogic by the French scholar Lévy-Bruhl, the Indonesian cannot abandon at once. I have met natives who by mixing with Europeans have learned to ridicule these things, but who showed in daily life that they still believed in them. I know of Indonesians who were educated at a university and who could not entirely free themselves from their prelogic.

Finally, the practical question arises, How must the mission regard this gradual appropriation of Christianity, the drawing of God and Christ into their sphere of mind by Christians recently heathen ? The great difficulty of our modern mission world is that we Occidentals are so far

distant in thought and feeling from these peoples with their prelogical presuppositions. When the Gospel was brought to the heathen Teutonic races, it was done by men who also made God and Christ serviceable to earthly existence, hence the abundance of miracle tales in the history of the early Christian Church. Many ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church originate in this aim. Now we see the same process taking place with the Indonesians among whom we Occidentals find ourselves placed. When we have the deeply rooted conviction that the Indonesian tends to go through a period of drawing Christ into his circle of thought in order to be afterwards elevated together with Him, must we humour that inclination? Speaking in general I should say No, but one of the first requisites is that the missionary be aware that something of this kind is bound to take place, and when he sees it demonstrated he must interpret it to be the process of appropriating Christianity. He need only deal severely with such demonstrations when he notices that the aim is to get personal benefit therefrom. For the rest, he must daily exert himself to find ways to aid the people to turn from drawing Christ down to lifting themselves up with Him to God. Should the missionary fail to do this, the terms of Christianity will remain uncomprehensible and the life of the recently heathen Christian will be a dual life. He will be Christian only in certain ceremonies and habits which do not touch heart and life; for the rest he will remain heathen.

ALBERTUS C. KRUYT

THE CHRISTIAN'S DELIVERANCE FROM SUPERSTITION AND FEAR

By T. W. DOUGLAS JAMES

What strikes a traveller when he first sets foot in China is the cheeriness of its inhabitants. The average Chinese greets you with a smile, and if you have not too much encouraged the idea of him taken from the movies and the dope-novels, you will find him neither sphinx-like nor sinister, but extraordinarily kindly and with a natural courtesy which it would take years of residence in the country to imitate. It may seem as far from the facts to speak of him as living under the domination of fear or bound down by superstition as to say that the average Englishman or American is superstitious and afraid; yet in both cases it would be true. The purpose of this paper is by analysing, to some extent, the elements of superstition and fear which cloud our minds to suggest how this is so and to show that the Christian experience largely consists in overcoming these elements. In the last resort the question we thus set ourselves is one of the world in which we live. Are we at home in the world or is it a place of hidden terrors? Do we shrink along the corridors of the world, afraid that the bogey-man will jump out on us from one of the half-shut doors of its dim and dusty rooms? Do we fear as we pass the garden gate that we shall be seized and carried off to the underworld, never again to see the light? Do we lie awake at night and think that Death may come, and shudder at the hereafter—the grave, the cold and the neglect? Or is the world to us our Father's house, where His protecting care penetrates every room, and makes the garden secure; where His authority does not stop at the gate, but controls the vast outside as well; and where death is but to travel—

with regret it may be—but full of expectancy too—to another home, where Father and friends are waiting for us ?

In the attempt to answer this question let us take what appears to be the Chinese experience first, and then seek to analyse more generally the fears of the average man, whether East or West, to-day. Thus gaining a clear idea of what we are delivered from, we shall be free to consider our deliverance itself.

I

What is behind that cheery smile of the Chinese coolie, or the grave courtesy of the Chinese gentleman ? The smile and the calm alike may be attributed to a certain fatalism of outlook, not by any means the fatalism of kismet, but the fatalism of those to whom the order of the universe so far as it touches human lives is represented by mandarin government. It is a fatalism mute before arbitrary power, which after setting in motion all the forces of influence and money at its disposal in order to deflect the will of him who has authority, bows to the inevitable, and schemes and waits. There is a story dating from the beginning of the Manchu dynasty of a rising in a southern city against the arrogance of a band of the conquerors. In the fracas a relative of the emperor was killed. The emperor sent a punitive expedition which, starting from Canton, was to carry fire and sword northward through the province. His three generals advanced many days' journey, but one day one of them descending from his chair saw a baby suckling its dead mother's breast. Even he was touched, and orders were given to cease the massacre. Villages and towns which the expedition had not reached and which were thus saved set up a temple to the worship of the generals. First thoughts suggest that such worship is offered in gratitude. Reflection convinces one that it is a telling instance of the mandarin-idea in worship, which is the normal Chinese attitude to idols. It is not a question of reverence or of love, or even of gratitude, and it has nothing to do with the

character of the idols. They have power: they may kill or spare: is there any means to influence them?

The Chinese smile, again, is the common cloak of fear; all who have lived a short time in China have been astonished to find that a Chinese will laugh when he speaks of death. To do otherwise would be to reveal what he must hide, his fear of it. So again his attitude to the whole problem of the spirit-ridden atmosphere. It is well known that till recently there were no straight roads in China. At any turn of every street one is reminded how thickly populated the atmosphere is; for since demons cannot turn corners they come to a stop at whatever house-end or wall there may be at the turn, and there an inscription assures the passer-by that the T'ai Mountain (in Shantung), whose auspicious influence extends over the whole country, will receive the unlucky impact of the demons and so avert trouble.

Similarly every slight event of daily life is dependent on spirit control. There is a sense in which to become a Christian is to be set free from much praying; for the Christian gives his whole life into the Father's care and believes in His guidance at all times and in all things; but the Chinese for each event must have a special providence. Before the marriage day is fixed the horoscopes of the bridal pair must be compared by a specialist; funerals may be delayed for years, and the coffins have to be stored up, till a lucky day be found for the ceremony. Building and all alterations to houses can only be done on the properly ascertained day. Moreover, windows cannot be opened in houses nor nails driven into walls except under certain conditions. Even sickness should only be attended at the behest of the spirits. One morning, for instance, a doctor colleague received an urgent call half-way through breakfast. He went with his guide and when the house was reached found he had been led by a round-about way, double the direct route, and that the father and mother of the child he was to see were disputing as to the door by which he should enter the house. It was all because the spirits had

not given consent to the visit and the parents, acting on their own initiative, were seeking to evade them. Instances might be multiplied to show how in these ways superstition and fear dominate ordinary Chinese life. The fear is primarily of spirits and demons, the superstition is a mass of practices intended to ward them off. These practices are but palliatives and fear remains to dominate life. It may be said that the Chinese have great religions, but it is superstition, not any religion, that popularly holds sway in spiritual things.

Now when we turn to the Chinese Christian home the change is marked. I am not sure that you will find the smile so readily. But what you will find is an entirely different cast of countenance—a more open expression, and the features of men and women who are at home with themselves and who have asked some of the ultimate questions of life. So instead of a smile which veils you may get a look of mingled intelligence and inquiry, which, when its understanding is satisfied and trust established, may become the smile of intimacy and welcome. The Christian home is light and airy—windows are cut in the walls, charms, incense and ancestral tablets have vanished, and as a rule there is more cleanliness. The whole paraphernalia of lucky days has gone, and for the mandarin-idol and the host of spirits is substituted the gracious Father of Love. The change is displayed in improved marital relations, in the stress laid on general education, and in the care of girls equally with boys. In the morning the housefather gathers his family round him for worship, in the evening he re-commends them all to the care of the Father.

This is not an ideal picture; and lest any deem it so let me say that I fully recognize the imperfection of most Christian experience in China and elsewhere and propose later to deal with the gradual nature of our victory over fear.

To turn now from the Chinese in particular to him whom we may call 'the modern man'—I mean the man who, whether in East or West, has grown up in a scientific atmos-

phere, who prides himself on having no superstitions at all. For him the sum of things is a universe. There is no fear of demons, no question of lucky days. But is he free from fear ?

The fear of the modern man, as I see it, is that instead of being at the mercy of numberless spirits malevolently affecting his destiny he is part of a universe which may be indifferent to him, in which there may or may not be a God but in which he personally does not count. His fear is of his own insignificance and ephemerality.

A writer in the *Times Literary Supplement*,[1] discussing Henri Frédéric Amiel, says that his shrinking from attempting any creative work was a manifestation of his fear of life, and that this was nursed by his ' intellectual apprehension of the indifference of the universe.' Such a fear shadowed many minds in the nineteenth century ; nor does it yield except to the Christian revelation of the Father, although the temper of the age may change, and enable men to look back, as Mr Lytton Strachey contemplates A. H. Clough, with a certain contemptuous condescension. The universe may seem less bound in by the chains of physical law than in the last century, but outside the Christian revelation there is no more security for man's freedom nor hope of its permanence than there was then.

How may we describe this fear that lies behind the conscious life of man, and which laid aside by him as he grows accustomed to it and busies himself with the things of the moment, still haunts his mind and saps his energies, unless he can bring it forth, face it and exorcise it by the truth as it is in Jesus ?

As I search my own soul for the answer to this question I find these elements of fear which may correspond in some measure to a general experience.

1. *Dread of the ephemeral nature of life's experiences.*— From time to time sickness, sudden peril, bereavement, or a sudden clarity of the mind in a moment of depression,

[1] September 29, 1921.

bring vividly to the front the thought of death, the question of the hereafter, and the realization that our tenure here is uncertain. If God is far off and problematical and the future uncertain, cold fear seizes the heart—a fear that is only partly a fear of death in itself, but more of disillusion with the whole of life's work and interests. The value of effort becomes dubitable; except life's ideals are in an eternal setting it is difficult to sustain it.

2. *Dread of the evil we find to be within us.*—Progress in life only makes more clear to us how real is our sinful heritage. Time and again it takes us by surprise; from hidden sources within it breaks out to our undoing. Whether it is the brute strain in our ancestry or not, it surges up within us and startles us by its force and its unlikeness to what we had thought we were.

3. *Dread of temptation.*—It was not without knowing the mind of man that Jesus taught His disciples to pray 'Lead us not into temptation.' For temptation is always to be dreaded by man at every stage of secular enlightenment, even though with the access of scientific knowledge there may have come an intellectual conviction of the constitution of the universe such as implies the denial of all the postulates of either a superstitious or a religious system of belief, there still abides a conviction of the distinction between right and wrong. This conviction is the basis of a moral life, but under temptation this basis is shaken or almost removed. There seems to be no final moral order to support our protest and resistance.

4. *Dread of trial.*—It is no cowardice to look for a stay in time of trial. Misfortune, financial difficulties with their far-reaching effects on the family circle, sorrow, all throw a man back on his inner resources. Fine as is the Stoic attitude, yet all trial cries out for a succour beyond the bounds of personal and finite life, and lack of such resource is one of the most wide-spreading forms of fear for the modern man.

5. *Dread of the lack of an eternal basis for fellowship.*—If

man is but an atom, insignificant in the total of creation, if personality does not persist, if where we pictured a God there is but a void, then all human relationships lose their significance. So part of our complex fear is that the ties that are dearest to us are but temporary and may be severed for ever. Picture a father standing by his son's grave. Is this the end ? He cannot believe it. Yet if it were, and he were compelled to that conclusion, would it not mock his love and his hopes ? In friendship, in the family, in political life, in social life the same thing holds. Are we bound to others in an eternal fellowship, or are we creatures of a day ? Are not all the loyalties of life based on some conception of eternal values ?

The past and present of Chinese society illustrate this. Chinese society has cohered so far by the strength of its ancient loyalties, the five relationships. It seems to the writer that this ethic rests on some shadowy conception of corporate permanence supplied in ancestor worship. But ancestor worship, which is further weakened by the *fungshui* with which it has become mixed up, is finding it hard to maintain itself in the light of modern knowledge, and there is evidently danger of society breaking up unless some basis can be found for it which cannot be shaken. Similarly any society or personal relationship deprived of its eternal setting is liable to disintegration.

Thus far I have tried to analyse in brief the nature of the superstition and fear from which the Christian believes himself to have received deliverance. It now falls to attempt the explanation of that deliverance.

II

What do we mean when we say that for the Christian the world is his Father's house ? The central Christian experience is that of sonship. ' Except ye turn and become as little children ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven ' (Matt. xviii. 3). Repentance is the dynamic

that makes and keeps us childlike, and to the childlike heart the truth is manifest. When His disciples became childlike Jesus knew a moment of deep satisfaction and ecstatic joy. 'In that same hour He rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes' (Luke x. 21)

The essence of childlikeness is that it implies an attitude of simple trust in the father and of wonder towards the world, and an experience which meets everything with courage while the father is nigh, yet to which everything is a possible source of fear if the child has lost himself and the father is away. Children are easily frightened: but fright largely consists just in being away from parents. How bravely a child will run on ahead on a walk: but if, the way being strange, he looks back and no father is there, he becomes a very lonely and fearful little figure in a very big world of unknown possibilities for evil. On the other hand, to have hold of a father's hand, to be able to run to a mother's breast, are sufficient and final security: and no one who has been in any place of imminent peril and known how a little child will rest quietly in his arms while all around is confusion or terror can fail to have wondered at such absolute trust.

From the basis of his trust in the parents whose care enwraps his life the little child is making his discoveries of the world. With them there it is a place of vast and consuming interest.

In the realm of character this trust is the basis of growth; and one of the hardest sayings of Jesus, 'Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect,' seems just natural when we remember how a little child will say, 'I want to be like you when I grow up, Daddy.' The wise parent trains the little child by encouraging his native curiosity. He plays on that element of wonder in childhood with the instruments of surprise and imagining. 'Come and see what I have for you,' 'Come and see what there is over there,' 'Let's

pretend,' are the kind of phrases which we hear on the lips of parents. So God draws His children on.

As the child grows bigger, he ceases to be a 'little' child, but he never ceases to be a son. Then another element comes into play. As children are trained by curiosity, youth is trained by responsibility. No parents can keep their children constantly at their side. The young ones have to go out into the world and make their own way, but to the end with the thought of the father and the old home in the background. All this is illustrative of the way in which the Christian, i.e. he who knows himself a child of God, discovers the world to be not hostile, even though at times appearances be all to the contrary, but a medium of God's care and love to him. At the bitterest moment of experience the son knows the Father is there. The prodigal arises to return to his home, while all those who are 'led by the Spirit of God' know that they are His sons. 'Ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear: But ye received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father' (Rom. viii. 15).

What then is the basis of this belief of the Christian that God is his Father, that he is in the relation of a son to God, and therefore in God's world as a son in his father's house?

The basis of the Christian experience of sonship is not, perhaps cannot be, an inference from the life of men in the world. For while the Christian believes that this world 'in the last issue is God's world,' [1] yet it is such an one as we need redemption from. For manifestly, if to say that the world is our Father's house implies that life has nothing of pain and trial and catastrophe, then the saying has no verifiable meaning. Only such a ground of belief as can look calamity and injustice in the face is sufficient to carry the experience of sonship. The way of our redemption,

[1] John Oman: *Grace and Personality*, p. 95. '. . . in the last issue this is God's world, but that is very far from meaning that as it appears and as we measure it, it is a good world.'

the realization of our sonship, we know only through that way of acceptance and reconciliation which Jesus trod. Jesus speaks of Himself absolutely as the Son and of God as the Father. That was the essence of His relation to God: no experience which life brought Him could break that relationship. The spirit of sonship was to Him no facile trust: it was manifested in an obedience 'even unto death' (Phil. ii. 8). Christ the Son endured Gethsemane and He did not refuse the shame and agony of the Cross: He endured till the cry of dereliction was wrung from Him. Even at that moment of supreme agony He conquered, and with His dying breath commended His spirit to the Father. In response to that perfect obedience of the Son the Father's power had no let or hindrance, but could issue in a succour that conquered death, and raised the Son to eternal life. 'Death no more hath dominion over him' (Rom. vi. 9).

The Christian finds the beginning and ground of his own experience of victory over fear here. By faith in Jesus—by the response of our whole being, that is, to the revelation of the Father and of life which Jesus made, and by the repentance involved in that response—we receive the Father's forgiveness, we are reconciled to Him. And 'reconciliation to God is primarily reconciliation to our lives by seeking in them only His ends. Its immediate significance is reconciliation to the discipline He appoints and the duty He demands'; thus is made 'the positive discovery that the whole world of which we are conscious is of God's gracious appointment.'[1] So we become what Jesus was, children of God. 'The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ.' Then 'all things work together for good to them that love God' (Rom. viii. 16, 17, 28).

It will, however, be asked, is the Christian experience actually and normally as complete a deliverance as is thus suggested?

[1] *Grace and Personality*, p. 106.

I am aware that most Christians, and certainly I myself, must confess that experience is by no means always at the level of a complete victory over fear. This is only one side of the paradox that is implicit in all Christian experience. We are saved yet we are ever being saved.

For one thing superstition and fear tend to crop up in the midst of Christian experience as survivals : for another our victory over fear is progressive. A Christian is set free from the thousand and one things which it is necessary to do to avert evil, and his freedom rests solely on the revelation of one supreme and loving God. Yet, as we know, superstitions and fear have a long run even in Christian countries. Few are always free from them. The freedom of being children of God is apt to be of too gossamer-like a texture. The old dread of taboo, or of some unwitting sin which will annihilate the joy of free intercourse with the Father and degrade us to the status of slaves, is still much present in our religious consciousness.

> There are many people who are not grossly superstitious . . . who yet pass all their days in fear lest they have unwittingly committed or may unwittingly commit some mortal sin, and who all the while are just a little afraid of God, as if He were generally well disposed and loving but a trifle uncertain in temper and quick to be offended if accidentally you break the rules of the game which you did not really understand ; and so they are never children in their Father's house ; they are visitors on their best behaviour and in their Sunday clothes and too nervous to laugh heartily, and dreadfully afraid of spilling the soup or choking over the porridge.[1]

Our victory is ever being won. On the one hand as life continually presents us with new problems we grow more conscious of what we have to be saved from; on the other as our faith brings us into closer union with Jesus we grasp more clearly the implicates of His revelation of the Fatherhood of God. What we claim as the truth of experience is that when fear, whether naked or clothed in superstition, comes to the front of our consciousness, and we seem to look down into the abyss, there is adequate succour as we turn to the God and Father of Jesus. With our knowledge

[1] N. Micklem : *The Galilean*, p. 122.

of the Father we can look each new fear in the face and dispel it.

That knowledge is mediated through Jesus, and the Christian's final authority is the impression which Jesus made and makes on the hearts of men. John puts it in this way: 'We know that the Son of God has come, and has given us insight to know Him who is the real God: and we are in Him who is real, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the real God, this is life eternal' (1 John v. 20; Moffatt). At the very heart of the universe which presents so many aspects to men and which has given rise to so many philosophies he finds Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who died upon the Cross; what he finds is final truth. Because Jesus makes this impression of finality and of truth all the values of life are substantiated; love, goodness, beauty—these are true because life is explained by Jesus.

From this central experience of Jesus the whole circle of our deliverance follows. The universe is not indifferent, behind all is Someone; nor is it arbitrary or malevolent, for that One is a Father of Love. Faith in the Father brings with it deliverance from our past sinful record; for impotence in the face of temptation it substitutes spiritual power, and that again enables us to face and defeat our sinful heritage. Our faith links us in Christ to the Father—we are recipients of His grace. In Him we have newness of life and power and resource. Above all life is set on a basis of immortality and in an aspect of eternity. Death, for all its shadow, uncertainty and regret, is but a passing to life—a great Certainty of the hereafter, and with that certainty those elements of mystery and wonder that make it the great adventure. In the light of this Christian hope of immortality all our relationships are ennobled and enriched—marriage and parenthood, love of kin, friendship, and the wider loyalties of locality and race. All these are set on an eternal basis; all have the assurance of permanent value: for at the centre the individual has his fellowship with Jesus, the Lord of Life. T. W. Douglas James

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

STUDIES OF AFRICAN LIFE AND THOUGHT

Psychology and Primitive Culture. By F. C. Bartlett. Cambridge: University Press. 8s. 6d. 1923.

Race Problems in the New Africa. By W. C. Willoughby. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 15s. 1923.

Life in Southern Nigeria. By P. Amaury Talbot. London: Macmillan. 21s. 1923.

Mr Bartlett believes that the psychological study of 'primitive' culture (the inverted commas are ours) forms the best introduction to the psychology of contemporary social life and that 'the underlying psychological mechanisms remain much the same at all stages of social development.' He disagrees with such writers as Lévy-Bruhl who contend that there is a radical difference between the mentality of 'primitive' peoples and that of the modern world. The main difference between 'primitive' and 'modern' he finds to lie in the arrangement of tendencies, in the determination of which tendencies are dominant at a particular stage, and in the operation, in modern and more complicated social life, of numerous derived and specialized tendencies. His book is mainly about tendencies, by which he means active promptings towards a given mode of response which arise when an individual is brought into touch with a situation and attends to it. He starts with the well-known list of instinctive tendencies put forward by MacDougall in his *Social Psychology* and *The Group Mind* (no reference is made to MacDougall's latest work) and distinguishes those which are social. He discriminates three instinctive social relationship tendencies: 'primitive comradeship,' 'assertiveness' and 'submissiveness.' There is also a social tendency to conservation, largely selective, and a social constructive tendency which lies at the basis of all social organization. All these tendencies operate in determining the behaviour of one member of a group to others, or of a member of one group to members of a different group. There are also individual instinctive responses; and 'group difference tendencies' which distinguish one group from another. Mr Bartlett attempts to account for the behaviour of men in the primitive group in terms

of these tendencies, fundamental and acquired, which human beings possess, the ways in which the tendencies are affected by their working relationships one with another, and the influence of all forms of external environment including that of the social structure itself. While the individual cannot be lost sight of, he must always be thought of as an individual-in-a-given-social-group. Mr Bartlett does not pretend to write a system of social psychology ; he seeks to define a point of view. This is set forth in the first chapters of the book, and the rest are devoted to some illustration and development of it. In a fascinating and original chapter he shows the tendencies at work in the folk-story. We cannot follow him here in all this, but will simply say that there is much that should be helpful to missionaries—in what he says, e.g., about the contact of peoples. ' The capability of satisfying pre-existing instinctive tendencies, or widely shared practical needs, is essential in all cases of diffusion ' [of culture]—many such sentences as this contain helpful suggestions to missionaries. We should like to see some psychologist with an adequate practical experience of the mission field work out fully a system on the basis of Mr Bartlett's sketch. Meanwhile we commend the book to the attention of our readers.

Mr Willoughby is amply qualified to write a book on race problems in Africa. It is well known that he was one of the early missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Central Africa. In 1893 he succeeded Mr Hepburn at Palapye, in Bechuanaland. He became the first principal of the Tiger Kloof Institution and now for some years has served as a professor in the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, U.S.A. His purpose is to discuss the many problems arising out of the contact of the white and black races. He begins with a description of Africa as a whole, but, as the sub-title indicates, it is with the Bantu and particularly with the Bantu under British control that he deals. Rightly insisting that an accurate knowledge of tribal life is essential to the solution of the numerous and complex problems, Mr Willoughby devotes five chapters to a valuable description of Bantu religion and institutions. Only after laying this secure foundation does he proceed to discuss the Europeanization of Africa, with its perplexing problems. His treatment of the subject is marked throughout by moderation of statement, a clear vision of the questions involved and sanity of judgment. The present reviewer is happy to find himself in complete agreement with him in all matters of greatest importance. Only in a

few respects as regards Bantu religion, etc., and only with the utmost diffidence, does he venture to differ. Mr Willoughby, he thinks, is inclined sometimes to generalize too much. After all, our knowledge of the Bantu is still woefully incomplete, and if one makes statements about ' all the Bantu ' one is liable to fall into occasional error. Apart from a theistic belief, which Mr Willoughby rightly recognizes as characteristic of the Bantu, Animism is assumed to be the basis of Bantu religion : ' Bantu conceive of everything in the world . . . as having a soul.' Here the present writer, convinced that in taboos, charms, etc., we have to deal with pre-animistic conceptions, and never having succeeded in discovering a purely native word for ' soul ', has to differ from Mr Willoughby. It will be well for readers to remember that the interpretation of many African beliefs is still uncertain ; but apart from a few points like this they can safely follow Mr Willoughby. We know of no other book which so well puts the problems before us, and offers such wise suggestions for their solution, as this.

Mr Amaury Talbot's book is an example of what, according to Mr Bartlett, is most called for to-day in the anthropological world—an intensive study of a particular people. He is well known for his previous work, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, a description of the Ekoi of Southern Nigeria ; now he writes of the magic, beliefs and customs of the Ibibio tribe. He has given us a vivid, instructive portrait of a very interesting people. Much of his information was derived from the researches carried out by the late Mr W. W. Eakin of the Kwa Ibo Mission. Mr Talbot also records his obligation to Chief Daniel Henshaw and says of this Christian man in particular : ' Up to a short time ago I must confess to a preference for " bush-folk " rather than the more civilized specimens of the black race ; but that European education may bring the black man to a high pitch of civilization, without destroying the natural dignity or simple charm of manner to be found among " bush " people I now gratefully acknowledge.' This book should be read by all who would know what the Government and the missions are ' up against ' in Southern Nigeria. West African religions, says Mr Talbot, contain a greater element of spirituality than has usually been credited to them ; his book testifies that they also give rise to rites of the most appalling cruelty. This is a very illuminating book.

EDWIN W. SMITH

WALTON-ON-THAMES

AN EPILOGUE TO LIVINGSTONE'S LIFE

AFTER LIVINGSTONE: AN AFRICAN TRADE ROMANCE. By FRED. L. M. MOIR. With a Foreword by IAN HAY. Illus. Map. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. 1923.

THE epilogue to Livingstone's life still waits for its writer. True it will only be completed when the history of tropical Africa ceases to run, but the full story to date of how his life work was taken up and carried on is long overdue. Meantime it comes out in odd volumes. One fine chapter in that tale is now given to us in *After Livingstone*. The very brilliance of Livingstone's great achievements has somewhat dimmed the splendour of the work of those who followed in his trail. It was a great hour calling for great men and 'the men for the hour are never far away when the hour comes.' Explorers, statesmen, missionaries and merchants alike were stirred to high service for Africa by Livingstone's appeals. In many goodly volumes the work of the statesman, the explorer and the missionary is told, but the story of the great pioneer Christian traders has gone unsung, and we are grateful that in *After Livingstone* justice is done to the work of the merchants who answered Livingstone's challenge to beat out a pathway for commerce and Christianity into the heart of the African Continent. The book is all the more charming because of the simple sincerity with which the author tells his story, being evidently quite unconscious of how big a place that story will occupy in the history of Africa.

Among those who, fired by Livingstone's last appeal to his countrymen, resolved to devote their lives to Africa were two young Scottish brothers who had already firmly planted their feet on the ladder of business in London—John and Frederick Moir. An apt native name awaits every European who sets foot in Africa. The elder of the brothers wore glasses and he was speedily named 'Mandala,' denoting the reflection of light from his spectacles By a happy inspiration the first headquarters of the trading company formed by the brothers was called 'Mandala' and that name was destined to become synonymous over a wide area of Africa with fair dealing and good treatment. The tasks which lay ahead of the young pioneers were not merely to open trade routes, develop marketable produce and create and supply new needs. They had to provide communications over 1500 miles from the mouth of the Zambesi to Lake Tanganyika, fight tropical fever and disease, conquer the

deadliness of the deltas and make pestilential coastal plains passable and inhabitable. They had to secure the confidence of the natives all along the long trading route, no small task when the difference of language alone is borne in mind, and a task much intensified by hostile Arabs and unreliable Portuguese. The natives had to be induced to work for more than a day at a time, to live at peace and to give up what, so far as the British were concerned, was an obsolete currency in the form of slaves, guns, gunpowder and liquor. The Arab slave trade was still in full swing, maintained by powerful Arabs in fortified villages and worked in alliance with the fierce 'Ngoni. The Moirs were galled by the slave traffic thrown athwart their track (on one occasion they saw a slave gang of over 4000 men, woman and children on its way to the coast), while the slavers viewed the intrusion of the Scots with suspicion and distrust, and dealt out to them hatred and hostility. The magnitude of the problem was overwhelming and the brothers Moir faced it with small resources. The capital of their little trading company was only £12,000. Their real resources lay elsewhere—in the character of the men themselves and in their methods of friendship and goodwill. They proved ' that doing what cannot be done is the glory of living,' and they had the satisfaction of seeing the slave trade destroyed throughout the territory, settled government introduced and the sale of spirits to the natives over a large part of Central Africa excluded for all time by international convention.

The usual gibe of ' philanthropy plus five per cent ' cannot be hurled at the author of *After Livingstone*. As he left for home after fifteen years in Africa he had the satisfaction of looking back on his sturdy defence of the country against the Arabs and the destruction of their slave trade, the creation of lake and land transport, much pioneering in planting and the establishment of an ordered government. With the enthusiasm of missionaries he and his brother had co-operated with the missionaries in establishing peace throughout the land and in an unstinted way spent the resources of the company in that work, while during all these years the shareholders were content to receive only one dividend of 2½ per cent, preferring rather to spend freely all their profits for the common good of the territory.

In 1903 the African Lakes Corporation was formed to take over the business of the pioneer company and the new concern has maintained the record of the pioneers. Forty-three years after the first visit to Africa, Frederick Moir revisited the stations of the now wide-

spread African Lakes Trading Corporation. He writes: 'It amused and sometimes touched us as we travelled about to see over large handsome stores or little shanties, and oftenest of all on a rough little board nailed to a tree in the woods, the word Mandala.' The word is the heart of a great system which by that name is known throughout a huge territory extending from the Zambesi in the south to Lake Tanganyika in the north, and from Blantyre in the east to Broken Hill on the railway in the west. It is a word still recognized by the natives as synonymous with fair dealing and good treatment. That is the achievement of the Moirs. There could be few, if any, higher ideals for a trading career than the making of David Livingstone's work effective in one big corner of Africa. It is in such work that human ideals meet their severest tests, but the Moirs never lowered the flag and like all others they secured what they worked for. They did the day's work 'as though the world were waiting to be served' and because of that they have earned the right to place on their title page the mystic words, *After Livingstone*. The story is a fine contribution to the epilogue of the great explorer's life. The book should be put into the hands of every young trader going to Africa.

KENNETH MACLENNAN

LONDON

CHRIST AND LABOUR

CHRIST AND LABOUR. By C. F. ANDREWS. London: Student Christian Movement. 4s. 1923.

THIS book is a call for courage and boldness in facing world situations to-day. 'The principle that humanity is one family in God' is accepted as the central conception implied in the teaching of Christ. The sentence, 'If alongside any false or corrupt belief, or any vicious and cruel system, we place one incompatible idea, then without any noise of controversy, or clash of battle, those beliefs and customs will wane and die,' quoted in the first chapter, suggests a line of thought that recurs throughout the book. At the same time it is clear that the writer believes that the Kingdom of God 'is also ushered in, from age to age, by sudden shocks of dissolution, by revolutionary changes, by volcanic upheavals.'

The book is arranged so that it can be used in study circles as well as for private reading. A review of the influence of the Christian religion on social questions in the past, which occupies

the first chapters, shews how the ideal of the brotherhood of labour which found expression in outward form, for a brief period, in the early Church, remained as a powerful influence in the thought of later generations. The historical review, brief as it is, is yet full of vivid touches which leave the reader eager to study periods of development and trains of thought that are little more than outlined in passing. The movements of thought that found expression in the monasteries and guilds of the Middle Ages are discussed in relation to the Buddhist monasteries and the caste trade-guilds in India. An interesting chapter deals with the efforts of the Canonists in the fifteenth century to formulate doctrines of trade based on the ' social ideal of possession.' The effect on the general attitude towards labour of the Reformation and of the revival of religion under Wesley and Whitefield are traced in new moral enthusiasm, in the rise of philanthropic effort and in the strength and courage inspired in individual character. But the fact that there was no conscious aim at the redemption of society left the leaders of religious and social thought utterly unprepared to cope with the results of the industrial revolution.

The exploitation of labour in Britain which followed the industrial revolution is vividly recalled, and labour conditions that have accompanied economic imperialism in other lands are depicted with arresting clearness and simplicity. It is not wonderful that the writer, who knows the results of exploitation in Fiji, in Africa, and in India so intimately, seems inclined to believe that progress in eastern lands may consist chiefly in the revival of village life and in a return to a simplicity and isolation that cannot exist side by side with modern industry. It may be questioned whether the past either in India or in ' Merrie England ' was so ideal as it appears in retrospect. It may be maintained that the immediate need is to set free for the use of humanity the mechanical appliances which have, to so great an extent, been made to serve the material advantage of the few instead of to lessen the burden of labour that falls on the many. But whatever difference of opinion may exist with regard to the way out, no serious reader of this book can fail to feel the urgency of the demand that social relationships be redeemed, and the certainty of the doom that lies on ' every culture and refinement of man that is built on the oppression of the poor.' A significant line of thought emphasizes the fact that barriers raised to prevent the worst forms of exploitation, however necessary, do not

touch the real problem which can only be solved by an inward change—a change by which a spirit of creative service will replace the spirit of self-seeking in men and in nations.

The dark picture is relieved by glimpses of communities, missionary and other, in which the 'one incompatible idea' is finding expression in the lives of men and women. In this connexion it is interesting to recall the fact, noted in the introduction, that labour problems are vitally connected with true missionary work.

A remarkable feature of the book is the way in which quotations from the New Testament are introduced in settings which give them new vividness and meaning so that the words of Christ come as a direct challenge to His disciples to-day. References to the thought of Tagore and of Gandhi throughout the book and an appendix on Religion and Politics which deals with certain phases of the non-co-operation movement are of special interest to those who seek to understand the intellectual and spiritual life of India.

J. H. Kelman

New York City

INDIAN POEMS AND HYMNS

Poems by Indian Women. Edited by Margaret Macnicol. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. 1923.

Vedic Hymns. Translated from the Rigveda, with Introduction and Notes. By Edward J. Thomas, D.Litt. London: Murray. 3s. 6d. 1923.

Hymns from the Rigveda. By A. A. Macdonell, Ph.D. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. 1923.

If Indian opinion and life remain a matter of conjecture to the western world, it is largely because Indian women form an unknown but most potential factor. Parsi ladies have long exercised deep and wide influence in Bombay—but then Parsis are not quite Indians. Of recent years the indignation and passionate nationalism of Indian women have frequently embittered a political quarrel and perplexed the Government by the presence of an intangible irreconcilable element. At least one of Mrs Macnicol's poetesses has excited Indian audiences by speeches as fierce and reckless as any other nationalist's; and Calcutta ladies have canvassed assiduously, and addressed meetings. If anyone thinks Indian women have suddenly become different beings, *Poems by Indian Women* will show him what fires have smouldered, and sometimes blazed, through three millenniums. The book contains a hymn from Vedic India extolling

the two Heavenly Horsemen ; poems which tell how hearts suffered beneath the Buddhist's calm ; poems which show how a famous Rajput queen and an outcaste woman both found their satisfaction in the praise of God ; poems which express the thoughts of Mogul princesses, who wrote and read Persian and lived and died in the harem, and of Bengali ladies of to-day, Brahmo and Christian, who read George Eliot and Victor Hugo. We have Toru Dutt's three finest poems, the finest ever written in English by a foreigner (Blanco White's much-praised sonnet not excepted) ; Mrs Sen's *Enlightener*, with its fiercely-brooding music and imaginative fusion of Christian and Vedantist thought ; the domestic and social poems translated from Bengali by Miss Whitehouse's exact and delicate scholarship ; and examples of Mrs Sarojini Naidu's wholly un-Indian but technically accomplished verses—here the reviewer dissents, as emphatically as he can, from Mrs Macnicol's judgment of this greatly over-praised writer. But one lingers at many a name in this rich collection—the first book of its kind, and of inestimable value to anyone who cares to know the Indian mind. Rami's *Ballad of the Death of Chandidas* recalls the most famous of legends about the renowned Vaishnava lyrist ; Rupamati recalls a tragic story lit up with ineffable courage and love ; and the Empress Nurjahan, whose life was so full of sorrow and of power and of change, leaves us her own epitaph :

> On the tomb of us poor people there will be neither a light nor a flower, nor the wings of a moth, nor the voice of a nightingale.

Mrs Macnicol's book has meant immense trouble. 'Twenty-five translators have done their very best to make the volume successful,' translating from 'fourteen distinct languages. Almost every part of India is represented, and all the important religions except Jainism and Zoroastrianism.' We are given twenty-four pages of introduction, chiefly biographical ; and other expository matter.

Vedic Hymns, translated by Dr E. J. Thomas, appears in a series which has published cheaply a great deal of interesting and not easily accessible work. Dr Thomas's versions are in prose, and (as a rule) slightly closer than Dr Macdonell's, which also lie before the reviewer. There is a value in photographic accuracy of reproduction ; yet such accuracy brings its own confusions, and I think Dr Thomas's versions need a few more notes. Here are two consecutive stanzas from the opening hymn of the *Rigveda* :

That good indeed which thou, Agni, will grant to thy worshipper, that good of thine is true, O Angiras.

To thee, O Agni, illuminator of the darkness, day by day with prayer bringing worship we come.

The reader is entitled to ask, what is meant by 'that good' being 'true.' (Here Dr Macdonell's version, being equally literal, is equally obscure). Probably the original means, Agni's good purpose for his worshipper will certainly be fulfilled. Then, 'with prayer bringing worship' misleads the reader whose mind is filled with pictures of congregational requests to the Deity. Here, Dr Macdonell's

With thought we, bearing homage, come

is closer, since the words mean 'mental prayer accompanied by gestures of adoration.'

The reviewer has raised these trifling points, not in a spirit of fault-finding, but because he is convinced not only that oriental books need to be translated closely (here, both Dr Thomas and Dr Macdonell are admirable), the flowery and untruthful paraphrases of last century having filled the general mind with misconceptions that it will be almost impossible to eradicate, but that notes are needed in far fuller measure than has been usual, even if the text has to be cut down to make room for them. It is only fair to say that Dr Thomas gives a good deal of explanatory matter, with over seventy hymns, closely rendered, and a good, brief Introduction—an excellent little book, extremely cheap. It contains nearly twice the number of hymns in Dr Macdonell's book, and costs only a shilling more.

Dr Macdonell's book needs no recommendation. As his pupils know, he is not only a great scholar but a man of the widest interests. There is no other translation of Vedic hymns of this fine literary quality. We are given forty of these famous poems, in vigorous verse which keeps surprisingly close to the original text, and an Introduction and introductory notes that have nothing of pedantry but are a vivid exposition by the first Vedic scholar in the world. Among the sixteen volumes already published in the 'Heritage of India' series are three by Dr Berriedale Keith and one by Dr Macdonell, and Mrs Macnicol's *Poems by Indian Women*, each priced at half a crown, and yet people are always asking where they can get good books about India, and why they are so expensive.

Oxford Edward J. Thompson

A STUDY OF ISLAM IN INDIA

ISLAM IN INDIA, OR THE QANŪN I ISLÂM. Translated by G. A. HERKLOTS, M.D. New Edition by WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E. London: Milford. 17s. 6d. 1921.

THIS book represents an evolution. Dr G. A. Herklots was a military surgeon under the East India Company who set about collecting information regarding the Mohammedans of India. For this purpose he employed the services of one Ja'far Sharif, a South Indian Sunni Musalman, by profession a *hakim* (physician) and *munshi*. This man compiled in Dakkhini Urdu a very detailed account of the social and religious observances of South Indian Moslems, to which he gave, in fanciful Indian fashion, the title of *Qanun i Islam* or Law of Islam. This Dr Herklots rendered into English, and the work was published at the expense of the East India Company in 1832. It thus corresponds to M. Garcin de Tassy's *Mémoires sur les Particularités de la Religion Mussulmane dans l'Inde* (1831) and Mrs Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India* (reviewed IRM, 1917 (Oct.), pp. 609–10). This last is written from a North Indian Shi'a's point of view while Ja'far Sharif wrote as a South Indian Sunni. Mr Crooke has aimed to preserve the careful and detailed delineation of Indian Musalman life while sifting out what was redundant and adding information both general and local from other parts of India. This leaves the book rather piebald. In the chapters on magic, for instance, the undiluted Indian *hakim* is speaking, while in the introduction on ethnography it is the twentieth-century civilian who is writing. None the less the book is one which will be of real use to readers who wish to come into sympathetic touch with the Indian Musalman.

The rather bulky section on magical arts, with its quaint illustrations, will strike most readers as tedious, nevertheless it opens up a region of ideas which penetrate the mind of the people very deeply, though they do not speak about them readily to the foreigner. It is also a side of life on which Indian Islam shows very markedly the influence of Hinduism, as in the ritual for casting of horoscopes, the determination of lucky days and the invocation of Hindu deities alongside of the 'beautiful names' of Allah. The chapters on ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death and those on dress, food, intoxicants and games are full of information which the woman missionary especially ought to acquire. These parts, too, manifest

the Hindu element, social and religious, which has so largely moulded Indian Islam. Thus in connexion with the *'aqiqa* or head-shaving ceremony for an infant on or after the seventh day, a tuft or *chonti* is often left uncut in the name of a saint, and the rest of the hair is buried at the saint's shrine with the bones of the sacrifice offered at the time of shaving, in the belief that at the day of resurrection these relics will rise in the form of a horse and carry the soul of the child over the razor-edge bridge into Paradise. In the corresponding Hindu ritual the belief is that the tuft will be grasped by the death-god Yama to land the owner safe in Vaikunth, Vishnu's abode of bliss. Whether saint and tomb worship, so widely practised by Indian Musalmans, is to be laid to the account of Hinduism is more doubtful, for it is very rife in Mohammedan lands far away from India. But the account given by Ja'far Sharif of the various orders of Sufi mystics met with all over India is a good starting-point for anyone who wishes to become acquainted with this interesting and important feature of Indian Moslem life. The initiation of the *murid* or disciple by the *pir* (' elder,' i.e. saint), and the marks and customs of Indian *faqirs* are well described. One realizes the devoutness of the better sort, which in times past made Mu'ínud Dín Chishtí and others real spiritual fathers of Indian Islam, and the more than useless horde of debased creatures who believe that the true *faqir* is a law unto himself and live out that belief very faithfully. In fact *faqirs* are very commonly divided into *ba-shara'* (law-abiders) and *be-shara'* (antinomians). Some are fortune-tellers, performers or strolling musicians ; but the mass in North India are quiet, mostly illiterate men who occupy a little hermitage (though they may be married) allotted them by the village, and serve travellers with fire and water and perform certain rites for the community. At many of the great places of pilgrimage the Mohammedan *faqir* and the Hindu *sadhu* freely fraternize on the basis of a common pantheistic creed.

The reader will also find a general outline of the Mohammedan religion sufficient for a beginner, but the chief value of the book is its mass of concrete detail which faithfully fills in the living background of Moslem doctrine and ritual in India before the impact on it of the new thought and of Christian teaching. This faithfulness is reflected even in its inaccuracies. Ramazan is of course the month of fasting, but when the translator speaks of the ' Ramazan festival ' he reflects the fact that the outsider connects the *'Idul Fitr* (festival of fast-breaking) with the name of the preceding month more than

with its own. Similarly the 'Muharram festival' is a day of mourning for the slaughter of the Prophet's grandson by ruthless enemies, but to the general Indian public it does provide a succession of entertaining shows. It is a pity that the editor has not given a table of pronunciation of Urdu and other Indian words. Blemishes such as *dastbozi* and *phul ka chadar* are perhaps difficult to avoid when printing in England. At any rate they do not interfere with the obligation of the English-reading public to editor and publishers for an interesting and timely reproduction of the life of our Moslem fellow-citizens in India.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON

LONDON

ISLAM AT THE CROSS ROADS

ISLAM AT THE CROSS ROADS: A Brief Survey of the Present Position and Problems of the World of Islam. By DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. London: Kegan Paul. 6s. 6d. 1923.

THE title gives a precise idea of the scope of this scholarly and sensible book. After a chapter on the Historical Development of Islam, the author takes up the International Reforming Movements of Islam, chiefly the Wahabi (including the Ikhwan) and Sanusi movements. The next two chapters deal with Western Penetration of Islam, summarizing seven reasons for the strong feeling of dislike and fear aroused against the western powers by this process; and some of the awakening influences of western thought upon Islam, as, for instance, the Ahmadiya movement in India. Chapter V is devoted to the Babism and Baha'ism among the Shi'ites, and chapter VI, in many respects the most suggestive chapter in the book, to Pan-Islamic Hopes and Nationalism. The last chapter deals with the effects of the war and after events on Islam, and shows Islam at the cross roads of mediævalism and modernism, of faith and materialism, of ecclesiasticism and spirituality, of religious union and nationalism, of the old-fashioned Khalifate and a Khalif without temporal power or no Khalif at all, of adherence to the East or the West.

The author's attitude towards missionary work is discriminating but sympathetic and favourable. The book is disfigured by a large number of typographical errors, showing inexcusably careless proof-reading. There is a brief index.

CONSTANTINOPLE

F. W. MACCALLUM

MYSTICISM OF EAST AND WEST

MYSTICISM OF EAST AND WEST: STUDIES IN MYSTICAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY. By WILLIAM LOFTUS HARE. London: Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d. 1924.

THIS book belongs to a class of books that have of late had an increasing vogue. They are the product of an interest in religion that has more breadth than depth. Until recently there was little enough breadth in such studies, and indeed the horizon of our theological colleges still needs widening. It is not the philosophic mind, as Renan maintained, that recognizes only three histories, those of Greece, of Israel and of Rome; it is the parochial mind. But the parochialism of yesterday has given place in some circles to a shallow cosmopolitanism that is no real improvement on the old narrowness, and the Orontes is renewing its ancient inundation of the lands of the West. This book is representative of this not very discriminating interest in oriental thought. It annexes to itself with little enough right the title 'Mysticism,' a much misused word that often covers a multitude of nebulosities. Ten of its twenty chapters are occupied with oriental religious ideas, but some of the most truly mystical aspects of Hinduism are passed by without mention. The author misunderstands the religion of the Gita because he fails to take into account the fact that behind its philosophical speculations there was a social order and that to it the ethics of the poem are always subordinate. *Dharma* is a function of the social organism. Thus while 'its deep metaphysical doctrine' seems to demand, as Mr Hare observes, 'an exalted ethic,' it does not, as a matter of fact, obtain it. There are some exalted ethical intuitions in the Gita, but no consistent doctrine. Again, of his examination of 'the ethic and psychology of forgiveness' one is impelled to say, 'Dig deeper.' 'I confess,' says Mr Hare in his final chapter, 'I see no light ahead of humanity unless we resort to the only avenue of escape open to us—Universal Forgiveness.' Ah, yes, but who will teach us that great lesson? There is little enough mention in the book of Him who alone can.

There are many minor errors—in the spelling of Sanscrit names, for example—which may be due to the printer or to inaccurate scholarship. They suggest, as the whole book does, superficiality.

N. MACNICOL

POONA

TWO MASTER MISSIONARIES

William Carey. By S. Pearce Carey. With Illustrations. London. Hodder & Stoughton. 12s. 6d. 1923.

Timothy Richard of China. By W. E. Soothill. With Illustrations. London: Seeley, Service. 12s. 6d. 1924.

Here is 'The Authoritative Biography of the Founder of Modern Christian Missions.' It bears all the marks of the ten years which his great grandson has given to it. It is packed with interest for any lover of mankind. The account of the development of the village cobbler-schoolmaster, and the little group of Baptist congregations, into the author of *The Enquiry*, and the Baptist Missionary Society, is quite the best part of the book. It is interesting to notice the influence in childhood of the soldier uncle, with his fascinating tales of travel, and of Carey's own amazing power of application to detail which turned his passion for nature into a mental training as strenuous as any university course. But in India the real Carey is strangely elusive. He is lost behind the things he did. More must have gone on in Fort-William College, and in Carey's every contact with Indians, than comes out in the book. For the rest the life and attitude of this master in the missionary craft are given with faithfulness to detail and real literary skill. He is revealed as master of many things we are struggling for to-day. He saw from the very outset the limitations of denominational work and its eventual supersession. He soon discovered the impossibility of mere numerical conversion, and set himself, through literature, to reach the heart of Indian life and thought. Renewed study of the Reformation carried out in the midst of his immense Indian labours convinced him that only Christian scholars could ever convert India. He never separated home and foreign missions; even in 'Harvey Lane' days and earlier, when some such distinction might have been permissible to emphasize his appeal, he 'clubs together the home ministry, home missions and foreign missions as one enterprise' (p. 77). His method and the secret of his success is summed up in his reply to Lord Minto:

'Don't you think it wrong, Dr Carey, to try and make Indians Christians?'

'You mistake us, your Lordship, we have no faith in makings. You can make hypocrites by compulsions; Christians never. We

only solicit the right to present the Truth to each man's intelligence and conscience as our Master ordained' (p. 264).

Timothy Richard's biography is a slighter book—a *πάρεργον* of a busy life. But Professor Soothill writes of what he knows. The haphazard impression given by the whole book is perhaps due in a large measure to Timothy Richard's own character and methods. For his call was 'to the prophetic ministry rather than to the diaconate' (p. 134). Typical of him is his attitude to Buddhism. Professor Soothill does not defend it entirely, but claims that it has been more condemned than understood. His 'contribution to the study of Buddhism may be described as more valuable for its suggestiveness than for its literal accuracy' (p. 319). That he was mistrusted was partly that he 'left other people to build his bridges' and partly also because of his 'generous mind to all good men' (p. 61). 'He was one of the pioneers in China of the love of goodness wherever it be found . . . and of the effectual grace of God whether "covenanted" or "uncovenanted"' (p. 156). Far too slowly, perhaps fatally slowly, we are learning that lesson to-day. The sub-title of this biography describes him as 'seer, statesman, missionary and the most disinterested adviser China ever had'; but to him there can be no doubt being a missionary included as a matter of course being those other things. The secret of China's immense trust in their beloved 'Li T'i-mo-t'ai' lay perhaps above all things in his common sense. From the day when he first made the famine mob sit down to prevent them crushing him and each other to death while he administered relief, to the day when he refused an offered interview with the Dowager Empress herself, his burly common sense never failed him. The truest picture of what he lived and died for is his pathetic seven minutes at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910; *seven minutes* in which to plead for Christian literature in China. That time allotment is as adequate as is the equipment of the Church to-day to meet China's Renaissance. Timothy Richard has passed on, but the Christian Literature Society of China is our trust from him. Perhaps this account of his life will help others to see as clearly as he and Carey did that literature, the clue to a country's thinking, is in the end the clue to her believing.

'But if God purposes to save the heathen will He not take steps to effect it Himself?' 'God's one deliberate method is to work through consecrated men' (Carey's *Enquiry* quoted on p. 71). In the end of the day Carey and Richard were consecrated men. And it is

for this reason that their biographies are worth writing—and reading —to-day. If any other one thing stands out in these accounts of them, it is this: they were quick to perceive and know what God would have them do for their time. We leave these two masters of our craft determined above all things to use whatever little powers of observation may be ours, if haply we may in our turn discover what the Master of all is setting us to do for our time with its very different problems and conditions.

R. O. HALL

LONDON

GENERAL FENG

GENERAL FENG: A GOOD SOLDIER OF CHRIST JESUS. BY MARSHALL BROOMHALL. London: China Inland Mission. 1s. 1923.

REFUGEE boy — common soldier — officer — general — provincial governor—one of the outstanding personalities in a nation of 400 millions—above all Christian—this man's story is one of the romances of the world of to-day. And he is still under forty-five years of age. He had proved his mettle before he was apprehended by Christ Jesus, and by force of character—typical of many Chinese and the rightful source of a great optimism concerning China as well as a tribute to China's great moral teacher Confucius—was a major in one of the Chinese armies before Dr Mott met him in Peking in the year 1912 and brought him definitely to acknowledge Christ as Lord and Master.

Feng Yu-hsiang had seen Christians die under persecution, and had watched in Paoting-fu weak women pray for their murderers and offer their lives for others. The blood of these martyrs was a seed. The skill and courtesy of missionary doctors nurtured the seed and in due time it sprang into wondrous Christian life. When the day of decision came Major Feng held nothing back. God became the final word of his life and the commander-in-chief of his activities. General Feng's army is famous to-day in China for its military efficiency and for its loyalty to its commander. It has once proved itself the pivotal force in a great day of battle and may do so yet again. That army is to its general a recruiting ground for Jesus Christ and its moral character and spiritual fervour are dearer to its leader than even its military prowess. General Feng wrestles for the souls of his men and their failings have caused him to spend long hours in prayer.

As a prophetic reminder of what may be expected to happen

to China when men of Christian character are in charge of the responsible posts of government the record of General Feng's all too brief administration of the province of Shensi as given by Mr Broomhall deserves particular attention. The radical need of China is not a change of form in government, but government on the basis of historic experience by the right men in the right place. General Feng is notably a man. Jesus Christ has not detracted from his manhood. His striking physical frame fits the part he plays. His individuality and his patriotism are illustrated in many a characteristic incident. He is, too, a conspicuous soldier. There has probably never been a military leader in China just like him in his care for the bodily needs and moral training of his men. That he is no politician, although he is a discerning critic of affairs and of other nations, is clear. In the politician-ridden China of to-day wilier men than he may use this straight-seeing patriotic Christian soldier and bring him to public grief. In a Machiavellian world the sincere man of simple faith is often enough in parlous case.

Mr Marshall Broomhall has given us, in plain narrative, the romantic story of General Feng's amazing career. That story provides a wonderful testimony to the ever-miraculous power of the Christian gospel as illustrated in the life of the outstanding Chinese Christian of this generation.

NELSON BITTON

LONDON

FAMILY LIFE IN CHINA

TWO GENTLEMEN OF CHINA. By Lady HOSIE. With an Introduction by Professor SOOTHILL. Illus. London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1924.

ONE of China's most distinguished sons has recently published a book entitled *China in American School Text-Books*. In this volume he has embodied the results of his examination of references made to China in no fewer than eighty-two text-books used in the schools of the United States of America. In his findings he exposes what he believes to be frequently distorted and usually quite inadequate ideas which are being promulgated among western children to-day about his own country. Such a publication is most arresting, and should have far-reaching results.

In times past mutual misrepresentation between nations could be and was practised with comparative impunity, by reason of the gross ignorance and imperfect communications which then existed.

There is no doubt that many a well-meaning writer, both of East and West, has indulged in the dangerous art of caricaturing other nations, and this partly because the other man was absent, would not know, and could not protest. In this matter the sin has not been on one side only. China has called the Westerner ' barbarian,' and the Westerner has retaliated with some equally unworthy sobriquet. Ignorance has undoubtedly been a fruitful source of such disesteem, but now that the world has become one great whispering gallery such error is inexcusable. Few things are more essential to international goodwill than accurate knowledge one of another.

For the reasons mentioned above, such a book as Lady Hosie's is to be warmly welcomed. As the sub-title states, it is ' an intimate description of the private life of two patrician Chinese families, their homes, loves, religion, mirth, sorrow and many other aspects of their family life.' There are many who have enjoyed residence in the homes of the peasantry and middle classes of China, but very few who have had the privilege of being guests in the inner circle of the nobility of that land as Lady Hosie has. Being the daughter of a missionary, and born in the East, the Chinese language has been to her as her mother tongue, so that in this and many other ways she has been excellently qualified for intimate intercourse with the Chinese people. The first home of which she writes is that of a Manchu, connected by blood with the imperial family and by marriage with the late Prince Regent and Empress Dowager. Her residence in this home followed upon, and was connected with, the Revolution of 1911, when the Manchu dynasty was overthrown. The family consisted of His Excellency, his wife and their children, of whom three were daughters, one being married. The other family was that of a high Chinese official, a great scholar and chief judge of one of the provinces, where, in addition to the head of the home, were the wife, two sons and three daughters. In a quite unusual way which is a high tribute to the author she won the confidence and intimate friendship of the members of these families, and was in one even adopted as a ' blood sister.' We do not know of any other volume which so fully and freely describes the inner life of a Chinese home, especially the home of an official. The author is gifted as a writer and tells her story in a racy and attractive manner with many a graphic picture. Avoiding dangerous and unimpressive generalities, she delights her reader with personal details, and with the setting

down her personal experiences simply and mainly without comment. Not only is this volume fascinating and entertaining, it is also eminently instructive and illuminating. It should do much to remove prejudice and to foster in the mind of the reader a more worthy esteem for a people who are still far too little known.

MARSHALL BROOMHALL

LONDON

A CHURCH AT WORK

THE WORLD SERVICE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. With Illustrations and Maps. Chicago: Methodist Book Concern. 50 cents. 1923.

THIS book is a remarkable and unique achievement. It presents in its 704 pages a compact but complete account of the missionary, educational and philanthropic activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the world. The survey is territorial, no distinction being made between home and foreign missionary work, and the introductions to each section give in tabloid form a valuable review of present-day social, industrial and religious conditions throughout a large part of the world. It is intended to be, and doubtless will become, the text-book for Methodists on the share their Church is taking in extending the Kingdom. It is published at far below cost price to ensure a wide circulation, the necessary loss being considered a worth-while expenditure on education and inspiration for world service. Special features are the numerous photographs, the introductory map at the beginning of each section, the list of needs and proposals for advance which close each section, and the set of diagrams showing the expenditure of every dollar given to any of the departments of the Church. It will remain a very valuable reference book for some years to come.

But while it is outside the scope of such a book to take any cognizance of what other Churches are doing to extend the Kingdom one feels there is a danger in its very completeness. 'A copy in every Methodist home' is the aim of the publishers. If this aim is reached, it seems a pity that some reference should not have been made to the work of other Churches. As it is, the impression unwittingly created in many Methodist homes may be that Methodism, like Atlas, bears the whole burden of a needy world.

We hope the book will be studied as it deserves, for much thought and care and prayer have evidently gone into its making.

LONDON M. M. UNDERHILL

SHORTER NOTICES

Unconquered Abyssinia as it is To-day. By C. F. Rey. (London: Seeley, Service. 21s. 1923.) One welcomes an addition to the very limited list of up-to-date books on this long neglected and little known land of Ethiopia, so secluded and shrouded with mystery. This attractive volume of over 300 pages, 26 illustrations and map is well written. After a second visit ending in 1923, the author has sought effectively to set forth the present conditions of the country together with improvements and developments being made by the present Regent Ras Tafari. The chapters dealing with Religion and Religious Practice are somewhat disappointing. Much valuable information is given in tracing the country from a state of paganism to the adoption of Judaism and its subsequent conversion to Christianity about A.D. 330; a faith which the author claims it has retained unaltered until this day. Reliable evidence leads us to question this assertion, which we feel fails to set forth the true religious condition of Abyssinia 'as it is to-day.' Without attempting here to show the cause of declension and the loss of light and vitality which came to the country in those early days, we rejoice that many Abyssinians in recent years have heard afresh the gospel message and have come to know Christianity not as a matter of rites and ceremonies but as a living faith in a living Christ. Mr Rey does not trace much success in the work of the missionary societies in the country, and does not hesitate to make unnecessary and unfair comparisons between native priests and European missionaries. Like Mr Wylde (whose book is freely quoted by him) he advocates the principle of 'leave them alone and do not interfere.' The very meagre reference to the excellent work of the Swedish Evangelical National Society and similar institutions, their schools, churches, medical work, printing press and translational work, leaves us to assume that for some reason or other the author did not really get into touch with this side of religious life, or see the fruits of these missions. In the chapter dealing with language, a passing reference is made to the multiplicity of languages used in the country, but no mention is made of the existence of the Scriptures in the languages of Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigre, Tigrinya, Galla and Harti, on which the British and Foreign Bible Society has laboured for over one hundred years. Slavery and serfdom is said to exist in various forms in the land and the writer says, 'It cannot be described as an oppressive form of slavery, and

is part and parcel of the social arrangements of the country.' If one accepts this statement, progress has been made since 1914, when extensive slave-raiding was carried on among the peasantry in the lowlands, when hundreds of slaves were driven down the country and passed through French and Italian ports. Carried in dhows labelled as pilgrims for Mecca, they were sold in the slave-market of Jeddah. At that time consular figures showed the number of slaves entering that port averaged not less than 8000 a year for the past ten years. Mr Rey informs us that Ras Tafari is fully alive to this pernicious traffic, gives us proposals for dealing with it and shows some of the attendant difficulties in doing so. This volume will be most useful to the tourist, traveller and trader.

C. T. H.

The Call of China's Great North-West. By Mrs Howard Taylor. (London: China Inland Mission. 3s. 6d. 1923.) This is an account of a journey made by the writer and her husband during the winter of 1922–3 through the Province of Kansu in North-West China. The journey was undertaken in order to visit the mission stations of the China Inland Mission. The earthquake of 1923 in Lanchow is described, and the cold discomfort of travelling through those regions in winter is very apparent. The writer deplores the paucity of missionaries but takes much comfort from the record of the past, the faithful witness-bearing of converts, and the readiness to listen on the part of non-Christians, and ends on a note of hope. 'The barren days for Kansu are past,' she writes, and the book leaves an impression of small bands of men and women living and working bravely and hopefully with a sense of the coming dawn in a barren and lonely land, far removed from the rest of the world, but as near to God as London or New York. An amazing 'butter festival' at the Kumbum lamasery, an account of the immured monks of Tibet and a few other references to this little known country add further interest to the book. Its excellent photographs and map add to its value.

M. M. U.

Official Year Book of the National Assembly of the Church of England, 1924. (London: S.P.C.K. 3s. 1924.) This remarkably well-arranged and inexpensive volume, in its forty-second year of publication, issued for the first time under the central authority

of the Church Assembly, does not come within the scope of this Review except at one point. The Missions Overseas Supplement occupying nearly fifty pages is a valuable summary of Church of England missionary facts and statistics, a great improvement on the previous use made of these pages in the Year Book and an excellent source of reference for the doings of the new missionary council, which, having no organ of its own, is at present little understood. Possibly in another issue the statements, such as those made on p. 428—outside the Overseas Supplement—on the future of the mission schools in India might be referred to those responsible for the supplement, who would, no doubt, speak from a different point of view and more nearly represent the attitude of the missionaries and societies concerned.

The Abiding Presence. (London : Student Christian Movement. 3s. 1923.) A volume of meditations and intercessions, framed with the sure touch of one who understands the meaning of the title. The meditations are of a devotional and missionary character, some being on the sacramental life and intended as preparation for Holy Communion. Part 2, including Adoration, Thanksgiving and Litanies of deliverance from sin and fear, speaks for all who know thirst of soul. The intercessions on Africa, China, India are true interpretations of need. Missionaries and all others will be helped greatly by this little book.

Missions as I saw Them. By Mrs Thomas Butler. (London : Seeley, Service. 6s. 1924.) This book is an account of a visit to important centres of the United Methodist Missionary Societies' work in China, Africa and the Seychelles paid by Mrs Butler, her husband and the Rev. C. Stedeford. The deputation also attended the National Missionary Conference at Shanghai in April 1922. While the book is necessarily too intimate to have much general application, yet many, besides friends of the missionary society specially concerned, will welcome it for its happy spirit and its frank sincerity.

M. C. G.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Charles R. Watson, LL.D., long a member of the Egypt Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, is President of the American University at Cairo. He was one of the Secretaries of the Special Committee responsible for the Survey of Christian Literature for Moslems.

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Mr C. F. Andrews, formerly a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, has of recent years worked independently and is now associated with Dr Rabindranath Tagore.

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The Rev. W. Meston, B.D., whose previous article on 'The Problem of Control in Indian Education' appeared in our January issue, is a member of the United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission and Principal of the Madras Christian College.

The Rev. J. Leighton Stuart, D.D., President of the Peking Christian University, went to China in 1904 as a member of the Mid-China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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The Rev. Lewis Hodous, D.D., is Secretary of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Conn., U.S.A., and Professor of Missions in China. He was formerly a missionary of the American Board in Foochow.

The Rev. Albertus C. Kruyt, D.Theol., of Posso, Celebes, went out in 1890 as a missionary of the Nederlandsche Zendeling Genootschap. In January 1915 he wrote in this Review on 'The Presentation of Christianity to Primitive Peoples.'

The Rev. T. W. Douglas James went to China in 1910 as a member of the English Presbyterian Mission and is stationed at Chao Chowfoo, Kwang-tung Province.

The writers of book reviews are: the Rev. E. W. Smith, Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society and formerly a missionary in Northern Rhodesia; Mr Kenneth Maclennan, Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland; Miss J. H. Kelman, who has recently completed an important study of the conditions of Indian women in modern industry and is appointed Principal of the Y.W.C.A. Training Centre at Selly Oak; the Rev. E. J. Thompson, formerly on the staff of Bankura College (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society), Bengal, and now Reader in Bengali, Oxford University; the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, D.D., Ph.D., long a C.M.S. missionary in the Panjab; the Rev. F. W. MacCallum, D.D., of the Western Turkey Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Chairman of the General Field Committee for the Survey of Christian Literature for Moslems; the Rev. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt., of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Poona; the Rev. R. O. Hall, Missionary Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain; the Rev. Nelson Bitton, formerly a China missionary of the London Missionary Society, and now at the central office; Mr Marshall Broomhall, Editorial Secretary of the China Inland Mission; and Miss M. M. Underhill, B.Litt., now on the editorial staff of the Review.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (India), Professor Arthur Jeffery, Ph.D. (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsdirektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 320.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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I. History of Missions

The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. G. G. Findlay, D.D., and W. W. Holdsworth, B.D. Vol. V. 636 pp. London: Epworth Press. 18s. 1924. *196.*

The volumes deal with the development of the Society at home and the earliest missions of the Methodist Church; the missions in the West Indies; the founding of the Methodist Churches of Australia and New Zealand and the missions of the South Sea Islands; the missionary enterprise in Africa; and in Vol. V. with Ceylon, India and China. A review is in preparation.

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†Zur Hessenbekehrung des Bonifatius. Fr. Flaskamp. ZM, 1923 (Aug.), 135–52. *198.*

†An Unbroken Fellowship. Edwin W. Smith. CMR, 1923 (Dec.), 212–20. *199.*
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See also *232.*

III. The Home Base

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Zum heutigen Stande der Brüdermission.

†Zum neuen Anfang. M. Schlunk. NAMZ, 1924 (Jan.), 5–10. *212.*
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See also *199* (Bible Circulation); *202* (Mission Director).

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Japan

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(from Morocco to Somaliland)

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ASHANTI. R. S. Rattray. Illus. 348 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Oxford University Press. 25s. 1924. *268.*

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†La Politique Indigène et les Missions Catholiques. Stan. De Vos. *Congo*, 1923 (Déc.), 635–57. *273.*

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See *289* (Delegation Tour).

South Africa

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A well written and fully documented history by the librarian of the Bancroft Library and associate professor of Mexican History at the University of California.

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A vivid human document of the earliest Jewish colony in Palestine.

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Dr Gulick's account of his trip to the Far East for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Chiefly of value for its description of tendencies in Japan.

Missions as I saw Them: An Account of a Visit to the Important Centres of the United Methodist Missionary Society in China and Africa. Mrs Thomas Butler. Illus. 284 pp. London: Seeley, Service. 6s. 1924. *289.*
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VIII. Missionary Methods

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Christian Education

China

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†The Problem of Management in Indian Education. W. Meston. IRM, 1924 (Apr.), 217–34. *298.*

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†Nationality in Islamic Lands. C. R. Watson. IRM, 1924 (Apr.), 161–73. *329.*

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†Vitalizing of the Religious Sciences: The Mysteries and Essentials of the Worship. Edwin E. Calverley. MW, 1924 (Jan.), 10–22. *334.*
A careful, condensed analysis of the Book of the Worship (Kitab as-Sala), the Fourth Book of the First Quarter of al-Ghazzali's Ihya Alum al-Din.

†The Crucifixion in the Koran. Muhammad Din. MW, 1924 (Jan.), 23–9. *335.*
A discussion by a modern Moslem of an article previously noted in IRM, 1923 (Oct.). Bib. No. *685,* by E. E. Elder, published in the MW, 1923 (July), 242–58.

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Judaism

See *261, 285* (Palestine).

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XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

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ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL: A Discussion Course for College Students. Edited by Milton T. Stauffer. 144 pp. New York: Council of Christian Associations. 25 cents. 1923. *342.*

One of a series of four discussion courses specially prepared for use among college students. The titles of the other three are *Youth and Renaissance Movements, International Problems and the Christian Way of Life,* and *Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal.* (See IRM, 1924 (Jan.), Bib. Nos. *189, 190*).

†COPEC AND THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE. Hugh Martin. EW, 1924 (Jan.), 14–26. *343.*

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†DIE OPIUMFRAGE. W. Oettli. EMM, 1923 (Nov.), 298–301. *345.*

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See also *204* (Biography); *223* (Extra-Territoriality); *224* (Emigration); *247–52* (Indian Problems); *273* (Congo).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

†THE CHRISTIAN'S DELIVERANCE FROM SUPERSTITION AND FEAR. T. W. Douglas James. IRM, 1924 (Apr.), 276–87. *349.*

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XIV. New Missionary Magazines

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THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL REVIEW. (Formerly *The Harvest Field.*) Edited by W. Paton. Mysore City: Wesleyan Mission Press. Yearly subscription, R.3. *352.*

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE OUTLOOK IN THE MOSLEM WORLD

By JOHN R. MOTT, LL.D.

The chain of conferences of workers among Moslems, held last February, March and April, in different parts of Northern Africa and Western Asia, and culminating in the General Conference in Jerusalem, did not meet one day too soon. Several considerations accentuate their timeliness. The recent extensive and profound changes in nearly all parts of the Moslem world called for a fresh orientation of the work of Christian missions to this important part of the missionary task. The remarkable developments within Mohammedanism rendered a fresh, united study imperatively necessary. It was recognized that experiences of recent years in other parts of the world-wide missionary movement should be made available to those engaged in mission work among Moslems. The need felt in the home base countries of knowing the mind and wish of the workers throughout the Mohammedan lands, as well as the desire of the missionaries and native leaders in these lands for opportunity to speak with united voice to the Churches in the West, made these gatherings peculiarly opportune.

The International Review of Missions is published by the International Missionary Council, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

It is difficult to see how they could have been held even six months earlier, and the Christian movement would have suffered loss had they been deferred another year.

These assemblies of missionaries and leaders of native Churches were held at the initiative and under the auspices of the International Missionary Council. The Continuation Committee of the General Conference on Missions to Moslems held at Lucknow in 1911 abandoned the idea of holding a conference of its own and merged its plans with those of the Council. The first Regional Conference met in Constantine, Algeria, February 6–9, and served North Africa, including Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and regions of the Sahara. This was followed by the conference at Helouan, near Cairo, February 22–26, representing Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia. The third conference was to have been held in Constantinople but the disturbed state of Turkey rendered the holding of a public gathering unwise. The ends in view were served in a measure by more intimate and unofficial group meetings and interviews. The next regional meeting held at Brummana, near Beirut, March 25–29, represented the forces of Syria, Palestine and Transjordania.[1] The Regional Conferences were followed by a General Conference in Jerusalem, April 3–7, which was attended by delegations from each of the preceding gatherings and also by deputations from other areas of the Mohammedan world including Arabia, Iraq, Persia, Turkestan, China, British India, and the Dutch East Indies. Although the conference was limited to eighty persons, this number included outstanding missionary administrators, educators, medical and social workers, and other recognized leaders of the Christian forces of all parts of the Mohammedan world reaching from North-West Africa to the Dutch Indies, and from Central Asia to the heart of Africa, as well as workers from the mission boards of

[1] At a later date, namely April 12–14, following the General Conference in Jerusalem, a regional meeting was held in Bagdad conducted by Dr Zwemer and attended by a group representing missions in Iraq and Persia.

Europe and America engaged in work for Moslems. There were present not only missionaries, but also leaders of native Churches, including distinguished converts from Mohammedanism. In the annals of Christian missions there has never been brought together such a representative and influential company of the leading minds at work on the problems of Christian missions to Moslems.

At the invitation of the Patriarch of the Greek Church in Jerusalem, the General Conference met in his beautiful Church on the Mount of Olives. The men delegates lodged in his summer palace, in other buildings adjoining the Church and in tents pitched under the olive trees. The women delegates were entertained in the Russian Convent near by. All members of the conference had their meals in common in the refectory of the convent. The time of the conference was not occupied with addresses and the reading of papers, but was devoted to discussions based on a carefully prepared questionnaire which had been circulated in advance. The delegates were seated on the outside of tables arranged in the form of a hollow square running the length of the Church, thus enabling them to see and hear each other to the best advantage, and thereby facilitating intimate conference. It would be impossible to describe and difficult to exaggerate what it meant to the conference to be permitted to meet on this sacred Mount overlooking Jerusalem and with its own deeply moving associations.

The entire membership of the conference was divided into ten Committees of Findings on the following subjects : Accessibility and Occupation, Evangelization, the Christian Church, Christian Education, Christian Leadership, Christian Literature, Women's Work, Medical and Social Needs, Co-operation and Spiritual Dynamic. Each Committee of Findings based its work on surveys and papers prepared and circulated in advance, on the findings of the various Regional Conferences, on the discussions of the General Conference, and upon the constructive, corporate thinking of the committee itself. The last long day of the con-

ference was devoted to receiving, discussing, amending and adopting the reports of the ten committees. The findings, which will shortly be printed and made available for Christian workers among Moslems and for missionary societies related to work in Moslem lands, have served to co-ordinate the experience, thinking, and vision of workers among Moslems throughout the world. They constitute an up-to-date, prophetic view of work among Moslems.

The conferences were in no sense legislative bodies. Their findings have no more weight than the weight of the truth and insight which they embody. This, however, should be great indeed as we think of the personnel and their exceptional background, rich experience, and wide outlook.

We would call particular attention to the following among many points brought out in the discussions and findings, as reflecting the common mind of the delegates and as being of special concern to all who have at heart the extension of the Kingdom of Christ.

(1) The conferences revealed unmistakable evidences of the weakening or disintegration of Islam. This is true politically. Generally speaking nationalism is taking the place of pan-Islamism. The Turkish Moslem, for example, is becoming more Turk than Moslem. The abolition of the Caliphate has had a profoundly disturbing effect not only in Turkey but throughout the Mohammedan world. There are signs on every hand of the weakening of the social hold of Islam. This is illustrated in the changing position of women, especially in the cities, for example, in the postponement of marriage and the greater freedom of choice on the woman's part, in attendance of women at lectures and entertainments, in the formation of women's clubs, in the larger liberty in the use of the veil, and in the ever-growing demand for education. The spread of western industrialism and the startling development of the material aspects of modern civilization have had a marked disintegrating influence. I asked one of the most eminent professors of the El Azhar in Cairo what gave him greatest

hope for Mohammedanism. He replied, 'I see no hope; materialism is overwhelming us.'

Intellectually great changes are observable. On every hand one encounters a hunger for knowledge. A new mentality is being developed as a result of contact with western science and civilization during the war. Above all, one is impressed with the religious unsettling among Moslems. Many are sorely perplexed and do not know where they are going. There are multiplying evidences of rebellion against tradition and external authority. Much of the old bigotry and fanaticism have gone. There is a spirit of inquiry abroad combined with a determination to make the most of themselves and of the new day. Many workers bear testimony that no longer do they encounter the proud, self-satisfied Islam which they knew before.

(2) The marvellous accessibility of the Mohammedan world to the friendly and constructive ministry of the Christian religion was also revealed. The discussions of the conferences led to the conclusion that perhaps four-fifths of the 235,000,000 who constitute the population of the Moslem world are now increasingly accessible to every method of missionary approach. This may be said of all British India, the Dutch East Indies, Persia, Mesopotamia, China, the Balkans, the whole of North Africa, and likewise Central, East and West Africa, with the possible exception of Northern Nigeria. Whole regions and entire classes of people who never before were reached by the message of Christ have now become physically accessible. There have been rapid and fascinating developments in ease of communication throughout North Africa and the Near East by the construction of thousands of miles of railways and modern highways, the use of automobile transport, and the air post. Even the Sahara has within a few months been crossed by automobiles, and a railroad is now under construction. The trip from Bagdad to Damascus which formerly required weeks, has, within a year, been reduced to nineteen hours.

Political conditions have become much more favourable in nearly every field unless it be Turkey. Many governmental restrictions have been removed. Colonial governments once hostile to missions among Mohammedans have become more and more friendly and in some cases are even supporting medical and social missionary programs. The new mandates for the Near East and the new Constitution recently promulgated in Egypt, contain definite promises of religious freedom. The war brought vast numbers of Moslems into direct contact with western civilization and opened their eyes to a new world. Moslem men and women of wealth and social position are visiting Christian lands in increasing numbers, and literally thousands of Moslem students have gone from Asia and Africa to European student centres. A multitude of workers from North Africa are streaming into France. It was stated at the Jerusalem Conference that more Moslems yearly visit Paris than Mecca. Contacts between Moslems and European Christians are unparalleled in extent and influence.

Attention should also be called to intellectual accessibility. In almost every Moslem land education is being actively promoted by the government as well as by Christian missions and the rate of literacy is rapidly increasing. The rising generation is gaining an entirely new outlook because the newspaper, books, the cinema, the theatre, and modern pictorial advertising have created a hundred points of contact with western civilization. A far larger proportion than formerly of pupils and students in the mission schools and colleges of the Near East and Southern Asia are Moslems. The same is true of parts of Africa. A missionary stated at the conference in Egypt that formerly in Abyssinia parents forbade their children to look in the direction of the mission schools ; now they bring them to the mission schools. He added that the parents may not wish to change their own religion, but allow their children to do so. This suggests the new religious hospitality or accessibility. Workers from every field testified to the new willingness to hear the

gospel message as well as to the larger response. Certainly a remarkable change has taken place in the attitude of Moslem men and women to the Gospel. They are attending meetings more largely; they gladly accept literature; they are buying and reading the Bible more and more. Religious prejudice is being broken down in every conceivable way. Professor Levonian at the Jerusalem Conference reported that a daily paper in Constantinople had for seven months been conducting a discussion on the Personality of Christ. The problem in the Moslem world to-day, therefore, is not that of accessibility, but one of adequate multiplication of workers and of a better distribution of the forces available.

(3) Relatively there has been a neglect of Moslems on the part of the Protestant Christian forces. We are not comparing Protestant forces on the one hand and those of the Roman Catholic or Eastern Church Communions on the other, for these other great bodies have likewise overlooked work for Moslems. But in proportion to their importance and extent Protestant missions to Moslems have received vastly less attention, fewer missionaries, and less adequate financial backing than those to any other great non-Christian religion. Notwithstanding that the Lucknow Conference in 1911 laid the facts before Protestant Christendom, the following areas or countries in which the population is wholly or predominantly Moslem are still practically unoccupied: Afghanistan, the provinces of Hejaz, Asir, Nejd and Hadramout in Arabia, Russian Turkestan, parts of Siberia, Bokhara, the eastern part of the Malay peninsula, Socotra, the Moslem populations of Madagascar, Albania, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, the Crimea, Georgia, and Russia in Europe, Tripoli in North Africa, the French Sudan, the great Aurès Mountains, Saharan Atlas ranges, the central populous mountain region of Morocco, and the vast Sahara itself—fields having in them a total population of nearly 40,000,000. The Mohammedans of China numbering over 8,000,000 have scarcely a missionary

devoting himself entirely to them. The 69,000,000 Moslems in India also present a field largely unoccupied, for very little special work is carried on among them. It was pointed out in the Jerusalem Conference that in large cities like Bombay, Lucknow, Delhi and Lahore where formerly there was special effort to win Moslems, to-day there are no missionaries wholly devoted to the task. Even taking into account all the missionaries who are giving portions of time to Moslems, it must be admitted that in proportion to the total number of more than 5000 missionaries in India, the aggregate amount of time bestowed upon the Moslem task is almost negligible. Even in the Near East and the Nile Valley but a very small number are wholly engaged in Christian work among Moslems.

In the Moslem world there are probably 100,000,000 women and girls still unreached. Miss Trotter, the pioneer and spiritual leader of a heroic band of women workers in North Africa, said, 'Each of these Moslem women needs a human soul lashed alongside in sympathy and prayer. If we could place a hundred thousand who had their hearts on fire we could touch the problem.' Facts like these brought to the attention of Churches in the West and students in the universities and seminaries, should correct a widespread misconception that the demand for missionaries is less urgent than formerly and likely to diminish rapidly in the future. This certainly is not the case in by far the larger part of the Moslem world. The dearth of Moslem converts is to be explained largely on the ground of the extreme shortage of workers equipped and set apart especially for this undertaking.

The surveys conducted in certain Moslem fields show an excessive concentration of forces in a few main centres resulting in a corresponding neglect of vast areas. Moreover, the preoccupation of a majority of missionaries with appointed tasks in institutions, or in the work of general supervision, leaves the number definitely devoting their whole time to work for Moslems very small indeed. In

certain fields, such as Syria and Palestine, the present number of workers might prove to be sufficient were they more advantageously distributed. It seemed to be the opinion of the delegates at the different conferences that the mission boards should re-examine the assignment of workers in the light of greatly changed conditions. Certain missions and Churches need to catch a new perspective and bring about an entire readjustment of emphasis and effort. In some fields, chiefly in the Near East, the time has come when the native evangelical Churches should be led to constitute themselves the chief agency for the evangelization of Moslems by shifting the emphasis of their work from missionary activity among the Eastern Churches to direct efforts for Moslems. As a Greek priest said to one of the delegates, 'We should not work in each other's nets but launch into the deep.'

(4) Moslems can be converted, Moslems have been converted, Moslems are being converted. In each area one of the most rewarding inquiries was the following, 'Do you know of definite cases of the conversion of Moslems? If so, give the circumstances and indicate the influences which were brought to bear.' The delegates were requested to speak from personal knowledge only. The answers constitute a most remarkable record of the vital and conquering power of the Christian faith. Representatives from all parts of the vast Moslem world recounted with particularity and with thrilling effect incidents among the most interesting and impressive to which the writer has ever listened. Some workers confined themselves to describing one case of conversion, others told of whole groups brought to Christ. A few were able to bring in reports of scores or hundreds of converts of whom they had first-hand knowledge. Missionaries from Abyssinia and the Dutch Indies told of even thousands of baptized Moslems.

There are also in the judgment of some missionaries what in the aggregate amounts to a multitude of secret inquirers and disciples of Christ. In one conference a

prominent missionary said, 'I believe there are so many secret seekers and inquirers at present that if ten people in this room would throw their weight toward the winning of these men and women we could soon tell not of tens but of hundreds turning to the leadership of Christ.' The cumulative evidence of these witnesses reminded one vividly of the corresponding stage in missionary work for Hindus and for the ancient literati of China. The impression is too widely prevalent in the Churches at the home base that work for Moslems is comparatively fruitless and hopeless. What we saw and heard emphatically and convincingly contradicts such a misconception. The truth of the matter is that the time has come to reap. Whereas formerly indirect methods of approach were necessary, on account of government restrictions and Moslem opposition and fanaticism, to-day in many Moslem lands the way is open to widespread and direct evangelization. The mind of the Moslems is now in a plastic and impressionable state and must be given the Christian message.

(5) The positive, constructive, irenic and sympathetic approach, method and spirit now largely prevail in Christian work among Moslems, as contrasted with the negative, destructive, polemic and unappreciative. Only along the pathway of heroic and sacrificial experience on the part of workers who have devoted all their powers to the task, and who deserve all praise for their prophetic, pioneering ministry, have the deeper lessons been learned and has the way been prepared for the larger fruitage of to-morrow. The following excerpts reflect the virtually unanimous attitude and practice of the representative companies of missionaries and native leaders who attended the conferences. 'Avoid all negative and unfruitful controversy and rely on the positive preaching of Christ crucified and the implications of His Cross, supporting one's appeal to the Moslem heart by the testimony of one's own personal experience.' 'Winning men by winsome truth is the true basis of approaching Moslems.' 'The controversial method is to be avoided and the Christian

worker should seek through the spirit of love to find points of contact in the Moslem's own faith and experience through which he can lead him to Christ.' 'Seek the highest and best in the Moslem peoples and lay hold of that and build upon it.' Our message has been too much occupied with the weakness of Islam rather than with the power of Christianity. The present is a time for working quietly. The Moslems are pulling down their own house, but they do not want foreigners to do it. Let us continue to present the all-sufficiency of Christ rather than to make polemical attacks upon Islam. When a new and a true conception of Jesus Christ is created in the Moslem mind, they will be drawn unto Him.

(6) Is there need of a shifting of emphasis in the methods employed to reach Moslems? It is difficult and probably impossible to reflect adequately the mind of the different conferences, but there are some outstanding impressions from the many debates on the subject.

In every field work among and for the very young should be emphasized. While this may seem like a truism, there is added reason for giving priority to such work in Moslem lands. The blighting influence of Islam begins very early. The little children, therefore, should be brought to Christ before mentality and character have set in Moslem moulds. On this point the experience of the missions in Algeria, as set forth in the findings of the North Africa Conference, is fresh and convincing. Without shadow of doubt the method most likely to produce permanent results is that of work among children.

Educational missionary work in the past has been one of the most effective means to ensure the entrance into new Moslem territory, the holding of ground already occupied, and the gaining of a hearing for the Christian message. It has also been indispensable as a means for raising up and training an adequate leadership for the Christian forces. Christian education still constitutes one of the best methods of approach to Moslems. The demand for the expansion

of such work is increasing in every field. Even where government systems of education have been established there is still recognized need for the character-building processes of Christian education. It should be up-to-date and second to none in point of educational efficiency.

As was strongly emphasized in Jerusalem, there is clear and universal testimony that the present situation in the Moslem world creates a need for literature as a dynamic and penetrating instrument of Christian educational evangelism altogether without parallel in range and urgency in the literary history of Moslem peoples. Literacy is rapidly increasing in most Moslem areas. This is developing an ever-expanding demand for literature. In these days every printing press in Mohammedan lands should be working up to its capacity. The conferences brought out even more, however, the importance of emphasizing the qualitative aspect of the subject. The discussions were based on the splendid piece of survey work set forth in the volume *Christian Literature in Moslem Lands* which had been placed in the hands of every delegate. The General Conference acted unanimously on the recommendation which came up from each of the regional meetings, as well as from North America and Great Britain, and set up a Co-ordinating Committee on Christian Literature for Moslems, with Bishop MacInnes as chairman. The prompt and generous backing of this new policy by the mission boards will satisfy the demand of discerning workers in the entire Moslem field.

Medical work is still one of the most valuable and efficacious means employed in work among Moslems. It not only relieves human suffering, but manifests powerfully the spirit of Christ, obtains a hearing for the Christian message where other means fail, and is a fruitful agency for wide-spread evangelization.

Social work is especially needed because Islam constitutes a close society social as well as religious, and makes provision for the whole life. New converts should be received into an equally organized community to satisfy that need for

brotherhood which the Moslem always craves. If we recognize and deal with Islamic religious feelings and theology only we shall fail, owing to the enormous weight of social conditions binding the Moslem in every detail of practical life. Social activities cannot replace but should accompany, aid, illustrate and complete the direct teaching of the Gospel. The Jerusalem Conference placed special emphasis also upon social reform, including infant welfare, child marriage, child labour, general conditions under which industry is carried on as to hours of labour, living wage and sanitary condition of factories, temperance reform, elimination of opium, hashish and coca leaf and their derivatives, traffic in women and children, and prevention of cruelty to animals.

(7) More thorough and more highly specialized training for missionaries and native leaders is absolutely essential. Christian work among Moslems to-day is such as to require workers who not only possess the largest native ability but also have acquired the most complete preparation. In addition to general culture and professional training for special types of activity which are necessary for work in any field, there are two lines of preparation so vital that they are regarded as indispensable.

(*a*) Training in linguistics which will develop facility in mastering the languages, both colloquial and classical, used by the people.

(*b*) Thorough training in Islamics which will impart real understanding of the mind and heart of the Moslem to-day. The scheme of training should include historical Islam and also contemporary movements within Islam. A limited number of carefully selected workers should be set apart by the missions to specialize on Islam with a view to their directing the studies of other workers on this subject. The program of preparation exhaustively outlined in the booklet entitled *The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems* and issued by the Board of Missionary Preparation of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America was strongly

endorsed by the Jerusalem Conference. The Cairo School of Oriental Studies was also commended and it was advised that similar schools be established in large areas which cannot be adequately served by this institution.

(8) If we depend largely on the Oriental Churches to meet the situation as it exists to-day in the Moslem world, we shall miss the present opportunity ; nevertheless, faithful and persevering efforts should be put forth to enlist their full co-operation. The question recurs from time to time, In view of the fact that the Oriental or Eastern Churches are located directly in front of large sections of the Moslem world, why not let them at least divide the responsibility of evangelizing the Moslems ? With this in mind the writer had extended interviews with the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops and other ecclesiastical leaders, as well as educators, of the various Eastern Churches. This included the Greek Church proper, the Armenian Church, the Syrian Church, the Coptic Church, the Abyssinian Church, the autonomous Churches of Roumania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia, as well as representatives of the Russian Church who are at present so widely scattered in lands outside Russia. Few if any of the outstanding present day leaders in the realm of thought and action of any of these great Communions were overlooked. Each one was asked this question : ' What is the present policy or program of your Communion with reference to the evangelization of Moslems ? ' In every case the answer indicated that they had no such plan or program. This, then, led to another question : ' Why has your Church no such program ? ' Various reasons were given, but the serious fact in every instance was that they were not ready at the present time to co-operate in this vast and urgent undertaking.

One came to the clear conclusion, therefore, that we could not in the near future depend upon these religious bodies for any large reinforcements. Nevertheless a careful study of the impact of these Churches on the Moslem world will convince one of the great desirability and necessity of

leading them to undertake a missionary program. It was encouraging to meet here and there, especially among the younger clergy and teachers, an intelligent and sympathetic response to the appeal for co-operation. Moreover, the work of the Student Christian Movement in the Near East in recent years has revealed the large possibilities in the direction of enlisting among the students who are members of the Eastern Churches volunteers for aggressive Christian work on behalf of Moslems. This is one of the largest unworked leads. Moreover, one cannot speak too highly of the sympathetic attitude of not a few of the present day leaders of these Churches. The Committee on the Church at the Brummana Conference well expressed the thought of the various conferences in the following finding :

> The missionary societies and native Churches should use every practicable means, especially through friendship, to re-inspire the Oriental Churches with the apostolic and missionary spirit which characterized them in the days of the early Church, and to encourage both individuals and the Churches as a whole, now that recent changes have made it possible, to take their full share in the evangelization of the Moslem world.

A deeper note was struck at the Jerusalem Conference by the Committee on Christian Leadership :

> As the sufferings of Christ win human hearts, so the loving service of those who have suffered most at Moslem hands will most powerfully attract those who are now opposed to Him. Native leaders, therefore, have a peculiar opportunity to give irresistible evidence of the power of Christ.

(9) The time has come for bringing about closer co-operation among the leaders of the Christian forces at work among Moslems. For several years the need has been recognized of a closer co-operation among the missionaries and other Christian workers in the Moslem fields. The Cairo and Lucknow Conferences and their related activities revealed the advantages to the missionary cause resulting from more intimate fellowship and collaboration in planning and in effort. While these benefits are now being realized by the workers of India and China through their well-planned and efficient National Christian Councils, and in

more limited areas such as Egypt, Syria and Palestine through intermission councils, there has been no arrangement which has made possible united action on the part of the workers throughout Northern Africa and the Near and Middle East. The following finding unanimously adopted at the Jerusalem Conference is, therefore, highly significant and it is believed will do much to ensure the carrying out of the many other important resolutions of the recent series of conferences and the realization of the high hopes entertained by the delegates and by all others who have at heart the highest welfare of the work of Christ among Moslems :

> The Conference has reviewed with interest the development of the National Christian Councils in China, Japan and India, enabling the Christian forces in those areas not only to increase opportunities for co-operation on the field, but to speak with a united voice to the home Church.
>
> The Conference is convinced that the time has come for the formation of a Council representing the various Christian agencies and conferences in North Africa, Egypt, Northern Sudan and Abyssinia, Syria and Palestine, Turkey and the Balkans, Arabia and Mesopotamia, and Persia. We, therefore, recommend that a Preliminary Committee be appointed at this time to formulate a plan for a Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa, to present it to the various agencies concerned, and to confer with the International Missionary Council concerning affiliation with that body. Pending the adoption of the permanent plan of organization the Preliminary Committee shall seek to conserve and promote the realization of the findings of this and of other committees of the Conference.

The Preliminary Committee is composed of twenty-one persons representing the various fields of Northern Africa and Western Asia, its Executive Committee consisting of the following : Dr Charles R. Watson, Chairman, Mr George Swan, Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. J. H. Nicol, Vice-Chairman, Dr E. F. Frease, Bishop MacInnes, Mrs George H. Huntington, Sheikh Mitry S. Dewairy and Bishop Gwynne.

(10) Our Christian faith is involved and, in fact, is at stake in the way in which we at this time deal with the need and opportunity presented by the Moslem world. To prove the validity of our faith we must bring Christ to the

entire Moslem world. Archbishop Whately has said, 'If my faith be false I ought to change it; whereas if it be true, I am bound to propagate it.' There is no middle ground. We must either modify or abandon our faith or be logical, consistent and apostolic and expand our plans and practice so as to give all Moslems opportunity to know Christ. The fact that there are still difficulties apparently insurmountable and that the conquering of them inevitably calls for great sacrifice, and, perchance, martyrdom does not break the force of our obligation. To preserve our faith, or to maintain its purity, vitality and conquering power, we must give ourselves more largely to its propagation throughout the vast areas of the Moslem world. We need to remind ourselves in all solemnity of those early Christian Churches which existed in thousands across the breadth of North Africa and which have disappeared leaving no living trace, and to ask ourselves what was the reason that for over a thousand years Islam reigned supreme where once these Churches witnessed for Christ. Moreover, the state of certain of the Oriental Churches to-day, and even of sections of the Protestant Communion here and there which have neglected their missionary responsibility and thus lost their world-conquering power, are present-day evidences and warnings of the danger.

The essential victory or ultimate triumph of our Christian faith is involved as well as its validity and vitality. A Gospel which cannot, after being adequately brought to bear upon Moslems, win their minds and hearts and command the allegiance of their wills, must fail to satisfy the deepest longings and the highest expectations of the followers of other religions and of those without any religious faith. Ultimately, therefore, the triumph of the Christian cause in other foreign fields and at the home base is involved in what takes place in the heart of the Mohammedan world. The most searching experience and possibly the most creative hour in each of the recent conferences was the consideration of the topic, 'What has Christ to bring to Moslems which

they cannot under any circumstances obtain from their own religion or from any other source ? ' The corporate thinking and intercession of those memorable hours confirmed the faith of every one as to the absolute uniqueness, supremacy and sufficiency of Jesus Christ the Living Lord. This unshakable conviction, and the practical means to ensure its being held in true prominence and as a dominating influence in the life and action of missionaries and native Christian leaders and the members and supporters of missionary societies related to the Moslem task, are so well voiced in the report of the Committee on Spiritual Dynamic that we venture to give this report in full. It will be suggestive to remind all readers of the circumstances attending the preparation of this report. The committee had assembled to draft findings on the subject. They seemed to be unable to make any progress. The Chairman, Bishop Gwynne of the Sudan, suggested that the committee adjourn and that each of its members go apart for a period of private prayer for divine guidance. Later they reassembled and drafted the report as it now stands. It should be added that, although this experience was not known at the time by the members of the conference, this is the only report presented at any of the conferences which was accepted unanimously without any modification or amendment.

The only spiritual dynamic is the Living Spirit of the Crucified and Risen Christ Himself. The whole Moslem world is awaiting the release of this vital force through human personalities vitalized by this Holy Spirit and witnessing with a new power to the Cross of Christ as the central fact of faith and life. We submit that the spiritual dynamic for such a compelling witness is, in the good purpose of God, always available. But there is nothing in the Bible or in the experience of the Church to suggest that it is available cheaply. Each marked release of the Holy Spirit of God in human lives must be at the cost of definite surrender and prayer. We find, therefore, that the situation in missions to the Moslem world calls for definite action along the following lines:

1. *A change of emphasis in the life of the missionary and of the community associated with him.*

(*a*) A mission house under modern conditions tends to become a home of

organization and of good works. We submit that it must be equally a home of prayer even at the cost of refusing some other opportunities for service

(*b*) We suggest that local governing bodies, in allocating staff, should rather leave work unattempted than crowd workers' lives until only short and weary hours are left for communion with God and for intercession

(*c*) We submit also that such bodies should hope for and gladly accept a special vocation to the work of prayer on the part of some of their members and should so plan that those on whose heart God lays this burden shall be able to fulfil their ministry.

(*d*) We submit that not only private prayer but communal worship should have a more central place in the daily activities of any missionary group and the oriental brethren associated with them, and that fuller exploration should be made of the possibilities of small prayer circles, of retreats and conventions, and that far more use should be made of communal seasons of silent waiting upon God.

2. *Change of emphasis in the policy of the home boards.* We submit to the home boards:

(*a*) That the life of worship is equally important with the life of more outward activity in any mission community and that boards should definitely plan in the staffing of institutions or stations for such freedom from pressure as shall leave space for this.

(*b*) We submit that since the devotional life, especially in the spiritual atmosphere of Moslem countries, must, along with joy, involve suffering and wrestling with spiritual wickedness in high places, the training of missionary candidates must include definite teaching and discipline in the use of seasons of devotion.

3. *Effect of such a change of emphasis.* We suggest that such a change of emphasis will in itself prove fruitful as a witness in the Moslem world.

(*a*) A mission house which is as much a home of prayer as of other work and is known to be so, is in itself a witness that God is given the first place in life.

(*b*) In communion with God, differences between eastern and western mentality cease to count, common worship may be the greatest unifying force between oriental and western workers and may call forth that sacrificial living which no amount of able organization and teaching can demand.

(*c*) There is a quality in the lives of those who are much with Jesus which is recognized by non-Christians and is a surer witness than a vast output of work.

JOHN R. MOTT

SOME MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO GOVERNMENTS

A STUDY OF PRINCIPLES

By JAMES L. BARTON, D.D.

Changed conditions and the attitude of governments since the war have a direct bearing upon the life and work of all Christian missionaries. Their presence is no longer taken as inevitable and their work and teaching beyond question. Mission schools are not necessarily the best schools. Foreign customs are not regarded as the best. Special privileges, prestige and immunities enjoyed for generations are challenged. The right of missionaries to go at will where they please in non-Christian countries is denied. Even the superiority of the religion missionaries teach and the civilization they represent is openly questioned. Missionaries are watched more closely than formerly to ascertain if their lives and contacts are in accord with the Sermon on the Mount and the life of Jesus Christ.

These facts call for a re-survey and re-evaluation of the relations existing between the missionary and the peoples for whom he works and the governments of which he is a guest. It is manifest that missionary methods and time-honoured customs of a generation ago will not necessarily be tolerated to-day, and if persisted in may lead only to loss of influence. Let us examine a few of the questions that are crowding to the front at the present time and bearing chiefly upon the relation of missionaries to the people and the government they would serve.

To what Extent should a Missionary claim Protection from his own Government?

A missionary is entitled to all the protection claimed by the traveller and the merchant. This position is unanswerable. But those who raise the inquiry are not thinking of treaty rights but of expediency. A well-known missionary in discussing this subject says :

> The military spirit and method, whether used in defensive or in aggressive warfare, are diametrically opposed to the essential idea of the Christian evangel. The modern state is so deeply committed to the former that any direct relationship between it and the missionary movement is almost certain, to some degree, to obscure the meaning of the message. . . . Whenever the missionary takes advantage of his citizenship in a great state he is forfeiting something of the peculiar force of the Christian message.

This quotation clearly states the subject. Should a missionary vacate his citizenship where national protection might be expected or demanded, as in the case of the Boxer uprising in China, the atrocities in Turkey, the general lawlessness and brigandage in many lands ?

This question becomes more practical in all extra-territorial countries, like China at the present time and Turkey before the Lausanne Conference. In such countries foreigners, including missionaries, do not come under the laws of the land as respects their person and domicile, but under their own government appointees to whom are committed the responsibility and right to protect their own nationals. It is not understood that these consuls, ministers and ambassadors are directed to protect and defend only those who ask it, but that they are instructed to protect all their nationals in the enjoyment of the rights which by treaty belong to them. To protect some nationals and not others would tend to an indefensible discrimination which would result in the demoralization of the service and imperil other national interests. The native populations are not always quick to distinguish between missionaries, merchants and travellers. If an American missionary can

be robbed and maltreated without official protest, why not others ? If an American missionary's property can be taken with impunity, why not any American property, or possibly any foreign property ? This is a phase of the question which must enter into consideration.

If a missionary is convinced that he ought not to claim or receive national protection, and his failure to do so imperils others of his nationals, he might consider becoming a subject or a citizen of the country to which he is giving his life. Then there could be no occasion for his former government to interfere in case he had trouble. If there appeared difficulty in securing citizenship in countries like Japan, China and Turkey, he might vacate his own citizenship and so be without a country and therefore quite removed from temptation to appeal for personal protection. Perhaps on the whole this would make the most complete demonstration possible of his purpose to live among the people for whom he labours as one of them with no protection that they did not also possess. This might apply not only to countries under extra-territorial privileges but to all missionary lands. In no other way can a missionary completely empty himself of his nationality so as not to give the impression to the native populations that he has behind him a great, powerful, protecting nation.

Protestant missionaries do not call upon their governments as a general rule for punitive measures either against individuals or communities, and should not do so. Their appeals for help should be rather for the protection of the native populations against violence and disorder than for their own personal safety. The real question is, can moral force always be relied upon in disorderly regions in which the native protective agencies are inadequate ? In times of disorder, when a missionary is convinced that native police agencies will not be adequate for his protection, will he be justified in calling upon his government representatives in the country to provide an alien guard or to bring gunboats into the waters of the country as an added argument ?

Would it not be more Christian as well as more politic for the missionary to withdraw from the danger zone so long as the danger threatens or, if he chooses to remain, to assume all the consequences of the choice ?

Some years ago a missionary in Turkey wished to open and run a printing press that had been closed by the government. The local officials were ready to give the permit provided the missionary, in so far as his relations to the press were concerned, would become a Turkish subject liable to arrest and punishment as any Turkish subject. The missionary was ready to do this and communicated with the Department of State at Washington. The reply came back from the Secretary, James G. Blaine, that if the missionary wished to vacate his American citizenship, he was quite free to do so, after which he could make any agreement with the Turkish officials he desired, but that his right to vacate a part of his citizenship while remaining in other respects an American citizen was impossible for the Department to consider. No person can be part American citizen and part a citizen of any other country. Is it not possible that those who claim citizenship in all particulars except national protection are attempting to be part American citizens and part something else ? President Taft said in December 1909, ' A citizen cannot by contract or otherwise divest himself of the right, nor can this government escape the obligation, of his protection in his personal and property rights when these are unjustly infringed in a foreign country.'

I am sure there is a general consensus of opinion that missionary work ought not to be propagated by national or military force. The religion of Jesus Christ is not a religion of the sword. If a country should take the position that it will not accept missionaries and missionary institutions, the missionaries and boards have no right to demand that their government shall forcibly maintain them in the country. Christianity cannot accept the principles of Islam in this respect. This is a somewhat different question from

the protection of an individual and the property of a person or even of a group against local attacks which have no general political significance.

At the same time there has been and there continues to be an increasing assumption that freedom of conscience and hence freedom of belief and worship is the inherent right and privilege of all men.

In the recent conference at Lausanne which led to signing treaties with Turkey, the Turks repeatedly proclaimed that in their country there was and would continue to be absolute religious liberty. The Balkan States have on different occasions made the same declarations. Such liberty was provided for in framing the terms of the different mandates. The missionary has the right to expect the same privileges as the merchant. There are few governments which would care to be known as assuming an attitude of religious intolerance. Under this written and unwritten law of liberty of conscience, missionaries may demand the privilege of going into any part of the world as preachers of religion. While this right may not be denied, the missionary and his work can be hedged about with so many conditions and restrictions 'in the interest of good order and the maintenance of national prestige' that actual constructive operations will be badly hampered if not made quite impossible. The modern tendency in unfriendly countries is to multiply hampering conditions without denying religious liberty.

As another phase of the question under discussion we here refer to a statement recently circulated in China for signatures :

> Without attempting to enter into the general question of extra-territorial rights, but having regard to the fact that we are here as messengers of the gospel of peace and that our task is to establish peace by leading men and women one by one into that new life in Christ which takes away the occasion for all wars, we express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure may be exerted to protect us or our property, that in the event of our capture by lawless persons or our death at their hands no money be paid for our release, no punitive expedition be sent out and no indemnity exacted. We

take this stand believing that the way to maintain righteousness and peace is through suffering without retaliation and through bringing the spirit of personal goodwill to bear on all persons under all circumstances. So we understand the teaching and example of Jesus Christ our Lord, and it is to the extension of His Kingdom that our lives are dedicated. In signing this statement we wish it to be clear that we have no authority to speak for our missions or Churches, and sign simply in our individual capacity.

Because the position taken in the statement would seem to run counter to treaty relations existing between China and western Powers, the matter needs careful consideration. It is evident that these Powers cannot recognize the prerogative of their citizens to waive their rights under the treaties. The treaties concluded between China and the other nations are in the nature of contracts. These treaties provide that foreigners in China shall enjoy, with respect to their person and their property, the protection of the legal authorities of the Chinese Government, and that they shall be exempt from the processes of Chinese law. Foreign governments have a right to insist that these provisions of the treaties shall be observed by the government of China and doubtless would insist upon the protection of their interests under the treaties quite irrespective of the wishes of the individual concerned. In diplomatic decisions in the past it has been repeatedly held that a citizen by his individual act cannot control the right of his government to intervene or afford protection in an appropriate case. Extra-territorial rights in China are furthermore protected by special legislation extending to foreigners in China the laws of their own nation. These laws automatically are extended to all their nationals in China so long as they remain there and continue to be subjects of foreign Powers, and as such they cannot waive the application of these laws to their persons or their property. The surrender of such rights and responsibilities by any small portion of the foreign community in China or a small number of individuals would seriously impair the whole system of the treaties as designed for the protection of all classes of foreigners in that country.

Missionaries should appeal to their governments for the protection of their persons and their properties only in cases when local government has broken down. It is difficult to explain that outside armed protection is not the propagation of Christianity by force. Such appeals will inevitably decrease until no grounds will remain for charging that the foreign missionary relies upon force for his protection while he preaches the gospel of love and goodwill.

In times of civil as well as international war it has been the custom of missionaries to remain in the country and with no special armed protection. Exceptional cases are very few. American and even British missionaries remained in Turkey, the Balkans, Egypt and Arabia during the Great War and with no special protection. In various revolutions in Mexico and South America missionaries have not withdrawn. In the China-Japanese, the Japanese-Korean, the Japanese-Russian wars missionaries remained at their posts. In the South African war and in uprisings and riots in India and in the revolutions in China and in Persia the missionaries have not fled.[1] There are many illustrations of the quieting effect upon the native peoples of the presence of foreign missionaries. The chief reason given for remaining at their post has been that the people in their distress were in greater need than in normal times, and new opportunities always arise under abnormal conditions for rendering to the distressed a peculiar service demonstrating to all the heart of the Gospel. In all these affairs the missionary must be absolutely neutral—as he has seldom failed to be. If his government orders him out, as frequently occurs, he can stay at his own risk. In case of recognized danger it is the duty of the government to warn its nationals and if necessary to inform them of its inability to protect unless they come out of the zone of danger. In multitudes of cases the missionaries have chosen

[1] At the time of the Boxer uprising in China in 1900, the missionaries in the disturbed areas generally withdrew from the interior stations, while in Peking they were besieged in the Legations with other foreigners and with Chinese Christians.

to stay at their own risk. The warning has fulfilled all obligations of the government. If the missionary was in communication with his government representatives and not physically forced to come out of the zone of danger, his government will recognize his privilege to choose to remain. There have been many cases of this kind and in few, if any, instances have international complications arisen from the refusal of missionaries to obey the orders of their government.

Should a Missionary employ an Armed Guard or carry Arms Himself?

In some countries an official guard is the sign of government sanction to travel and may not mean military protection from possible peril by the way. This was largely the case in Turkey under a former régime. Guards of this character threaten no violence. They are simply the badge of official authority and as such are a real protection. Often missionaries travel in safety with a member of the local band of brigands as their guide and protector. This is making friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. It is inevitable that missionaries, many of them, live and travel in regions in which more or less physical peril exists. Some missionaries have lost their lives, even their entire families, from attacks for purposes of robbery or from fanaticism or hatred of the foreigner or in revenge for some fancied wrong. There have been attacks from insane people. These facts raise the question as to whether it is befitting a missionary of the gospel of universal love to keep in his home firearms or other weapons or, when he travels, to carry a rifle or a revolver. Many have done this and some do it to-day.

If a missionary is thus equipped, should he use these deadly weapons of defence in the protection of his own life or that of his family, even to the taking of life? If a man does not carry or use defensive weapons himself but engages an armed guard who does, and who in affording protection takes life, the issue remains practically the same.

So far as the writer knows there have been few cases on record where Christian missionaries have taken life in self-defence. There have been more where they have fought to protect their loved ones, and still more where armed guards have defended missionaries with fatal results to the offenders. There are some who stoutly maintain that when a missionary enters upon the service of the gospel of peace and goodwill he should put his whole trust in the protective power of the gospel he preaches and the God he serves ; that the appearance of reliance upon carnal weapons and secular agents is but a demonstration to the people and to the world that he does not believe in and trust his own message. They say that now and then one may suffer loss of property and even violence to the point of death, but in the long run far greater good will come of this than could possibly arise from prolonging the life of the missionary through the taking of the life of another.

I am convinced that there is a safe and wise middle ground. A missionary should not take life in defence of his own, and for this reason it is better not to carry weapons when travelling in areas where dangers may lurk. Better far not to make the journey. It is impossible to suggest even how a man should act when his family is attacked, but even here one should not forget the injury that would come to the cause if life should be taken by one who in the eyes of the people represents the Christ. He might make use of a scourge of small cords but not a deadly weapon.

In case officials of his government insist that a military guard shall be placed over missionary property, it would seem to be the missionary's duty to urge upon the guard a spirit of tolerance that would protect and not take life. A foreign guard for the protection of a missionary's person, home and property puts him in a class, in the eyes of the native populations, quite apart from themselves and has a tendency to widen the breach already far too wide between the missionary and the people he would serve and before whom he would demonstrate that all nations are of one blood.

In these days when the self-determination of the eastern nations is stirring Orientals in a new and significant way, unusual effort and thoughtful precautions are necessary to show that the missionaries at least do not draw deep lines of division between the races or emphasize national distinctions.

There is danger that in considering matters of nationality and protection we fail to look fairly upon both sides of the question. Neither can be ignored. There is the side of appearing to rely upon national and military protection for missionaries of the gospel of Christ, and there is the danger that under a false or exaggerated view great and unnecessary waste occur. The loss of valuable missionary life would seem to be a real loss. Cases can be cited where the death of a missionary by violence and even widespread martyrdoms have seemed to be used of the Lord for marked advance in the kingdom of God. There is no way of knowing what would have followed had the martyrdoms not taken place. We do know that in all history the Lord has made the wrath of men to praise Him. But this does not mean that we are to invite wrath as a means of praise.

Then, too, we must not infer that the Lord is ordinarily going to protect His servants without the employment of natural and normal means. In this also we are not to tempt the Lord our God. It would be hard to justify a loss of life when legitimate means are at hand for avoiding the loss but are not used because of the theory that the Lord will protect. We do not act this way when we pray for our daily bread.

There are endless ways by which through sheer neglect we may sacrifice our lives, but we are supposed to use our God-given intelligence as well as available external agencies to protect and prolong them that thereby we may the more satisfactorily serve the Lord. At the same time, as intelligent and free agents we must choose in each particular case what means we shall employ. We must decide whether the end sought, namely, the preservation of our lives and the lives of our loved ones, justifies the means that may be

invoked to accomplish it. In each critical case there must be a weighing of evidence and a final decision.

Let us not forget that Christ once declared that the things due to Cæsar should be rendered to Cæsar and the things due to God should be rendered to God. This was a distinct recognition of the state with certain recognized responsibilities presupposing a certain measure of allegiance. It surely does not support the idea that the Christian and the state are to have no mutual relations and no mutual obligations. We also have the case of St Paul whose missionary experiences did not widely differ from those of some missionaries in our day. He was often among hostile people who feared and hated his teachings and who readily revealed their feeling by acts of violence. Sometimes these opponents were the common people, sometimes they were officials civil and religious.

I wonder if there are any who would claim that Paul made a mistake when he asked for military protection or when he declined to return to Jerusalem for trial when he practically knew in advance that the result would be death. Would it have been better for the kingdom of God had he suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem instead of going on in his God-given career, visiting Rome and completing his monumental work ? None of us can affirm what would have been the result of an earlier martyrdom, but we do know the results of his prolonged faithful life.

Claiming Indemnities for Personal Losses

Here again we are confronted by what at times may seem a national necessity on the ground that if the property of missionaries can be looted with impunity, why not that of the ordinary tourist and merchant ? In some countries, as in China, when the property of a missionary has been destroyed and his government has demanded reparation, the offending community has been taxed to meet the cost—often to an extent in excess of the loss, the surplus going

into the hands of the officials. The collection of such indemnities has been a punitive measure which has often resulted in giving foreign property in the district greater security, although it has created a hatred of the foreigner which a generation of service can hardly wipe out. It would probably be generally agreed that in the long run it is better not to demand reparation for local losses if its collection is to engage the use of force. The Christian example of forbearance when property losses of this character occur would in most cases be a demonstration to the people of the Christian principle of forgiveness such as a decade of preaching could never give. There have been cases where the attention of the entire community has been turned toward the missionaries and their doctrine by generous action on these lines.

When a missionary's life has been sacrificed shall indemnity be demanded? The writer knows of no case where a missionary society or board has demanded indemnity for the death of one of its missionaries. Cases are on record, however, where relatives have made such a demand. In such an instance the question is quite outside the decision of missionary boards. The right of relatives to make such a demand cannot be denied. There are few cases on record where even such demands have been made.

It is a sound principle not to give people of a country ground to make the charge that the missionaries are revengeful or mercenary or that they are endeavouring to obtain money by force from innocent people. It is unquestionably true that few if any of those who would be compelled to pay for the missionary losses incurred were involved in the act of destruction. In a word, the innocent would be punished for the acts of the guilty who escaped. If, however, the losses occurred because of negligence of the central government and the indemnity is to be secured from the central government rather than saddled upon the people nearest to where the losses occurred, the question is somewhat changed. In this instance it might be a national

question involving the entire subject of the protection of the interests of foreign nationals under the government. At the instance of a missionary the Boxer indemnities from China due to the United States for official acts in violation of the treaties were turned back to China for purposes of education. This became a powerful demonstration to China, though the payment of the penalties in full was demanded, of the spirit of Christian forgiveness.

When a government is culpably negligent in affording protection to missionary properties, there is a principle of international law which holds that government responsible for whatever losses occur, and no government to which missionaries belong would wish to vacate the right to hold the negligent government responsible for all damages. Upon the other hand, if a government is unable to protect the properties of its own citizens and even of the government itself, and if under the circumstances the property of a foreigner or even a foreigner's life is lost, the government cannot be held responsible. The decision of the question turns upon the ability of the government to afford the protection which was not given.

Affording Protection to Natives

In the earlier days of missionary work it was natural and often necessary to regard converts almost as missionaries' children. Spiritual children they certainly were. Often such converts were persecuted, driven from their homes and community and thus made dependent upon the missionaries. These times have radically changed in most if not all missionary countries. Instead there has come a spirit of strong nationalism and jealousy of foreign influence or the assumption of foreign authority over their own nationals. Missionaries have made and in some countries are still making grave mistakes in this direction. One of the charges against the propagators of Christianity in most countries has been that it denationalized the people and unfitted them for citizenship.

It has been difficult for some missionaries to grasp to the full the fact that, by becoming Christians, the natives of a country do not thereby, in the slightest degree, become Americans or English, nor do they cease to be citizens of their own country and subject to the laws of that country however unjust these laws may seem to the missionary to be.

Interference in matters of this kind has in the past been the cause of strained relations with local officials and in instances that might be named have brought down upon innocent natives the resentment which could not be visited upon the missionaries. Within this generation and even within a decade missionaries in Turkey and in Persia have thrown open missionary compounds and allowed persecuted peoples to crowd them by tens of thousands, extending to them the protection of the foreign flag. In many if not all cases officials of the government were called in to maintain order and to see that all who entered brought no weapons. It is impossible to criticize these missionaries for this widespread humanitarian effort to protect and save life, and, so far as we know, the act itself has not been criticized by the local officials. The example of the sacrifice made by the missionaries in caring for wretched refugees, although driven from their homes by government acts, has been a powerful demonstration of the heart of Christianity. As some of the missionaries have lost their lives in this act the emphasis has been reinforced. One would not even suggest that under similar circumstances this demonstration of Christian love should be avoided.

Within the last generation missionaries in China have overstepped in the protection of natives more than in any other country. This protection has been more in the form of influencing the magistrates and the courts. Missionaries can claim no right for such procedure. In most countries what missionaries have repeatedly done in China would be punished as contempt of court.

In a treaty between the United States and China dated 1903 the following passage occurs :

> Converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China and shall pay due respect to those in authority . . . and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offence they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into Christianity, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects, nor shall native authorities make any distinction between converts or non-converts.

Treaties of a similar character exist between China and other Powers. A missionary may appear in court as a witness if legally summoned, but otherwise he cannot lawfully interfere.

One of the duties of missionaries to-day is to train all whom they reach or can influence to become good and loyal citizens. If the government in its dealings with its subjects is unjust or cruel, the missionary can seek those in power and with them he can exercise his best influence for reforms, both in laws and in the administration of existing laws, but beyond this he has no authority to go. Many examples might be given where missionaries have been of incalculable aid to the people and the countries where they labour by calling the attention of higher officials to the cruelties and acts of injustice committed in the name of the government. The appeal for mercy or justice should not be confined to Christians but be in the name of humanity for all who suffer. Wherever the higher government officials are measurably enlightened such appeals have a chance to accomplish much good. Such approaches must always be based upon humanity and never upon political force.

In regions where forced labour is in practice, the missionary is at his wits' end to know where lies the path of duty and privilege. He is the guest of the country. If his presence is obnoxious to the authorities he may be ordered to leave. May he, while enjoying this privilege, make public attacks upon the acts of the government or upon the negligence of the government in executing its own laws?[1]

[1] There have been instances when, in order to protest against cruelties and other acts of injustice, missionaries have resigned from their missions.

This question has a far wider application than the slave trade in Africa. It applies to the persecuting of the minority populations in Turkey and Persia, to the treatment of the Koreans by the Japanese, industrial problems in China, the judicial examination of prisoners by torture, cruelties practised upon prisoners, and religious persecution in general. Shall the missionary act as a critic of the government and of local officials ? There can be little question that if missionaries assume an attitude of public criticism they will make themselves *persona non grata* to the officials and weaken if not completely destroy their influence over them. They may even greatly aggravate, as has happened in somewhat similar cases in the past, the very cause they desire to aid.

Again attention must be called to the fact that the missionary does not go out as a public reformer. He is a preacher of righteousness, but he has no authority or power to enforce it. He may remonstrate with local officials and magistrates, but he cannot compel them to accept his advice. If he interferes in administrative matters, he may make a bad situation worse and cause his own removal from the country.

Quite aside from the possible effect of such action upon himself, the missionary must not for the sake of the cause lose sight of his commission. He preaches the gospel of reform, but does not himself institute the reform. The seed he sows must bear fruit in due time from the soil of the country. It cannot be forced. The process will necessarily be slow. Cruelties and injustices will be practised yet for generations. The missionary represents the voice crying in the wilderness of hatred, greed, cruelty, injustice and unrighteousness. He has no power to execute the gospel. The power of God unto salvation alone can achieve the results.

Missionaries and Native Properties

Under conditions which gave a measure of uncertainty to the safety of titles held in the name of natives, missionaries have sometimes taken the title in their own name and

so gained a special security beyond that which the native could have commanded. In times of great local upheaval or general disturbances, like those which have frequently taken place in Turkey and also recently in China, natives have brought gold, jewels and other valuables and placed them in the care of the missionary for safe keeping as they themselves were about to be driven into exile.

This practice cannot be commended. In a few cases such an act may have saved to the native property that might otherwise have been lost. At the same time, it has placed the missionary in a false light. The act in itself is open to the question of honesty, since the good accruing to the native is in proportion to the ability of the missionary and the interested party to conceal the facts from the authorities or to hold the property in defiance of the authorities.

Shall Missionaries enter into Commercial Transactions or accept Government Office ?

The consensus of opinion in all mission boards and among all classes of missionaries is undoubtedly against such procedure. It would be impossible for a missionary to buy or sell for personal gain, or to rent or lease properties of his own for the same purpose, without giving an impression, not only to the native populations of the country but to outsiders as well, that he was in the business for personal profit. It is inevitable that missionaries must purchase, hire workmen and build, for the purposes of their work. This has never raised any serious question of the legitimacy of the act in the mind of either foreigners or natives. It is at once recognized that mission boards must have properties in every field where they operate and that this necessitates certain commercial relations with the native peoples. But to go farther than this, and to have a member of a mission engage in buying and selling and in various commercial enterprises, could not fail to attract attention and produce criticism. There have been a sufficient number of instances

of this character to make it perfectly clear, almost as a law, that commercial transactions with the natives of the country for personal gain lead to untoward complications. These complications have not infrequently brought the missionary into courts, and have often shown him up in those courts in a most undesirable light. According to their own testimony they by commercialism so lost standing with the people that their Christian influence was completely destroyed. Too much, therefore, cannot be said of the importance of a missionary's keeping himself absolutely untrammelled commercially and financially in his contacts with the people of the country to which he is accredited.

For a mission or a mission station to engage in gainful occupations for the sake of profit is equally open to criticism and for the same reasons. We are not here discussing industrial training, which in many missions has become an important part of missionary operations but which has never been charged with being a gainful enterprise.

Another question somewhat akin is whether a missionary should accept an official position under his own government, as, for instance, the position of vice-consul or consul. There have been many such cases in times of emergency when the United States representative was absent, and to such little objection can be offered. Missionaries are citizens of their own country and must be ready to serve their country as circumstances may demand temporarily and in case of emergency. But when it comes to a missionary's accepting a permanent appointment as an official of his government there is strong objection. There would be danger that in the mind of the missionary himself, and especially in the minds of the people, wherever he appeared and whatever he did was the act of a representative of his government and not of a missionary of the Gospel. The missionary would gradually recede into the background and the government official would come to the front. The writer discussed this question at length at Washington with John Hay, the distinguished Secretary of State, in response to a request

from Mr Hay that a certain missionary be allowed to accept the office of vice-consul. After discussion Secretary Hay replied that the position taken above was the only legitimate and proper position that a mission board could take and maintain. There is no question that for a missionary to accept a permanent official position from his government in a mission field would erect another barrier between him as a missionary and as a religious leader and his people, and the one purpose in all this discussion is to remove as far as possible all such barriers. If a missionary accepts such an official post, he should resign as a missionary. The same objection would hold, and for practically the same reasons, against accepting a permanent office in any local government.

Conclusion

The aim of the missionary should be to get as close as possible to the people he seeks to serve. Everything he retains that gives the impression that he is a foreigner possessing special privileges erects barriers between him and the people he would reach. This does not necessarily mean that he should adopt native dress and live in all respects as the people about him live but it does mean that he should in language and in his manner of life avoid giving the impression that he is a member of a dominant foreign nation which stands ready to defend him in time of danger and avenge his death in case of violence. The missionary's methods of approach and his contact with the people he would best serve are watched to-day and discussed as they have never been before. Perhaps as at no other period in modern missions has the life of a missionary and his relations to his native colleagues been more under observation or more powerful in commending or condemning the religion he is supposed to exemplify.

Educated and travelled natives in all the great missionary countries are rapidly increasing in numbers and are found not only in the mission fields but in the home lands as well.

Many of these have studied Christianity but have not accepted it. Others are sincere Christians, but all have a high conception of what the missionary life should be. These do not hesitate to criticize when they see a missionary giving what seems to them undue care to his personal comfort, calling upon foreign forces to protect him from the perils which threaten people all about him for whom there is no foreign protection, or when they see him perform and encourage acts which are intended to deceive. The missionary lives and works in a special sense in the limelight, his life and acts should be such as to commend his religion to all as good to believe and adequate for life, and quite different from that of the other foreigners who make no profession of altruism. While the missionary is thus under close scrutiny, he is in a position, however, so to exemplify the life and teachings of Jesus Christ and His gospel as to make a wide-reaching impression such as was not possible a generation ago. If his life commends his teaching, he becomes a powerful preacher of righteousness. If it does not commend his teaching, the evil that he does is widespread. Hence it is important that the missionary should recognize that the position he holds is unique, quite different from that of merchants and travellers or even of diplomatic representatives of his government. If he is in a country over which his own government rules, his position is made doubly difficult because of the tendency on the part of the native populations to regard him as a department of the government itself. In a word, the missionary of this day must be truly a man of God, with a passion for making Jesus Christ in His beauty and saving grace known to all with whom he comes in contact and even to the nation of which he is the guest. Anything that militates against this is harmful. Everything that conserves this great and high aim adds to his efficiency and power.

JAMES L. BARTON

THE GROWTH OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN AFRICA

By DOM MATERNUS SPITZ, O.S.B.

In a well-known book entitled *The Future of Africa*[1] we are told that 'it is somewhat difficult to get exact and reliable information about the position of the Roman Catholic missions. Their published statistics are notoriously unscientific, and as they are constructed on a different basis from that of Protestant missions, comparisons of figures are more misleading than informative.' The writer of this book does not seem to have consulted *Katholische Missionsstatistik* by H. A. Krose, S.J. (1908), nor his *Kirchliches Handbuch*, published annually since 1907; he does not seem to be aware of the *Missions Atlas* of K. Streit, S.V.D. (1906). He has not consulted *La France en dehors* (six volumes) published by P. Piolet, S.J. (1900–02). For more modern times there is available *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (1911–23), Streit's *Atlas Hierarchicus*[2] of 1913, *Die brennende Missionsfrage der Gegenwart* by Father Schwager (1914), *Handbuch der Katholischen Missionen* (1920) by B. Arens, S.J., or the latest edition of the *Missiones Catholicæ*, Cura S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Descriptæ Anno 1922. *Sapienti sat*, to quote but a few well-known names of Catholic authors. It is true, missionary success cannot be measured by figures and statistics, but by the amount of character that is produced and by an ethical standard; 'not how many are baptized, but who practise their religion, persevere and show signs of purity and strength of character.' The words of S. Paul, *Ego plantavi, Apollo*

[1] The quotations are from the first edition (1911) of Dr Donald Fraser's book, Appendix C, pp. 284, 289–90.

[2] Reviewed in *IRM*, 1914 (Oct.), pp. 763–8. See also *IRM*, 1921 (Jan.), pp. 77–90.—Ed.

rigavit Deus autem incrementum dedit, are true to-day as they were in the days of the Apostle of the Gentiles. In the face of such 'statistical evidence' it could certainly not be said with any show of reason that the Roman Catholics are statistically 'not informative.' The same author continues: 'What the religious value of all the Roman Catholic mission work has been, it is difficult to judge. They claim to have at least 600,000 Catholics in Africa (1911); but what that fact signifies it is hard to estimate.' He admits 'that many of their [R.C.] missionaries are themselves sincerely devoted to Jesus Christ, and are revealing His incomparable Person to those benighted people'; he admires their whole-hearted devotion and the light of the love of the Lord that is in many of them who come to Africa for life, and says that their magnificent sacrifice is often held up in comparison with the comparative ease of Protestant missionaries.

After the decay of the early and flourishing Christianity in Northern Africa, except for a few sadly corrupted remnants surviving in Kabylia and among the Copts and Abyssinians, Africa remained for many centuries a sealed country to the Christian religion owing to the wild anarchy and barbarity of the Arian Vandals, and the ruin and desolation which were brought by the sword of the followers of the Prophet. Dominicans and Franciscans, however, as well as Trinitarians and the Order of Our Lady of Mercy tried from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries to alleviate the lot of Christian captives and to instil the lessons of Christian charity into the hearts of the Mohammedans of Morocco, Tunis and the Barbary States. In the first half of the fifteenth century, Prince Henry the Navigator laid the foundations of Portuguese power on the western coast of Africa. In 1471 Diego Cam discovered the Congo. Eleven years later Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Storms, whilst later on Vasco da Gama visited Moçambique, Mombasa, Malindi and other places on the east coast and unfurled the banner of the Cross on the shores of Africa.

In order to promote and to secure the spread of Christianity and to prevent disputes between Spain and Portugal, Pope Alexander VI published in 1493 the famous Bull of Partition or Demarcation, by which Portugal became the sole master of the missions in Africa, with the one obligation to further the propagation of Christianity and to support missionary work. This step, however, proved in later years to be the greatest drawback to the spread of the Christian faith, which was thus made dependent upon the goodwill of Portugal's political rulers.

There is no doubt that in their first fervour the Portuguese sovereigns did their best to further the Catholic Apostolate. Dominicans and Franciscans, Augustinians and Jesuits, Capuchins and Carmelites, assisted by secular priests, vied with one another in carrying into effect the command of Christ. Bishoprics were founded on the adjacent islands such as Las Palmas in the Canary Islands (1404), in Ceuta (1431), Tangier (1468), Funchal (1514), São Thiago do Cabo Verde (1532), São Thomé (1534), Loanda (1596), Moçambique (1642), Mauritius (1712), Senegal (1763). King Emmanoel of Portugal took a special interest in the evangelization of the Congo which for a time made good progress. The Bishop of S. Thomé adopted the title of Bishop of the Congo, transferred the see to San Salvador and later to S. Paul de Loanda, and formed a chapter consisting of twenty-eight canons. As the number of missionaries already engaged in the Congo was insufficient for the growing demands, S. Ignatius sent some Jesuits, among them Fathers Vaz, Ribera, Diaz, Soveral, Noguera, Gomez and others, and later on these were followed by Capuchins under Francis of Pampelona (1640) and Carmelites in 1659. For nearly two hundred and fifty years the Catholic Apostolate was successfully carried on among the natives in the Congo. It seems that these earlier missionaries extended the sphere of Christian influence as far as Stanley Pool and to the valley of the Kasai, to Senegambia and Sierre Leone, the Gold Coast, Benin and Guinea. Missionary work was commenced

on the East Coast soon after its discovery; in Moçambique by the Jesuits Sylveira (martyred August 11, 1561), Acosta and Fernandez; at Sofala by the Dominicans (1586); in Madagascar by the Lazarists; whilst Jesuits and Franciscans continued their work in Egypt, Ethiopia, Morocco and elsewhere.

But the growth and expansion of Portuguese power and influence in the more promising colonies and its decrease in Africa, the various wars waged between the Dutch and the Portuguese, the civil feuds among the native tribes and the nefarious slave trade which was encouraged and supported by Christian European Powers, made Portugal forget her solemn obligations of supplying a sufficient and efficient staff of missionaries for Africa. Instead of furthering the development and the welfare of Christian religion and civilization, Portugal only became a standing obstacle to the Catholic Apostolate. Unable to send Portuguese and unwilling to allow missionaries of other nations in their colonies, the once flourishing churches became weaker and weaker. Social, political and religious disturbances which were caused by the sectarian policy of Portuguese kings and their evil advisers, the anti-Catholic attitude of Holland and England, the suppression of the Society of Jesus and other religious orders in Portugal, and finally the French Revolution and the general upheaval in Europe brought every Catholic missionary enterprise in Africa to a temporary standstill. The Catholic Church in Africa presented at last nothing but a large field of ruins. According to P. Louvet (*Les Missions Catholiques au XIX^ème^ siècle*) 'the Roman Catholics of continental Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, including Uniate Copts and Abyssinians, amounted to only 47,000 members.' The missions among the Abyssinians had been abandoned and were only resumed in 1838. In the almost inaccessible Barbary States there were only 8000 Catholics with eight priests left, but with hardly any churches or schools. In the once flourishing Congo missions there was only one bishop at Loanda with 30,000

Christians in thirty parishes, but only about ten priests. The Bishop of S. Thomé numbered about 12,000 Catholics. The Cape Territory was then under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius, whose sphere included S. Helena, the Cape, Madagascar, the Seychelles and Australia —all told, 3000 Catholics—whilst Moçambique had 1500 Catholics with two priests.

As soon as the political and religious storms caused by the French Revolution had subsided and the Church in Europe had been strengthened and the Religious Orders and missionary societies re-established and revived, Catholic missionary life and activity were gradually resumed and the Church set to work to reconstruct the ruins of her African mission field. With the formation of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith (A.P.F.) in 1822 we perceive the first signs of a change. The subsequent conquest of Algeria by France in 1830, which broke down Mohammedan fanaticism, and the reopening of the missions among the Copts and Abyssinians by de Jacobis were the preludes to an awakening in Africa. The first attempt and failure of Mgr Edward Barron, the former Vicar General of Philadelphia, who with a heroic band of missionaries came to the rescue of the liberated Negro slaves of the United States who had settled in Liberia, did not frighten the pioneers. The convert son of a Jewish Rabbi, Father Paul Maria Libermann and his Missionary Congregation of the Holy Ghost were destined to inaugurate the Catholic Apostolate and its movements in Africa in the nineteenth century. Since 1843 they have devoted themselves (with a loss of 400 missionaries between 1843 and 1911) to the evangelization of the Negroes in Senegambia and Gaboon (1843), French Guinea and Sierra Leone (1864), Portuguese Congo (1873), Chimbazo (1879), Kunene (1882), Nigeria (1885), Ubangi (1887), Zanzibar (1863), Bagamoyo and Kilimanjaro (1866), Madagascar (1879), Northern Katanga (1907), etc. Mgr Marion de Bresillac founded the African Missionary Society of Lyons whose members since 1859 have been engaged in Dahomey

(1861), Benin (1868), Gold Coast (1880), Nigeria (1884), the Ivory Coast (1895), Koroko (1904), Liberia (1906), the Nile Delta (1877) and elsewhere. And this was followed ten years later by the Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa or the White Fathers, founded by Cardinal Lavigerie, whose field of action extended rapidly from Algiers to Kabylia, from Tunis to the Sahara and the French Sudan (1874–94), and then right into the heart of Equatorial Africa and the Belgian Congo, i.e. Victoria Nyanza (1883), Uganda, Tanganyika (1879), Unyanyembe (1881), Nyasa (1891), Bangweolo (1891) and Kivu (1896). As inch by inch Africa was explored by Speke and Burton, Baker and Stanley, Wissmann and Cameron, Livingstone and Sir Bartle Frere, and was opened for various motives by commercial and trading companies, financiers and speculators, hunters and adventurers, philanthropists and various governments hungry for territorial acquisition and expansion, Catholic missionaries either preceded, accompanied or followed both explorers and conquerors. In spite of lack of resources and insufficiency of European missionaries and native workers, and in spite of various obstacles from the nature and climate of the country and from the opposition of men to hinder their action and progress, they have persevered and succeeded. Besides the three pioneer missionary societies of Africa, work was also resumed or continued by Franciscans (Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco) and Capuchins (Eritrea, Galla, Somali, Seychelles), by Lazarists (Abyssinia, Madagascar) and Trinitarians (Benadir), by Jesuits (Madagascar, Kwango, Zambesi), by missionary seminaries of Mill Hill, Verona, Turin, Scheut, by Benedictines and Trappists, by Oblates of Mary Immaculate and those of S. Francis of Sales, etc.

Thanks to the efforts of the colonial Powers and the anti-slavery movement, the last few decades have seen, perhaps more than in any other pagan country, a rapid progress in the African mission field. A division of missionary districts as well as an increase of missionary workers of all nationalities has made possible a deeper penetration into the heart

of the Dark Continent, to stem both the slave trade and to check the progress of Islam which is still an acute danger for the spread of Christianity. Catholic missionaries have planted the Cross as the beacon light of truth and as the sign of redemption. Where they have been able to labour, they have laboured, and where they could only die to fertilize the soil, they have died, irrespective of nationality, tongue, race or colour, French and German, Belgian and Dutch, English and Irish, Italian and Polish, Portuguese and Spaniard, assisted by native priests, brothers and sisters.

In 1822 there were in continental Africa some 50,000 Catholics scattered over eight missionary districts or vicariates apostolic. Pope Gregory XVI (1830–46) erected three more, Pius IX (1846–78) increased the number to thirteen; under Leo XIII there were up to the year 1895: 24 vicariates, 18 prefectures and 4 missions, whilst ten years later we find 32 vicariates and 25 prefectures apostolic for the administration of the African mission field. According to the census of 1912–13, the last taken previous to the Great War, the Catholic apostolate in Africa, as far as missionary work was concerned consisted of 78 missionary districts, i.e. one diocese, one prelature, 45 vicariates and 27 prefectures apostolic and 4 missions, and numbered 945,088 Catholics and 656,578 catechumens with 2078 European and 94 native priests, 1385 brothers, 3819 sisters, 7557 native catechists and 944 teachers. There were 767 central and 5412 secondary stations, 4575 churches and chapels, 24 seminaries with 358 native candidates for the priesthood, 114 training colleges for native teachers and catechists 1758 in number, 3887 elementary schools attended by 241,665 pupils, 718 secondary and higher schools with 6071 pupils, 361 orphanages, 150 hospitals, 412 dispensaries and 13 printing presses. In these statistics were not included two archdioceses, twelve dioceses, with an aggregate Catholic population of another 1,894,318 in 875 parishes, as they were not under the jurisdiction of Propaganda.

The Great War of 1914–18 caused a serious crisis from a

religious and moral, political and economic point of view, which hardly touched non-Catholic missionary agents [1] owing to their American and English preponderance. Great fears were therefore entertained as to the future of the Catholic missions in Africa. Many of the flourishing fields were partly or totally depleted of their pastors. Owing to the French mobilization law, missionary priests and brothers, novices and aspirants had to enlist for active service either in the firing-line or for ambulance and hospital work. The young and strong, energetic and useful members were withdrawn ; helpful and useful activities were undermined, the veterans and others broken in health could not be replaced. Missionary societies and auxiliary associations were deprived of their material resources and consequently the building of churches and schools, hospitals and dispensaries had to be abandoned or postponed, whilst some of the mission fields on the East and the West Coast, in Central and Equatorial Africa had become the scene of active warfare.

Catholic missionaries of German and Austrian nationality, though in many cases belonging to branches of French and Italian Missionary Congregations and societies, were either interned, deported, repatriated or restricted in their sphere of missionary activities. Catholic missionaries of German nationality had been at work in the German colonies of Togoland (Society of Steyl) since 1892, in Cameroons (Pallotinians) since 1890, in Adamawa (Sacred Heart of S. Quentin) since 1912, in Lower Chimbazo (Oblates of Mary) since 1896, and in Great Namaqualand (Oblates of S. Francis of Sales) since 1888. On the eastern coast and in Central Africa, German together with French, Dutch and Swiss missionaries were represented in eight missionary districts all lying in German East Africa : i.e. Bagamoyo and Kilimanjaro (Congregation of the Holy Ghost since 1866 resp. 1886), Dar-es-Salaam and Lindi (Benedictines since 1888), in Nyanza, Kivu, Unyan-

[1] For an estimate of the effect of the war on German Lutheran missions, see *IRM*, 1919 (Oct.), pp. 459-78, which gives facts apparently unknown to the writer of this article.—Ed.

yembe and Tanganyika (White Fathers since 1881). German and Austrian together with Italian missionaries of Verona were engaged in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (vicariates of Khartum and Bahr-el-Ghazal), in Swaziland, the Zambesi, Natal and Rhodesia (i.e. Servites, Jesuits and missionaries of Marianhill), in Moçambique (Steyl) and in various parts of the Congo especially Stanley Falls (priests of the Sacred Heart), whilst 110 priests, 210 brothers and 860 sisters were engaged in apostolic work in various missions throughout the large area of South Africa. From Cameroons (33 priests, 32 brothers and 30 sisters), Togo (41 priests, 15 brothers, 29 sisters), Adamawa, Dar-es-Salaam, Lindi (28 priests, 48 brothers, 56 sisters), they were in course of time deported and repatriated and replaced by others ; from Bagamoyo and Kilimanjaro 50 were interned in India and Egypt, whilst in South Africa they remained unmolested, though occasionally restricted in their work. Neither space nor the circumstances of the present time allow one to enter deeper into the details of the hardships of both the missionaries and their devoted neophytes, of the material and spiritual ruin and losses. Suffice it to say that the banished missionaries have found new fields : the Benedictines in Zululand (1921), the Pallotinians in Central Cape, the Veronese missionaries in Eastern Transvaal, whilst Togoland has been entrusted to the Society of Lyons, Cameroons to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and missionaries of Mill Hill, Dar-es-Salaam to the Capuchins (Swiss), Lindi to the Benedictines (Swiss), whilst the other fields remain under the charge of the former societies, i.e. White Fathers, Congregation of the Holy Ghost and others.

It is a consolation to know that in spite of serious drawbacks, a reduced missionary staff and shortage of material support, several of the missions in Africa have actually made appreciable progress. This, besides the grace of God, is due to the persevering efforts of the remaining missionaries, the increase of native priests, teachers and catechists, who in many cases offered their services gratis or at a reduced

salary. Although the power of missionary success does not lie in statistical progress it may not be out of place to give the following statistics for 1918 and leave it to the reader to compare the results with those of 1913: B. Arens in his *Handbuch der Katholischen Missionen* sums them up in Tabelle 27: *Stand der gesammten Heidenmission im Jahre* 1918: AFRICA: 1871 European and 238 native priests; 1015 European and 12 native brothers; 3843 European and 234 native sisters; 12,606 native catechists and teachers, 22 seminaries with 518 native aspirants for the priesthood, 1,961,686 native Catholics and 548,631 catechumens; 5781 churches and chapels, 5317 elementary schools with 317,176 pupils.

A few facts may perhaps throw some light on the figures. In the Belgian Congo for instance we find in 1910, 70 principal and 143 secondary stations with 1913 catechumenates under the charge of 230 priests, 90 brothers, 110 sisters, 2042 catechists, 131,852 Catholics, 139,088 catechumens, 1125 schools and 62 charitable institutions. Ten years later (1920), in spite of the war and its havoc in Belgium, the Catholic missions in the Congo numbered 125 central, 468 secondary stations with 6713 catechumenates under the care of 374 priests, 189 brothers, 194 sisters, 11,114 catechists with about 250,000 Catholics and 313,000 catechumens, 4674 schools and 209 charitable institutions. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost had 199,000 Catholics in 1913, 345,187 in 1919; whilst the White Fathers had in 1919–20, 305,154 Catholics, 120,560 catechumens, 3272 schools and 100,000 pupils in their various fields of Africa.

Realizing the vastness of the missionary fields, the Congregation of Propaganda, which has rightly or wrongly been called the Colonial or Foreign Office of the Church, has not been slack in dividing both vicariates and prefectures and providing new spheres for the apostolate. Over thirty have been formed since 1913, i.e. Kaffe, Bangweolo, Lindi and Diego Suarez (1913); Lybia, Djbuti, Adamawa (1914), Zambesi (1915), Bahr-el-Ghazal and Upper Kasai (1917), Ant-

sirabé-Betafo (1918); Leopoldville and New Antwerp (1919), French Guinea and Southern Nigeria (1920), Bamako, Ouagadougou, Marianhill and Zululand (in 1921); Katanga Central, Ruanda, Urundi, Iringa (1922); Rabat, Lower Volta, Fumban, Nile Equatorial, Swaziland, Majunga, Fianarantsoa, Lydenburg, Gariep, Eshowe, Buca (1923) and others.

From the following figures it may be seen that the Catholic apostolate has made further progress since 1918 both in the number of Catholics and missionary districts. For, according to the present day statistics we find over two million (2,310,000) Catholics under the care of 2283 European and 248 native priests, 1030 brothers and 4937 sisters divided into 104 missionary provinces or districts, among them 57 vicariates and 31 prefectures apostolic, three missions and other organizations.

It may be of interest to know what means the Catholic Church has adopted or does adopt to further the end of Christian civilization. She certainly does not entice converts by the filthy lucre of mammonism, for we are told that her material resources and her contributions towards missionary enterprise fall very short in comparison with other Christian denominations. Nor is it attempted by 'superstitious practices' of scapulars and rosaries or by gorgeous vestments and ceremonies or magnificent churches and cathedrals to work upon the simple minds of the natives. Such things are conspicuous by their absence in Africa. The missionary methods adopted by the Benedictines of old and followed by missionaries of the Catholic Church up to the present time, are summed up in the words: *Ora et labora*, or in a more modern motto: Humanize—Civilize—Christianize. Make the natives first human beings and treat them as such—turn them from roving nomads into useful citizens by civilizing influences of agriculture and industry, not for exploitation or monetary purposes, but for their own advancement, and the moral regeneration of the individual, the family, the tribe or the tribes constituting the territory; give them settled homes and teach them useful handicrafts,

not to enter into unfair competition, but for social and economic welfare and as an end to regeneration, and thus make the apostolate as far as possible self-supporting. Finally, evangelize and Christianize the settled communities by moral and religious education in church and school, in the workshop or the field—call it manual, industrial, technical or commercial—and thus make them or raise them in course of time to competent and self-respecting citizens, who help in the general development and advance of their own country, from a political and social, moral and religious point of view.

With the revival of Catholic missionary work there also arose the question of a native clergy. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost, which since 1843 has successfully laboured in Africa, has from the outset recognized its necessity, and within the first ten years has perhaps done more than any other missionary society to solve the problem. All the leading authorities, however, agree that it is a hard task indeed to raise a native Catholic clergy among the black race on account of pagan surroundings and unstable character. Yet the fact that it has been done by Bishop Kobes in Senegambia, by Bishop Carré in the French Congo, by Cardinal Lavigerie among the Arabs and Kabyls in Northern Africa, the Trappists in Marianhill among the Zulus and Kaffirs, the Jesuits in Madagascar, by de Jacobis among the Abyssinians, by Massaja among the Gallas, is an eloquent proof that it can be done. In the recent Apostolic letter: *Maximum illud* of November 30, 1919, Pope Benedict XV strongly exhorts all missionary bishops

'to forward this movement [of a native clergy] by starting seminaries and to train natives who show signs of a vocation to the priesthood. And this not only to assist the foreign missionaries in humbler offices, but in order that it may be equal to the accomplishment of its divine task, and in course of time duly assume the government of its own people. For since the Church of God is Catholic and cannot be a stranger in any nation or tribe, it is proper that out of every people should be drawn sacred ministers to be teachers of the Divine Law and leaders in the way of salvation for their own country to follow.'

The rate of progress and the development of a native clergy will depend partly upon the moral standard of the various nations and also upon the recentness of their conversion. This may explain the small number of only 238 native priests in Africa and also the promising harvest which is to be reaped in the near and distant future from the 22 seminaries with 500 native candidates in 1918, or in the nine vicariates of the White Fathers who have already 30 native priests, 102 candidates and 507 aspirants in preparation.

The shortage of missionary priests makes a well-trained body of native catechists of paramount importance, i.e. natives both men and women, married or single, who show a special vocation for this work, aptitude and devotion and who, after having gone through the ordinary course of education, spend some years in a catechetical school for more specialized training under the tuition of a missionary priest or sister. After their training they work either at the central or secondary stations and are frequently visited by the missionaries who superintend their work. Some 12,000 are actually engaged, yet the number is inadequate for the needs and demands.

MATERNUS SPITZ, O.S.B.

NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK

By N. MACNICOL, D.Litt.

A LITTLE book has recently been published which, modest as is its appearance, deserves attention from those who are interested in the missionary task of the Church. It is a biography of a remarkable Indian Christian, who is described on the title page as 'the Christian Poet of Maharashtra.' [1] Its interest and value consist partly in the fact that its subject, Narayan Vaman Tilak, is typical, and partly in the fact that he is not. In so far as he is a poet this man stands apart and brings to Christ and His Church a gift that others cannot bring. But in other respects, as a nationalist, a patriot, one deeply dyed of Hindu thought and proud of his Hindu heritage, he represents an important element in the India of to-day and provides us with a key to her understanding, of which those who desire the coming to her of the kingdom of God will do well to make use. Both of those aspects of this remarkable personality are of immense interest and Mr Winslow has rendered valuable service in giving us an opportunity of studying, even within the brief compass of this little book, one whom he knew so well and whose life is so full of significance.

The Christians of the past generations loved their fellow-countrymen; they bore their sins upon their hearts; they hated their idolatry; they sought passionately to bring them to Christ. They saw them entangled in falsehood and in evil custom and tradition and they laboured with singleness of purpose to bring them into the light of the divine love and the divine salvation. To a Christian thinker

[1] *Narayan Vaman Tilak, the Christian Poet of Maharashtra.* By J. C. Winslow. Calcutta: Association Press. Rs. 2. London: Student Christian Movement. 3s. 1923.

like Nehemiah Goreh Hinduism was an irrational system to be studied only that it might be refuted. To a Sanscrit scholar like Pandita Ramabai the sacred language was a doorway to darkness, through which neither her daughter nor any other student in her institution could be allowed to pass. The names of these great saints of the past must always remain sacred and beloved in the annals of the Church of Christ in India. If they did not dig her foundations deep in the soil of the land, they saw her pattern laid up in heaven where, rather than on earth or in India, their great hearts dwelt. These have passed and a new generation is arising, different, perhaps more difficult for us to understand and sympathize with, but not less worthy to be understood. The difference may be summed up in one word, nationalism, for with the awaking of that new spirit everything has changed except the central things. The Indian heart was and is still the deep, subtle, passionate Indian heart and Christ reigns there in the Indian saint to-day as in the Indian saint yesterday. But round that centre new motives, desires, hopes, new loves and hates, have gathered. And from the change comes this great consequence, that the Church of Christ is now as never before proving itself to be no exotic growth, no 'flower in the sky' as the Upanishads would say, but a plant well-rooted, drawing nourishment from the Indian air and from the Indian earth.

Nationalism and theology do not grow naturally together. The new spirit in India is not deeply reflective. It does not concern itself with the interests of the soul as instinctively as it does with the interests of the state, and it reaches the soul, we may perhaps say, by way of the state. It is man's manhood, his rights in relation to other men, that occupy the attention of the nationalist; his relation to God, his duties and responsibilities, do not press themselves with the same urgency upon his attention. For these reasons it is not to be expected that the nationalist epoch will be a period fruitful in theological reflection in India. The Christian

nationalist will probably turn away from foreign dogmatic systems and aspire after constructions of his own, but the time has not yet come when his aspirations are likely to be realized. The pre-nationalist Christians were Calvinists or Arminians, Presbyterians or Methodists or Anglicans, according to the Christian environment into which they passed from their old religion. The forms of foreign thought they accepted without much reflection. Through them they reached to the substance and spirit of their new belief and these their hearts laid hold of with a conviction that was often profound and passionate. It is enough to point in proof of this to the splendid example of Pandita Ramabai. But to-day the forms of Christian thought have been discovered to be foreign, and so to the nationalist they are suspect. He will have the kernel only and not the husk; he hopes to grow an Indian husk one day, a doctrine and a philosophy of his faith that will give evidence that it has been acclimatized to the land, that it speaks his own great language and appeals without the necessity of translation to the Indian heart. That day is not yet, and meantime he is religious and not theological, centring his faith in Christ and seeking to free it from foreign integuments.

These are some of the new aspects that Indian Christianity is assuming under the influence of the new forces that are abroad in the land. To them the onlooker must adjust himself if he is to understand and sympathize with the new Indian Christian. He must—to adopt a current phrase in India—find the right ' angle of vision ' from which to view the Indian Christian scene, and, if he desires to find it, he cannot do better than study the life and mind of Narayan Vaman Tilak. The fact that this man was a poet enables him to see vividly and to express vividly what is slumbering in the minds of many. For that reason he is well worth listening to.

Tilak was one of those ' born in the purple ' in India. He was a Chitpāwan Brahman. This section of the Marātha family has in modern times exercised a remarkable influence

for good or evil upon the fortunes of the country. The Chitpāwan may be no more than a shrewd man of affairs, vigorous and not too scrupulous; but he may also at a higher level prove to be a practical mystic, an idealist who yokes his star to a wagon and has the great gift of seeing things through. Of this stock were the Peshwas, the able statesmen-rulers from whom rather than from the Moguls the dominion of India was finally wrested by the British. They are seen at their best in later times in those great makers of modern India, Mahadev Govind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale; they are seen in the most dangerous aspects of their energy and resolution in Bal Gangadhar Tilak and in the Swaraj party that is largely of their making. What they may become under the government of Christ is revealed to us in the noble life of Pandita Ramabai. We do not expect this type of mind to flower into a poet, but the unexpected occurred in the case of Tilak. This quality in him sets him far apart from his cousin, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the most powerful popular leader that India had produced until his star waned before that of Mahatma Gandhi.

One could hardly have found a place nearer the central springs in India than he had who was a Chitpāwan and a Tilak. Hinduism flowed strong in his veins from his very birth. He grew up steeped in the poetry and traditions of his people. It was 'over the bridge of Tukārām's verse,' he himself declared, that he came to Christ. This poet of an earlier date and other of the Marātha poet-saints have exercised, and still exercise, an influence over their people of a kind that is without parallel, so far as I know, in any other land. And Tilak, like so many of his countrymen, carried their songs in his heart. Similarly he showed himself to be of the true Hindu breed by his ten years of wandering, spent in a tireless quest for something that he felt that his motherland, and he himself, her child, had not but could not live without. Every page of his biography reveals him as typical of his people in many of the noblest Hindu

qualities—in his engrossment with religion, in his readiness to count the world well lost if only he could find a truth that would content him, in the simplicity and unworldliness of his nature. When at last he found Christ he did not indeed find stagnation, but his seeking thenceforward was within the circle of a discovered love.

To place the biography of this Christian poet alongside of those of Mahatma Gandhi and Mahadev Govind Ranade in a series bearing the title of *Builders of Modern India* is to make a great claim for him. Can any Christian be so described in an India where the Christian community is as yet a very small and obscure minority ? The claim would have been absurd a generation ago ; it is not absurd to-day. It is not absurd in the case of one who was no ' black Scotchman,' as an Indian Christian of an earlier day described himself, but a ' hundred per cent Indian,' and one, too, who possessed in poetry a master-key to the hearts of his countrymen.

He hoped at one time that patriotism would provide a bond strong enough to unite a divided India. Mr K. T. Paul has recently been bidding his fellow-Christians undertake the great task of reconciliation. He wishes them to be bridge-builders in the midst of the jealousies and suspicions that rivalries of race and religion have produced in the land. Tilak had a similar vision. He was sorrowfully aware, as no one can but be in India, of the clamour and the discord, but he was able, as a poet and a Christian can, to see deeper and to hear behind and beneath it the harmony of God. Faith and poetry and the love of the patriot united in him, enabling him to understand his people, to speak home to their hearts, and to believe in their great future. ' He believed,' says Mr Winslow, ' that his country was passing through the travail pangs of a new birth and that she was destined to become in due time the spiritual preceptor of the world, consecrating her profound mystical intuition and her ancient learning in the service of Christ and becoming the supreme interpreter of His Gospel.'

The work achieved by a man of such a spirit and of such power was bound to be of immense significance in breaking down the barriers of prejudice that had so largely shut Christians out of their true place in their own country. The walls of exclusion fell at the sound of his silver trumpet and the Christian poet was welcomed with pride and with affection as a true son of India. The Swarajist leader, Mr N. C. Kelkar, and the distinguished member of the Moderate party, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, divided in all else, were united in their admiration of his genius. A leading Marāthi magazine hailed one of his finest poems as a second *Bhagavadgītā*. If it is so it is a *Gītā* steeped, as all his work is, in the spirit of Christ, and while listening to its message the Marātha people are listening to Narayan Vaman Tilak's Master. It may be the poet that they come to hear, but the soul of the poet's work is always Christian. This Sir Narayan at least was always aware of and the fact certainly did not hinder his admiration. 'He sang,' he says, 'he lived, he died, in a way worthy of a true Christian. He beckons to his countrymen to obey the voice of God, in order that they may become a truly great people.'

This is the spirit that will inherit the future in India. Tilak made it clear to his countrymen that he did not love his country the less because he loved Christ. Not long ago a Muhammadan, echoing old prejudices, declared of Christians that they were 'slaves to foreign influences, bound in gratitude to foreign liberators, bound to fight in resentment against their fellow-countrymen, Hindu and Muhammadan alike, and to betray them when the crucial moment comes.' Tilak did more than any Christian of his time to refute that calumny and to set the faces of his fellow-Christians towards freedom and self-respect. He spoke boldly but never bitterly against any attitude of domination or patronage on the part of the foreign missionary. Mr Gandhi declares somewhere that the rule in India of 'the most determined people in the world' has had the effect of crushing those under their control, and that by being con-

tinually told that they are not fit to govern themselves they are being made unfit. Tilak felt that a similar wrong had been done to the Christian Church by missionaries possessed of the same resolute characteristics. In one poetic outburst he declares, 'You have set up for yourselves a kingdom of slaves; do not call it a kingdom of God.' We foreign missionaries must be purged of the arrogance and condescension that have become so much parts of our nature but that are not parts of Christ, if we are to assist in the creation of a Church made up of those who neither fear nor flatter. It is brothers, Tilak saw, that the Indian Christians need, not patrons, not even parents.

But Narayan Vaman Tilak was not only a patriot; he was a poet. How great a poet he was it is not for a foreigner to determine. This, however, we can see, that he enormously enlarged the scope of Marāthi poetry both in its form and in its subject-matter. The late Principal of the Fergusson College, Poona, says of him that 'he led Marāthi poetry out of doors and taught her to realize the free, open and bracing air of Nature, lured her out of the melancholy precincts of asceticism and coaxed her into discarding the yellow robe of renunciation.' Here again, we perceive, the poet is a Christian, one for whom the love of Christ has sanctified all nature and all human life. In this respect also he is a builder of modern India, but one who at the same time is true to her long tradition. He discards renunciation, perhaps, but he does not discard religion. Still for him, as for so many in the long line of poets to which he belongs, the central inspiration of his song is the desire for fellowship with God. We may, I think, make this generalization in regard to the Hindu soul that throughout all its history it has had two main engrossments. One school of religious inquiry has sought with amazing resolution to obtain victory over the world. Sister Nivedita has said that the most passionate desire of the Indian soul throughout all its history has been for freedom. This is not, I need hardly say, the *swarājya* that occupies so much attention to-day. It is

deliverance from the bondage of the world and time and *saṁsāra*. Whether any one ever attained it through the dim centuries of India's past we cannot say, but we can see it attained to-day by such a child of India as Pandita Ramabai. 'Dependent altogether upon our Father, God,' she says, 'we have nothing to fear from anybody, nothing to lose and nothing to regret.' That is the fulfilment of one of India's deepest longings. Another, not less intense, has been the longing for the divine fellowship. This has always been a chief theme of song among the poets beloved of the village people. With us of the hard fibre of the West it is such an old song as that of Percy and Douglas that moves the heart and that is sung by 'the blind crowder.' But with them the song that 'the blind crowder' sings is of the desolate heart forsaken of God and hungry for His fellowship.

I call and call again,
At Thy high gate.
None hears me. Empty is the house
And desolate.

So Tukārām cried, and Narayan Vaman Tilak echoes the old poignant, passionate lament—but with a difference. He is still a seeker, 'insatiate,' as one of his poems included in this biography shows him—

The more I win Thee, Lord, the more for Thee I pine;
Ah, such a heart is mine.

But he is also a finder, rejoicing in a discovery that brings to him 'the fulfilment of craving.' One of his most popular hymns describes Christ as the Mother-Guru. The poets who had gone before him had longed many a time for that Mother's breast and now he rests there, and in what Mr Winslow considers one of the simplest and most exquisite of his poems he tells his experience:

The Lord my Father-Mother is;
Naught can I lack since I am His.
Then wherefore should I wealth desire,
Or after empty pomp aspire?

For this world's gold is all alloy,
Its honour but an infant's toy,
Its fame an unsubstantial trance,
Its wisdom only ignorance.
Then, save Thyself, my God and King,
Is nothing left for coveting!
Do Thou this only gift impart—
Dwell Thou for ever in my heart.
Saith Dāsa, Thou Thyself, O Lord,
Art Thy disciple's sole reward.

The spirit of the patriot may often prove a narrow and a jealous spirit; in India it may, and not infrequently does, bring with it bitterness. But these things need not happen, and in the case of this patriot they did not happen. On the contrary his love of his country widened his view of duty and enlarged his love. Instead of the centre of his religion being the single soul, it was now the vast brotherhood of his people. The earlier Christians had been predominantly occupied with their individual experience. The Theistic Samājes, on the other hand, cultivated in their members a cosmopolitanism, a brotherhood of humanity, that had little depth and evaporated in vague sentiment. Christian nationalism is an advance beyond both of these attitudes. Reality and passion take the place of make-believe, while at the same time the horizon of duty has widened at least from the self to the nation. The nationalism that dreams of India in Christ is a nationalism that creates no enmities and breeds no wars. The final method of evangelism which, shortly before Tilak's death, took form to his ever-eager mind was that of what he called 'God's Durbār,' a brotherhood of the baptized and unbaptized disciples of Christ which should become 'a real universal family, to be known as real friends of men and real patriots through whom the world gains once more a vision of the Lord Jesus Christ.' His vision has widened in its scope and this Indian patriot, because he is a Christian patriot, takes the whole world into his heart.

And while his patriotism brings to him enlargement of vision, his poetic gift brings depth. He sees into the life of

things. His fathers, back through millenniums, had toiled terribly to reach beyond the unreal to the real and had found only silence and emptiness. For this poet also, as for these others, 'the walls of this illusion fade,' but they fade to reveal to him Christ and therefore to reveal love as the ultimate fact of the universe. And so he sings of Christ and he teaches his fellow-Christians to sing also. There is scarcely a greater gift, except that of a holy life, that any one can give to the Church of Christ than songs winged with poetry and insight, that will lift the singers' hearts to God. This gift Tilak has given to the Marāthi Christian Church. Perhaps the infection of his love may even spread beyond these bounds and some of the songs of this Indian Christian may stir by their ecstasy our duller western hearts.[1]

Sir Alfred Lyall in a sombre passage of his *Asiatic Studies* sums up the uncertain prospect, as it seemed to him, of India's future. He feared that Asia would prove too deep a quicksand for Europe to build upon it any lasting edifice of morals, politics, or religion. He saw the English legions, like the Roman, tramp across the Asiatic stage and disappear; he saw the clouds of confusion and superstition rolling up again. A generation has passed since these words were written and we see things that he did not see. Another 'proconsul,' Sir John Maffey, wrote the other day of Mrs Starr that 'she made a British mark on the heart of Tirah better than all the drums and tramplings of an army-corps.' Shall we amend his words and say 'a Christian mark'? India is not too deep a quicksand for her own Christian children to build there an edifice of love that shall endure. And surely it will endure when it is built to music, a music so sweet as that of Narayan Vaman Tilak and issuing from so deep a heart as his.

N. Macnicol

[1] The *Missionary Hymn Book*, published by the S.P.C.K., includes three hymns by N. V. Tilak. One of these is described as 'From the Marathi,' but no author's name is given, while the other two are correctly ascribed to Tilak but are said to be 'From the Tamil.'

THE PRESENT OUTLOOK ON THE PREPARATION OF MISSIONARIES

By G. A. GOLLOCK

A GREAT hope is dawning that the Churches in the mission field may become the dominant unifying factor in modern Christendom. One country after another finds the fulfilment of its highest Christian aspirations in projecting the life of its home Churches into the heart of other lands. There, as many-coloured rays lose and again find themselves in a pure white light, the commingling of varied contributions holds promise of a unity more living than any history has revealed as yet. In India the Christian Churches of Great Britain, North America, Germany, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland contribute to the upbuilding of the Indian Church; China receives from these lands and from Norway and Finland too; towards Africa life flows from every country mentioned, and from the Protestant Churches of France as well.[1] Among their active members the great Christian Councils in the mission field count men of many nations, merging their distinctive qualities and gifts in the service of the Church of the land. Thus the missionary forces of Christendom, impelled by a common motive, fed by a common life, find the common goal of their service in absorption into the mission field Church.

Like a parenthesis within the record of this great advance from motive to achievement lies the period of missionary preparation, national in its inception, international in its end, when the ripened fruit of western Churches is sent forth to find its fulfilment as one among the many seeds of the new life which takes shape in another land.

[1] The contributions of the Roman and Eastern Churches are not included in this summary.

In the light of these large and stimulating considerations an attempt has been made in a recent conference [1] to collate the thought and experience of western Christian nations in regard to the preparation of missionaries. The associated work of some seventy men and women appointed by the leading missionary societies of Great Britain and by the national missionary organizations on the Continent of Europe proved richly suggestive. One-third of the number were or had been missionaries themselves; most of the others had recently visited mission fields. A small group of student volunteers, two of them still in college, added to the range of thought in the conference. Some thirty memoranda prepared by expert groups in North America, Great Britain and elsewhere on the syllabus previously issued were before the conference. The whole of this material has been generously placed at the disposal of the editors of the Review.

Certain limitations imposed by the nature of the conference are necessarily reflected in an article based on its work. While the membership and the memoranda were international, the discussions, owing to difference of language and the absence of official American representatives, were mainly British. Of deliberate purpose no attempt was made to formulate findings. The aim of the conference was to open up large ranges of thought and experience for subsequent consideration in widely sundered centres of work. The unities arrived at were those of principle rather than of method. As theological colleges were not fully represented their relation to the work of missionary preparation was not discussed.

The Contribution of Continental Delegates

It was a new thing to have continental delegates given three full sessions in which to present their work. Their

[1] Convened by the British Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries at Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham (by kind permission); in session from April 22–26, 1924.

reports were singularly impressive. The brief notes which follow necessarily lose in colour by abbreviation, but the salient facts remain. Recurrent references to the central importance of spiritual fitness—'The first necessity in a missionary is that he should be a man with a mission'—are not quoted. The order in which the statements are given is that in which they were presented to the conference.

HOLLAND. Missionary preparation in Holland is concentrated in the Nederlandsche Zendingschool at Oegstgeest near Leiden. There are at present thirty-six students; ten others have taken short courses during the year. The full course covers six years, and is divided into three two-year courses: general education; theology; and mission field study. In the last period special attention is paid to sociology, ethnology, the language of the field, Arabic and Islamics for those going to Java, and elements of medicine and surgery (at the university). Holland is beginning further specialized work in language, medicine, education and industrial work, but a training centre on the field is required to carry these subjects farther. For women workers and missionaries' wives there is no training place, though the necessity for one is recognized. All men missionaries are given training before going out. The standard of general education required before acceptance for training used to be that of the elementary school; it is now being raised.

GERMANY. The number of graduates who offer for missionary work is slowly increasing, but Germany has always drawn the majority of her candidates from among those who lack the means and preliminary training necessary for university life, and who represent awakened circles within the Church rather than the Church as a whole. Hence German missionary societies have their own training seminaries at Berlin, Hermannsburg, Leipzig and other centres, where the candidates live in close fellowship with one another and with the mother society. The value placed on this corporate life is such that university candidates spend some months in these institutions to catch the spirit. The course covers six years, being divided into two three-year periods. In the first period, general and philological work is taken, including Latin, Greek and Hebrew; in the second, theological and missionary subjects. At the close of the six-year course the candidate takes special preparation according to the nature and location of his future work, such as governmental language study, medicine, anthropology, or an assistant pastorship.

Owing to difficult circumstances some seminaries have been forced to close, or to unite with others, but the recent stabilization of the mark gives hope for a renewal of life and activity in the home base as in the foreign work of German missions. The closing paragraphs of the German statement, with their stimulating note of advance, are quoted in full:

'1. Study is sometimes too much regulated, little or no room is left for individual study. The student is in danger of being overloaded with a mass of ready-made information, which he is expected simply to accept. He is not sufficiently taught to think for himself and so to develop Christian individuality.

'2. The more a missionary feels the need of enlarging his view the more keenly will he become aware of not possessing the same general education as a university student. In the seminary he leads a comparatively secluded life, but as a missionary he comes into contact with the modern world and its ideas, and has to evaluate these ideas, doubts and objections. How will he do so? We need to give him opportunity for a closer study of the currents of modern life in literature, philosophy and psychology.

'3. We have done too little in the way of understanding the mentality of the people to whom the missionary goes. They themselves feel they are not understood, and that should not be. While a full knowledge can only be acquired in the field by long experience, the missionary student can make such preparatory studies in general and primitive psychology that his eyes are opened and his view is sharpened. This leads the way to the understanding which is of so great importance.'

Denmark. The Danish Missionary Society which works in South India and in Manchuria is the one large organization in the country; there are some ten smaller societies. Mainly as a result of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, the Danish Missionary Society began to substitute a university for a missionary college course. About one-third of the missionaries now in the field have had a university education. The others take a three years' theological course. Women, in addition to a professional qualification as teachers or nurses, take a shortened course in theology. All candidates on completing their preparation in Denmark are sent for six months to America or England for language study and to enlarge their experience of life.

Finland. Finland has three independent societies and some lesser organizations. Its missions work in Amboland (South-West Africa), two provinces of China, Japan and Sikkim. The Finnish Missionary Society, in its own college, gives men a six or seven years' course in general and special missionary subjects, and in Christian doctrine up to the standard of the university degree in theology. Women, according to their educational equipment, have a course varying from two to four years, which is equivalent to the course given to a public school teacher, plus special missionary subjects. Training is provided for the wives of missionaries. The two other independent societies—the Lutheran Evangelical Society and the Finnish (and Swedish) Free Missions—have no training schools of their own.

Norway. (1) The Norwegian Missionary Society has a training centre for men at its headquarters in Stavanger. From 1913 there have been two three-year courses, the first comprising the general subjects for the government matriculation, the second theological and missionary subjects, English and

French. The introduction of logic and ethnology is under consideration. There are at present fifteen in the preparatory course and twenty-seven in the theological course, two of the latter belonging to the Santal Mission. In 1920 the same society opened a small training school for women at Christiania, modelled on the lines of the Women's Missionary College at Edinburgh. Candidates have usually already qualified as nurses or teachers. The first term is probationary. Board, lodging, tuition and books are provided free. At present eleven students are in residence, of whom three are fiancées. (2) The Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, which draws its missionaries from the Scandinavian countries, has no separate training school. All men missionaries are ordained and therefore have had theological training. The women take their training at various schools in Norway, England or New York. Missionaries study English in Great Britain or in the United States. (3) The Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association trains men in its large school for China and for home work, priority being given to missionary candidates. In the four-year preparatory course, leading up to the examination of the government teachers' training college, free tuition and lodging are provided; in the subsequent missionary course (eighteen months) board is also given. German, English and phonetics are taught. Candidates are sent to England or to America for language and elementary medical training, and to get a wider outlook. The plan of insisting on government normal training for every candidate, begun recently, is regarded as still an experiment. Its aim is as much to ensure for every student the means of earning his living if he returns home as to equip him for work in China.

Sweden. Missionary preparation in Sweden falls into three groups. (1) The Church of Sweden Mission has no training institution. The men who offer are almost always university graduates, who have done a certain amount of private missionary study and are already qualified as pastors or teachers. In some cases the mission makes a grant towards the college course. In all theological study at the university is included a compulsory course of comparative study of religions. Through co-operation between the Church of Sweden Mission and the theological faculties regular lectures are given in mission history; at one university these are compulsory for all future clergymen, so that home pastors and foreign missionaries are trained together. Candidates for India are often encouraged to pass an examination in Sanscrit at the university, two candidates have studied Sinology at the Göteborg College. The women missionaries are usually qualified teachers or nurses. For them and for any non-university candidate a general missionary course of study occupying three or four months is arranged, with university lecturers, missionaries and mission secretaries as teachers. Six or eight months are usually spent in England for language study. (2) The National Swedish Missionary Society and the Missionsförbundet have training institutions. For the men, who have generally only elementary education, there is a four-years' course in general education, followed by one or two years in which special

attention is given to language study, the languages of East Turkestan, Abyssinia and Eritrea being better learned from senior missionaries at home, as text-books and other facilities are lacking on the field. A one-year course is provided for graduates. Women candidates must have had professional training, and therefore take but two years at an institution, followed by a period in England, France or Italy for the study of a governmental language. (3) A third group of missions, such as the Swedish Mission in China, the Swedish Alliance Mission and the Baptist Mission vary in their methods; some send candidates to train abroad, others have courses preparatory to evangelistic work, some give no training. Swedish training is said to be more theoretic than that given in Anglo-Saxon countries, but is for that reason perhaps specially adaptable to circumstances. In Sweden more women than men are at present offering for missionary work.

France. France is a missionary country, more than half the Roman Catholic missionaries in the world being French. French Protestants number under a million and the Paris Missionary Society in its eight mission fields has 216 missionaries—men and women. Of these about 150 are French, the remainder Swiss or Italian. Candidates for ordination are either trained for three or four years in the school of the Paris Missionary Society, after passing their entrance examination, or study in theological colleges in France or French-speaking Switzerland side by side with students for the home ministry. After graduation some months are spent in the Paris school for specific missionary study. There are at present thirteen students in the first group, twelve in the second. Missionaries going to British territory spend some time in England for language study. School teachers and laymen get no financial help and offer with full professional qualification. Seven offers are under consideration now. Twenty-five women teachers and nurses are in preparation. Women teachers usually offer at the age of twenty, having completed their government training. The three years before they go out are filled with various forms of preparation, including a few months in the Paris school and sometimes a period in England.

Switzerland. In Switzerland there are three main societies. The Basel Mission, partly Swiss, partly German, has its own large seminary at Basel for men. The course, which is a full one, covers six years. Before the war there were over a hundred students; now there are about eighteen Swiss and twenty-seven Germans taking the whole course. The first two years are probationary. Entrants must have had at least a good primary education and learned some trade or profession enabling them to earn a livelihood in Europe. Latin, Greek, Hebrew and English are taught, and psychology is being added to the curriculum. Some specialized missionary preparation is given. The Mission Suisse Romande and the Kanarese Evangelical Mission have no training institutions of their own. Their candidates are expected to take a university course (non-residential) in theology. The societies try to supervise candidates during their college course. Men and women are sent

to Great Britain for language study and for special preparation; those going to Portuguese East Africa go to Portugal. Vacation courses for students and for furlough missionaries have been a great success. In some cases candidates have been given experience in various activities at home. All three missions train women in institutions or hospitals according to the work they are being sent out to do. The large Bible School at St Crischona near Basel has a few students for the foreign field.

Belgium. Although there are only ten missionaries who are members of the Belgian Protestant Churches, Belgium plays an important part in the preparation of missionaries. Through the Bureau des Missions Protestantes du Congo Belge, American, British and Swedish missionaries on their way to the Belgian colonies are received at Brussels to study French and tropical medicine and learn something of Belgian colonial policy. Some thirty-eight missionaries of ten different societies availed themselves of the Bureau during the last six months of 1923.

There was throughout the conference a latent sense of contrast between the home base situations presented from the European countries and the more complex ones in Anglo-Saxon lands. It was the one diversity felt by the continental delegates among the many unities of the conference. The relation between the general conditions in a country and the development of preparation for its missionaries appeared as a real thing. The differences did not arise only out of such an obvious fact as that of geographical area—e.g. the one large training school of Holland contrasted with the North American continent, where reckoning together all types of missionary schools and theological seminaries which include a missionary course there are about 125 training centres—but also because of the multiplication of denominations, the differing degree of contact between the Churches and university life, and the influences of colonial responsibilities, of extensive immigration, and of social intercourse with students from the East. The varieties of method and procedure were not accidental or arbitrary but sprang from realities of life.

The New Situation Abroad

The factors in the new situation in the mission fields are familiar to the mission boards. One memorandum

after another referred to the growth of racial consciousness ; the weakening of white supremacy ; the breaking down of old customs and restraints through the impact of western culture, especially in its influence upon women and home life ; the spread of an industrialism which reproduced, in more aggravated form and without essential safeguards, conditions which are imperilling society in the West ; the rapid increase of education, too often on lines offering inadequate preparation for those who are being swept into the uncharted currents of modern life ; and, beyond all else, the development of the spirit of nationalism and self-consciousness. The resulting situations bear at every point upon such questions as the type of missionary who will be welcomed, the attitude he should take, the work he should be prepared to do. 'Every month that passes,' wrote an Indian missionary, 'emphasizes the need for missionaries who are prepared not merely to accept the devolution of responsibilities hitherto held exclusively by missionaries upon the Indian Church but to work cordially under these conditions, believing that what is happening is the will of God, and that it is their privilege to help in the further development of the process.' The unanimity of the memoranda gave the starting-point for Mr Oldham's opening address.

Summary of the Chairman's Address

The new situation which the Church is facing to-day can be seen truly only against the background of the things that do not change or change but slowly. The essential facts and conditions of human life remain the same—the interests of the family, a man's work, pain, death and sin are the setting of human life everywhere. Human nature does not greatly change from century to century. The play of motive in Shakespeare's dramas is appreciated by the Bantu as it is by Englishmen. The lives of the patriarchs and other Bible characters find response everywhere. The qualities of a true man—courage, fidelity, hope, love—are

recognized throughout the world. The Gospel which we have to preach does not change. The missionary task throughout the centuries is essentially that of telling the same unchanging ' story of Jesus and His love.'

Against this background of what is unchanging it is possible to appraise the far-reaching changes which are taking place in the mission field and which bear directly on the selection and preparation of candidates.

First, there is the growth of the Church in the mission field. It is possible to exaggerate this and forget the large areas in which the Church as yet hardly exists or is only in its first beginning. Yet the Church has definitely arrived and this fact in itself gives rise to an entirely new situation.

Secondly, there is the growth of nationalism which makes men sensitive and unready to welcome work done by foreigners. Money is wasted if it is spent on those who are unable to cross the barrier raised by nationalism. It is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to give candidates a real understanding of the situation by describing it. What can be done is to help them to learn how to put themselves in other people's shoes. This will enable them to adjust themselves to the situation when they come into direct contact with it.

Thirdly, there is the rapid development of government systems of education. The danger to Christian schools in many instances comes from those who have high standards and ideals and who feel Christian schools are not doing work that is educationally good enough. If Christian education is to hold its own those engaged in it must be properly equipped and it is desirable that there should be in each area one or two outstanding Christian educators.

Fourthly, the world is becoming every year more complex and more highly organized. New departments of life are being brought under the influence of scientific knowledge. It is impossible to exaggerate the significance of the fact that the scientific methods which have achieved so much in giving man control over natural forces are now being applied

to the processes of the human mind. The relations between men are also becoming increasingly those between classes and groups. Our conception of the missionary task needs to be enlarged. The Christian witness has to be borne in relation to these new worlds which are coming into existence. The tendency of the missionary movement in the past has been to conceive of human life in the main as geographically extended in space. It is undoubtedly part of the missionary task to bring the Gospel within the reach of each individual in the world, but it is also part of the task to bear the Christian witness in relation to the whole of human life. The new continents of human experience which have come into existence as the result of the industrial revolution, the growth of scientific knowledge and the development of the modern state, need to be evangelized as well as the physical continents of Asia and Africa. These are part of the new situation which candidates prepared to set forth the Eternal Gospel must meet. The situation is overwhelming, not only in itself but as it bears upon the selection and preparation of missionaries. But God is not apart from it but within it; vital impulses of life are infectious and can be caught from those who see. And those who see communicate to others: hence all is contained in going on learning, progressive growth being the safeguard against discouragement.

The Situation in the Home Church

Again and again during its sessions the conference turned from the situation in the mission field towards which candidates are going to that in the home Church from whence they come. Behind the differences and similarities of the statements made by the continental delegates and the conditions existing in North America and Great Britain there lie the realities of life. The history, not only of missionary societies but of the Church itself in country after country—its founding, its reformation, the influences which have played upon it, the leaders it has produced—is inter-

woven into the paragraphs on pages 385–9 which, read without imagination, seem trite and dull. If the whole range of missionary preparation represented in the conference—including America and Great Britain—be visualized, the shades of Martin Luther, of John Calvin, of John Knox, of the Pilgrim Fathers, of John Wesley, of the leaders of the Evangelical and Oxford Movements, are there for seeing eyes.

The candidates now passing through committee rooms or grouped in training centres are an epitome, for the most part, of the church history of their country as well as material for the making of history in coming days. The moulds of thought into which life has set itself claim reverence at the home base as in the mission field, even though, here as there, fuller truth needs to play upon them and do its liberating work. It is curious to recall that some who approach with respect the forms of thought and custom resulting from ancient religions in non-Christian lands wax impatient over the deposit left by currents of religious life in the Churches of the West. Others who find hope in the surgings of newly generated life in distant continents are impressed with the peril of the release of any imperfectly disciplined thought at home.

Few problems of richer human interest have arisen than that of the relation of the recurring generations of students to those responsible for the selection and preparation of missionaries. There are to-day, of course, countries in which the two groups are so far asunder that the problem scarcely exists. It is also true that students and board secretaries differ among themselves almost as much as from one another. There are some things which neither side—if it be fitting to speak of ' sides ' on such a vital issue—can rightly surrender, but where there is in both a spirit of reality and humility and a common allegiance to Jesus Christ a way of understanding is found.

It is at least a possibility that the recent generations of students in the home Church have special fitness for meeting the present generation abroad. One of the most

significant contributions to the discussions was a sympathetic analysis, by a highly qualified teacher now the candidate secretary of a British mission board, of the present unrest among elementary teachers as they try to square principles learned in college and the new psychology with actual facts in schools, where the relation between self-control and self-expression has to be worked out in life. The flood of new light is blinding for the moment and creates a sense of uncertainty which is arresting offers to serve in more difficult spheres abroad. Yet the very unsettlement may open the way to those larger conceptions of education for which the mission field is waiting, and may lead to a future supply of teachers more deeply rooted in living principles and delivered from the bondage of set ideas. To have suffered from the realized problem of adapting education to life is no small equipment for the modern mission field.

Evidence laid before the conference shows that the features characteristic of the mission field to-day appeal strongly to the best student mind. The call to brotherhood, to fellowship with national aspirations, to serve the waxing Church rather than the waning mission, to bring the Christian Gospel into every realm of life, meets with keen response. But a balanced interpretation is needed in the presentation of the present situation in the colleges. It is easy to create generalization which is wider than fact. The growth of the native Church has not yet made missionary reinforcements needless. Relatively unworked or poorly worked areas still constitute the greater part of the world. It is not highly specialized workers who alone are needed now. Enthusiasm for native leadership may be developed into a championship which credits all board secretaries and the bulk of the missionaries with being at cross purposes with the aspirations of the Church on the field. It is not unknown for university students who have acquired knowledge of the situation abroad to write themselves down as unqualified to meet it, while candidates of lesser knowledge and simpler outlook press forward to be trained.

No conference with a membership so mature and representative could ignore the gravity of the missionary issues raised by the deep divergence of view in the home Churches on Biblical and theological questions, with the resulting nebulousness of message in some quarters and the heavy emphasis in others on special aspects of truth. But at Kingsmead, as at other international gatherings, the confidence bred of a common binding allegiance created a spirit not only of fellowship but of hope. Each renewed affirmation that the missionary task was primarily the presentation of a vital Christian message brought with it the conviction that the day draws near when present discord shall be resolved into higher harmonies.

Expression was given to the sense that the home Churches were not fully playing their part in the equipment of future missionaries. Candidates, other than those who had studied theology in college or university, were often found lacking in intelligent knowledge of the Bible and of Christian doctrine, even when they came from missionary-hearted congregations. The pity of the frequent experience of character that was already, even in the early twenties, beginning to set on narrow and inflexible lines, and, on the other hand, of lack of habits of self-control in those whose adolescent years had been given over to undisciplined self-expression was reverted to many times. So was the lack of well-directed Christian service as a natural and early sequel to church membership. The fulfilment of the Church's neglected duties towards its younger members was being thrust upon institutions commissioned to prepare candidates for work abroad.

Conditions in the Church at the home base were found to be central factors in missionary work.

Some Questions Discussed

It has already been indicated that the conference aimed at the consideration of principles rather than of methods,

and formulated no findings as the result of its work. An attempt is made here to summarize some of the problems stated and the opinions expressed.

Character and Christian Personality. A delegate from India said: Personality is what counts. The essentials are humility, without which there is no capacity for growth, and missionaries who do not grow are failures; willingness to use the experience of others and to appreciate points of view differing from one's own; willingness to be at the disposal of Indian leadership. The situation does not demand gifts of leadership but the greater gift of inspiring and fostering leaders. The Church wants servants and saints, men and women of prayer with lives full of self-discipline who for others' sake will sanctify themselves; above all, men and women who are sure of God, sure of Christ, quite sure of their purpose in going abroad and of the foundations on which their faith rests, their desire to bring others to know God as Father in Christ Jesus. India urged by letter the need for open-mindedness and sympathy, the ability to relate oneself to unfamiliar and rapidly changing situations, and the willingness to see the Spirit of God operating in ways to which one is not used and at which one may even be somewhat dismayed. It is unfair to send out people who are not spiritually able to meet not only the physical drag of climate but continual disappointment, continual criticism, and a constant sense, if they are people of imagination, of vast opportunities barely grasped. It was felt that such perfected missionary character does not pertain to the candidate. Saintship is made through the long trial of life. In the candidate who might mature into such a missionary, restrained courage, a certain form of gravity entirely harmonious with light-heartedness and merriment, a capacity for appreciating relationships with other people, and a spirit of unconscious self-forgetfulness might be looked for. Such a man would have 'the capacity to become.' Among other points made in connexion with the selection of candidates were these: weakness and unadaptability are sometimes mistaken for the immaturity which only lacks opportunity to grow; if character does not show promise at twenty-three years of age there is doubt as to its development for missionary work; there is at present more danger of unsuitable people being sent out than of suitable ones being refused. Difficult characters who fail at home should not be expected to make good abroad. The impossibility of estimating character in brief personal interviews made clear the need of evidence gathered from trustworthy persons who really know the candidate—a group of students still at the university specially urged this. For the sake alike of the candidate and of the mission field, the earlier period of training should be probationary.

The Development of Character through Community Life. The corporate life of a college, with its constant interchange of thought, its atmosphere of common life and work, its constant demands for right relationship, its opportunities for corporate worship and the strengthening of the devotional life,

plays a large part in the formation of character. But such corporate life might be too long continued and the segregation might have peril. Character grows in doing things in contact with the realities of life. Lengthy segregation is specially hard on the professional candidate who comes to it from the rough and tumble of life. In a theological college it breeds men whose preaching is out of touch with human needs. Some able missionary women feared 'the seminary point of view' in missionary preparation, where sincere, earnest and long-continued efforts result in turning out candidates mentally, morally and spiritually of a particular type. The value of self-government in institutional life as breaking down barriers and routine was urged. Some penetrating words were spoken as to the importance of opportunities for culture and recreation during training—art, music, drama, literature—and the value of hobbies as tending to wholesome-mindedness in missionaries. Capacity to live alone without growing narrow and impoverished is as essential as fitness for association with others. The chairman balanced the issues of the discussion: Institutions give opportunity for training character. But every great truth has its converse. The missionary institution may be the most dangerous thing in the world. A talent is formed in isolation, but a character in the stress of the world. When William James[1] visited the perfectly planned town of Chatauqua, with its painful order, its monotony of goodness, ice-cream sodas its only drink, he emerged with a burst of relief into the real world of toil and struggle where counterforces gave zest to life. The 'element of precipitousness' is essential to true development. The greatness of communion with Christ is only discovered when confronted with the greatness of opposition in life.

Preparation for Educational Work. The educational situation abroad and the new thought which is transforming educational conceptions at home, as presented by the chairman and in several memoranda, raised vital issues in regard to the selection and equipment of missionaries. The general recognition that normal training is required for school work abroad must expand and deepen to something much more varied if present claims are to be met. There is demand for specialists for high-grade college posts; for those with gifts for large administrative and supervisory work; for missionaries qualified to develop industrial and agricultural education; for those who can apply the best modern educational thought to the problems of the mission field. Education is called into the very forefront of missionary work; it needs men and women who can explore and experiment, who can adapt education to life. It was felt that further equipment was needed in regard to religious education, with a view to the cultivation of Bible knowledge, of worship, and of the spirit of Christian service in the home, in day and Sunday schools, in the congregation and in the community.

The Presentation of the Christian Message. It was recognized on behalf of the younger generation that in these days of confusion and unsettlement,

[1] *Talks to Teachers.* London: Longmans. pp. 268–72.

when men are breaking away from convention and searching for reality, the expression of the Christian message tended to be less clear cut than in former days. Time for reconstruction was needed, and sympathy for those beset with the problems of the age. Yet the missionary belies his name if he has not a living message, based in a growing personal knowledge of God, and enriched by the mental discipline of study and thought. To present the Christian message in the mission field to-day calls for fuller equipment than has been provided yet. There is burning need that time and full opportunity be given for entering into the deeper meaning of the Christian revelation, as interpreted through the study of the Bible, the experience of the Church, and in the fresh light from science and scholarship. This great unfolding of truth through the present work of the Divine Spirit was seen as the rightful heritage of every missionary, ordained or lay, man or woman. In particular it was felt difficult to justify the prevailing practice of accepting a much lower standard of theological preparation for women than for men, in view of the wide range of religious teaching now in the hands of women missionaries, and their responsibility in preparing girls and women for church membership.

Approach to the People. In his own country the man with a living Christian message starts from a heritage of custom, thought and language common to him and those whom he would win. In new surroundings, amid men of differing race, those things which are allies in the home land are grave barriers to approach. Two subjects were specially discussed.

Social Anthropology, a science to which missionaries have made notable contribution, was shown to be no mere matter of curious interest but a study whereby missionaries might learn how to avoid mistaken actions which would prejudice their influence, and how to interpret mental processes inexplicable without such a clue. Knowledge of the meaning of customs and thought of the people furnishes rich store of illustrative material to bring the presentation of the Gospel home to mind and heart. It is obvious that local details must be learned on the mission field, but the necessity for adequate general preparation beforehand was powerfully urged. The main address given on this subject will be published in an early number of the Review.

Language Study. In a weighty memorandum submitted by five members of the staff of the School of Oriental Studies (London University)—four of whom had been missionaries—the following points were made: A mastery of the vernacular of the people among whom he works is essential for the missionary even though he may be able to do a certain amount of work through the medium of English (recognition was readily given in subsequent discussion to the group of missionaries who have never learned a language but have done distinguished work—exceptions prove the rule); the average level of proficiency attained by missionaries in the vernacular is regrettably, and even dangerously low (the German delegate, one of the greatest living

authorities on African languages, found this challenging statement 'not strong enough'); the ability of candidates to learn a language should be tested by a phonetically trained teacher before money is spent on general preparation—an adverse report being taken as seriously as an adverse medical opinion; the assignment of candidates to language areas should be made, if possible, a year before sailing, to allow of special preparatory practical study in phonetics and modern language related to their future vernacular; on reaching the field no responsibility should be put upon the new missionary which would hinder his acquiring facility in the use of the vernacular (a missionary delegate on his first furlough reported that full responsibility fell on him the day after he landed in Africa and that he had scarcely touched language study at all); where language schools do not exist on the field steps should be taken to train a sufficient number of whole-time native teachers in the best modern methods; in language examinations more stress should be laid on practical ability to use the language than upon knowledge of systematic grammar; leisure and opportunity should be given on first furlough for systematic study of the vernacular literature and in some cases of the classical language and literature. That the conference was thoroughly convinced was shown in the discussion which followed; action has already begun to result.

Duration of Missionary Preparation. Attempts to arrive at any consensus of opinion as to the duration of training failed, because there is no such thing as 'a candidate' and therefore there cannot truly be 'a training scheme.' The endless varieties of temperament, of experience, of previous education, of capacity to assimilate new knowledge and to react to new stimuli, found among candidates must be reflected in the training given. If adaptability is to be characteristic of missionaries it must be characteristic of the places where they prepare for their future work. Preparation should be long enough to give the individual what will help him to attain his best possibilities. Its duration should not be governed by temporary exigencies abroad, or by shortage of money, or by the rigid requirements of an inflexible curriculum.

Furlough Study. Increasing provision for this was reported from every home base. Specialization was found profitable at the end of the first term of service when a man's gifts have been discovered and the best line for his work has become clear. Men are writing home long in advance of their furlough to see what provision can be made to meet their need. The international development is of great significance. North America offers opportunities not available in Europe. The interchange between European countries in furlough study grows yearly. Two useful cautions were given: If furlough is divided between rest, study and visitation of the home Church, rest must not be the element crowded out; it is a mistake to emphasize furlough training at the expense of adequate preparation before coming out. An Indian memorandum says: 'It is simply waste of time, if a man or woman is clearly marked out for school work, to postpone educational training till

furlough. When a missionary doing evangelistic work develops unexpected ability for rural education then furlough training will be a godsend to him.'

The Preparation of Missionaries on the Field. The farthest outlook on missionary preparation was related to preparation on the mission field. Language schools, of course, exist in several countries; a memorandum from India shows that the inquiry instituted by the International Missionary Council on training schools in the field is already well under way. But the conference looked towards more. Should the experiment of sending English missionary students to complete their course in an Indian Christian college be repeated, one favourable test case being already known? Could other outgoing missionaries follow the example of a delegate who had spent his first year in an Indian Christian home and greatly gained thereby? Were other mission boards likely to follow Holland in desiring a training centre for advanced studies on the field? Would it be wise, in view of present unsettlement in thought, to send out a few European or American students, loyal in personal devotion to Christ but not yet stabilized in their general theological positions, for probationary work under selected sympathetic senior missionaries, postponing official interviews until their return and making acceptance contingent on favourable reports from the field? If a training home in India, and for Indian and foreign women workers, were opened, as adumbrated in one of the memoranda, would it receive the support of the societies at home? None of these questions could have their answer yet.

The work done in many lands in preparation for the conference was fruitful; the work which seems likely to follow it will be more fruitful still. Already in mission houses and training centres the discussions are being used as starting points for fresh thought and action.

Those who Select and Train

The final topic suggested for consideration in the pre-conference syllabus was that of the qualifications required in those who select and train missionary candidates. The groups in training centres and mission houses did not shirk the searching task of such discussions. It was possible for them to set a standard for others because they stood under it themselves. Slightly abbreviated extracts from several British, American and continental memoranda are given here.

From a women's candidates' committee in a British mission house:—Members of a candidates' committee should be chosen for their sympathy,

discernment and judgment. Among them should be representatives of the various professions from which candidates come; women who have served in the mission field; some of an age contemporary with the candidates; some old enough to have had varied experience of life and to know the traditions of the society. They should have capacity to keep in mind the needs overseas as well as the desires and aspirations of the individual candidate. Imagination and sympathy are essential to those who interview, in order that the candidate's point of view may be realized. . . . In those who train candidates personality is of primary importance, together with capacity for understanding the needs of individuals, of showing a truth without forcing it, of leading to a right choice without making it, of building without moulding.

From a secretarial group (men and women) in another British mission house:—The corporate bodies who select should have a representation of people who know the conditions in the society's fields, but the greater need is to have power to judge character with common sense guided by the Spirit. The greatest enemy is sentimentalism, the refusal to face hard and unpleasant facts. . . . We secretaries may sympathize so much with a candidate's brave fight against disadvantage as to forget to ask ourselves whether the candidate really has the qualifications required or the power to develop them. The consequences of any mistake falls upon the missionaries in the field.

The staff of women of a women's missionary college in England find that those who select and train require the same qualities as do missionaries—openness to God and life, inward sincerity and insight, ability to discern and willingness to follow truth at all costs as it is revealed.

The Dean of a long-established School of Missions in America writes:—Among the qualifications of those who select and train missionary candidates I would mention a devout and deep personal religious life; sympathy with the candidate's point of view, his problems and difficulties; familiarity with the problems of the mission field (either of one field through experience, or of all through study, observation and investigation); ability to discover the hidden powers of unpromising candidates and the lack of power of application and growth in some apparently able and thoroughly trained candidates.

From the Director of a Canadian (non-residential) School of Missions:—Those who deal with candidates need a general and loving interest in people which will see the candidates as persons, not cases; a kindly approachability—as a friend first and an official after; shrewd common sense and frankness; insight into and respect for personality; a belief in the candidate's capacity for growth; painstaking thoroughness; perseverance in maintaining contact with the candidate through the years of preparation and afterwards.

A veteran Professor of Missions in America lays most stress on a personal experience of a life hid with Christ in God, at once sincere, continuous, transforming and contagious as the prime desideratum. It implies the use of agencies which secure 'the practice of the presence of God.'

From Switzerland it is urged that as the work requires special experience

and mistakes are very costly, men and women should as a rule serve on candidates' committees for long periods and devote a considerable time to their task. The work is too important to be left to one secretary. He needs the collaboration of men and women of prayer.

From Sweden:—Those who select and train candidates must be spiritual personalities; they must have a living idea of the new situation abroad, if possible through direct study; they must possess a keen psychological eye and be able to trust men.

The greatest reality in the conference was the Presence of God. His call to 'come on' was the originating force of every response worth making; missionary vocation was of His giving; the selection of candidates was His separating work; in the shaping of character He was the Workman—life, the agencies set up for training, the co-operation of the individual, were His tools. He who in founding the Church fashioned faulty men into an apostolate was still 'the One in the midst.' He was there to be known in every mission house and training centre; in every college or congregation or home where His future missionaries are. He was Lord of the complex situations in near and distant lands. The strengthening historicity, the arresting newness of His working fixed every hope for future days on Him.

G. A. Gollock

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

By WILLIAM PATON

Of all the many forms which Christian education takes in India, there is perhaps none round which more uncertainty has gathered and in regard to which less of defined policy exists than industrial education. This fact has been thrown into relief by the attention given in all parts of India to the general question of rural education, especially since the visit of the Commission on Village Education; words such as 'vocational,' frequently and loosely used, are taking a definite content, and it is felt that the place of industrial education, its real significance and its relation to other parts of an educational scheme, all need to be defined. This conviction was the source of the conference held, in response to a widely expressed desire, at Allahabad at the end of March of the present year. It was attended by about thirty people from all parts of North, Central, and Western India and from Bengal. Unfortunately the half-dozen persons who had intended to be present from South India were prevented by one or another cause, and the conference was therefore deprived of that valuable source of experience, except in so far as letters and papers supplied the lack.

The object of this paper is to sketch the main issues in regard to the conduct, by missionary and Christian bodies, of industrial education, as they were revealed in the long and detailed discussions of the conference. The report of the conference will itself supply the detail which must be lacking here; our aim is to survey the main principles which in the view of this representative body of people ought to be borne in mind.

The first point which came out strongly in the conference and may be mentioned here is the necessity that a new con-

ception of the meaning and importance of industrial education be accepted by both missions and Churches. It was felt that industrial education of a kind had often been started because of some particular emergency, as for instance the necessity for finding support for famine orphans ; and that too often boys were sent to an industrial school not because they had shown any particular fitness or aptitude for industrial work but because they had proved unsuitable for further literary education. There is a widespread spirit of criticism on the part of Indian Christians in regard to mission industrial schools, and very few Christian padres and workers are willing for their own boys to be trained for industry. The main reason for this is that it is felt that this type of education is the Cinderella of the missionary educator, and that a boy who is subjected to it is more or less branded for life. At the same time Indian Christian conferences, like other gatherings of Indians, are alive to the fact that the industrialization of India is proceeding apace, and that the economic needs of the country make it essential that there should be a large growth in the industries of India. The members of the conference therefore united in the conviction that the first need is that the education of Christians for industry be considered on its own merits in relation to the changing needs of the country, and for a complete abandonment of the too frequent attitude which regards industrial education as a *pis aller*.

The conference set itself to define and distinguish what can properly be called industrial education. It passed the following resolution :

> The distinctive function of industrial education is that of trade teaching, that is, the preparation of boys and girls for specific occupations, as far as possible under conditions which will enable them to take their place, in due time, in the industrial life of the country, whether in the village or in the city.

During the discussions nothing was more clearly and keenly felt than this, that the training of a boy for industry is a different thing from the including of educational handwork

in the ordinary curriculum, and that these two things, both highly important, are to be clearly distinguished. On the one hand it was considered essential that when a pupil has reached the point where he can be trained for a specific vocation, such as industry, the atmosphere in which the work is done ought as far as possible to be that not of the school but of the workshop, and that he should as speedily as possible begin to relate himself to the conditions under which work is done in the world. Only for such definite training for the vocation of industry was it felt that the term industrial education should be employed.

On the other hand there was strong conviction that it is virtually impossible to train for industry a boy or girl who has had no previous manual training, and no resolution was passed more enthusiastically than that which called for the inclusion, in the curricula of the middle and primary school, of educational handwork :

> The foundation for industrial training must be sought in the school or schools through which the pupils have already passed. A pupil who has had no manual training and has not learned to use his hands is at a serious disadvantage in learning a trade. We consider that the greatest obstacle to the improvement of industrial education lies in the nature of the curriculum of the ordinary Indian primary and middle school, which gives no opportunity for the development of the wonderful manual aptitude found in so many Indian children. It is essential, both from the point of view of pure education and as regards preparation for later vocational training, that in the primary and middle school educational handwork should find an adequate place.

It will be a long time before the curriculum of the Indian school reflects the operation of this principle, but changes may come more quickly than we think. There is an increasing number of educationists, foreign and Indian, Christian and non-Christian, who realize the educational value of handwork, and it may be that advance and reform are nearer than in our pessimism we are apt to believe.

With this distinction between educational handwork and industrial education proper, the conference linked the importance of the place taken by what is now called the

Community Middle School, the school sketched in the Report of the Commission on Village Education in India, and now associated especially with the name of Moga. It is of course recognized that, as things are, a considerable number of boys will be sent to industrial schools before they have even reached the middle school, but it was thought that stress should be laid on the community middle school as the place where normally boys would be sifted and tested, and where it would be discovered what type of work or further training they could most profitably pursue. In the Moga school, owing to the enthusiasm for teaching which permeates the whole institution, the bulk of the boys pass on to the training classes. There is, however, no reason why both a teacher-training institute, and an industrial school, and possibly also an agricultural school, should not be attached to the community middle school, and boys leave the middle school (whether having passed through all the classes or leaving half-way through the middle school course) to go on to whatever further training might be selected. In the case of industrial training a boy would not need to go farther than the second class of the middle school, but it was felt that that ideal should be aimed at, and that no better foundation for industrial training could be devised than a preliminary education on the lines of the new type of primary and middle community school, up to the grade suggested.

The conference discussed at considerable length the age at which pupils should be taken into the industrial school and begin specific training for industry. There was general agreement that this should not be done before the age of thirteen or fourteen.

On the question of the curriculum for the industrial school a good deal of work was done and the conference endeavoured to distinguish clearly between the different types of school. There is, in the first place, the need for industrial schools of a relatively simple type which look towards the industries of the village and the countryside

and prepare boys for those industries. Such schools will teach subjects such as weaving, the manufacture of clay products, cane and bamboo work, leather work and rope-making, village carpentry and blacksmithy. If they are to be successful such schools ought to be situated in rural areas. The other type of school will be placed in an urban location and will look towards the industries of the city and the more developed industrial regions. Schools of this type will teach such subjects as the following: carpentry, blacksmithy, fitting, motor mechanics, work in sheet metal, foundry work, engine driving, and printing. No one school would teach all these subjects, but a selection would be made in accordance with the needs and opportunities of the district. While it was felt that existing experience indicated to some extent the right lines on which curricula for these two types of school might be drawn up, there was a definite conviction that expert educational knowledge needs to be devoted to this work, and that really suitable courses can only be drafted by those who have thought out the nature of the various processes to be taught in relation to sound educational principle. The same is true of the training of teachers for industrial schools. There is very great need for the thinking out of the best method of training teachers of industries. It is essential that they should have passed through the full practical course in a school of the type in which they are to teach, and that the pedagogical training they receive should not be merely general but definitely related to the subjects later to be taught. The question of the training of teachers is of course the crux of the whole situation and in view of the scarcity of people who have any qualifications for the training of industrial teachers it was felt that the practical necessity for co-operation in such training could not well be exaggerated.

One of the points to which every industrial mission school in India has to give its attention is that of the following up of the training given. Granted that a boy has been trained in an atmosphere of genuine hard work, how is he

to be launched into the world of industry? In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he will have no resources of his own, and he will have somehow to acquire a sufficient capital in money or in tools to enable him to make a start for himself, unless he can secure a place as an apprentice or skilled worker in some large undertaking. Several valuable pieces of evidence were given as to the methods already being adopted to secure the launching of the trained pupil in industry. There is always the danger that a boy having acquired a sufficient modicum of training to enable him to make a small living may leave the school when he is still only half trained. Several schools have adopted a system whereby some part of the earnings of the pupil is put aside for him and further sums added, the whole being available if the boy stays until he is trained completely. There is also the institution of the finishing school where the trained pupil spends some time working as a regular workman at an economic wage, under regular workshop conditions, and thus, before he leaves the institution altogether, storing up a certain amount of capital to help him in his future career.

There was unanimous feeling against the conduct by missions of industrial commercial concerns apart from any definite bearing on education. Leaving aside the special case of mission presses, which are the response to a definite need and have achieved great success, the history of mission industries of a commercial and non-educational type appears, in the main, to be a history of failure. This is due mainly to two causes: one, the difficulty of ensuring a continuous supply of trained management, and the other, the danger of attaching a large section of a local Christian community to an industrial concern run by the mission, the evils inherent in such a course being sufficiently obvious.

As was to be expected, very careful attention was given to the question of finance, and the report of the conference contains three typical budgets framed for three different

types of school,—one a very simple rural industrial school, one a somewhat elaborate urban industrial school, and the third intermediate between these two. (The instances are actual ones drawn from different parts of the country.) It was agreed that industrial education, if it is to be education, cannot be self-supporting, that is to say, while the industrial school, especially if it has a finishing department, will earn a certain amount, perhaps a considerable amount, of money, it is not possible, if the pupil is to be educated and not used merely as an unskilled hand, for him to earn his keep while he is being trained. It was remarked somewhat bitterly by several members of the conference that they were frequently asked, as soon as they mentioned that they were in charge of an industrial school, 'What profit do you make?' 'Nobody,' they said, 'expects other kinds of school to run at a profit, and why should we be expected to educate boys at a profit?' It is important to emphasize the fact once more that the conference was not in favour of subsidized mission industry and that its insistence on the fact that industrial education cannot be self-supporting is not inconsistent with that. If a workshop is conducted with the object of making profits, the best way to ensure that end will be to practise division of labour, whereby a boy will learn, let us say, to make one leg of a chair, another boy to make the seat, and so on. If boys are being taught to make a whole chair there will be less profits but more education. At the same time it was felt to be educationally necessary that the atmosphere and conditions of work should approximate as closely as possible to those of industrial activity and that no ground should be given for the often-repeated criticism that the boy trained in a mission industrial school does not know how to work.

It was pointed out by several delegates that in the great industrial regions of India a need existed, in some places an acute need, for hostels for young Christian apprentices and workmen, and it was decided to urge upon the several Provincial Christian Councils that they should take up this

task and see that the need is met, as by united action it could be met. One member, who came from the coal and iron region on the borders of Bengal and Orissa—' the Pittsburg of India '—urged most earnestly that the Christian Church should unitedly give its attention to the vast and serious problems entailed by the very existence of large scale modern industry in a country like India.

In some ways the most important resolutions of the conference were at the same time the most general :

> The Conference considers that in order to assist missions and Churches in forming decisions as to the places in which industrial training should be developed or strengthened, it is necessary that a thorough survey of the ground should be made, including all existing Christian institutions for industrial education, their success and failure; the facilities for industrial education and the training of teachers afforded by Government; the economic needs and tendencies of the country so far as they bear on this subject; and urges that such a survey should be undertaken by the National Christian Council.
>
> The Conference considers that the contact of Christian missions with the industrial life of the country should have as its final end the application of Christian principles to industrial conditions and the avoidance of the failures of the West; and it holds that one value of Christian activity in industrial education is the opening thereby made for influencing on the social side the new industrial development of the country.
>
> The Conference considers that this meeting marks only the beginning of the work that is needed in the field of industrial education and urges upon the National and Provincial Christian Councils that they should apply themselves to the problems involved, both by carrying out the survey already mentioned and by aiding the Churches and missions to make plans in co-operation with one another and where possible with Government and other agencies, for energetic action along the lines indicated in these recommendations.

Those who have given most thought to the subject are most aware of the immense complexity and difficulty of it. The economic forces working in modern India cannot be radically affected by anything which the missions or Churches can do, but they *can be understood*, and unless they are understood not only can little be done in the way of industrial education but great problems relating to the economic life of the Christian community will remain unsolved. It is a

somewhat ironical circumstance that while the movement associated with Mr Gandhi's name stands opposed to the extension of western industry in India, the Indian members of the Fiscal Commission plead for the ' intense industrialization ' of India. What the future holds no man can say, but it appears to be quite inconceivable that the present flowing tide of industrialism can be effectively stayed, nor does it appear at all clearly right that it should be stayed. For the Christian movement, however, two things stand out quite clear : the first, that the situation must be studied thoroughly and understood; the second, that Christian principles and standards must be brought to bear upon it. Surely there can be no way in which Christian influence can be brought to bear so effectively as by Christian men taking their place in the industrial life of the country and the Christian Church having a mind and a body of opinion of its own on the subject.

It is to these things that we have now to address our attention, and it should be one of the tasks of the National Christian Council to see that this is done. Those who have been in touch with the conference held in England on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship are full of hope that help and guidance may come to us in India from the work done there. There can be little doubt that the un-Christianity of the western industrial system is one mighty argument in the mind of the non-Christian world against the validity of Christianity. It may well be that by recreating industry by the power of the Christian ethic, and removing the stains and blots that mar the industrial civilization of the West, the Church may both help India in a uniquely important way and at the same time afford the most convincing proof of the power of the Gospel.

William Paton

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCE IN INDIAN EDUCATION

By W. MESTON

In previous articles two problems connected with Indian education have been dealt with. The first was: By what means shall the State best exercise its control over the educational system of the country? And the answer suggested was: By means of a comprehensive scheme of devolution which entrusts the power of control to educational authorities on which the various educational interests are represented. The second was: What forms of management are best calculated to advance the educational purpose of the State? And the answer given was: Those forms of management which are supplied by local bodies and private effort. There remains a third problem: How shall the educational system best be financed so that good education may be extended as widely and as speedily as possible? The answer to this question which results from a study of the facts will be found to afford some measure of justification for the answers rendered to the two problems already considered.

I

As soon as we begin to look into the facts we find that there is not a little doubt as to whether education is being financed in the most satisfactory fashion. It is true that there is all too little money available for education, but in this India does not stand alone. Like other countries it sees the day of opportunity and realizes the insufficiency of means to take advantage of it. Yet that does not mean that money is not being spent on education. The United Provinces spend 15 per cent of their revenue on education,

and taking India as a whole we find that the average amount expended by the various provinces out of their provincial revenues on education is 12 per cent. It is calculated that in the year ending 31st March 1922 there were spent in British India eleven and a half crores of rupees on the education of men and one crore and a half on the education of women. If to these amounts is added what was spent on administration and inspection and other indirect items of expenditure it is found that the total expended on education comes to considerably over eighteen crores of rupees, or in English currency twelve and a quarter million pounds. Compared with the expenditure at the end of the preceding quinquennium this shows an advance of over seven crores. It is clear therefore not only that a large sum of money is being spent by the State in India on the promotion of education but also that the expenditure is progressive, the amount being roughly a million pounds additional per annum. But is this amount of money being spent to best advantage? The answer to this is important because while the lean years continue resources must be made to go as far as possible, and when with the return of prosperity expansion can be undertaken on a more adequate scale the extent of that expansion will depend on the sound financial principles which are adopted. Doubts as to the soundness of the principles which are followed at present are raised by several considerations.

For one thing, the recently published *Quinquennial Review* of the Progress of Education in India from 1917 to 1922 has to admit that these five years do 'not disclose much change in the content of primary education. Nor, taking India as a whole, do they record any general advance in the battle with illiteracy. As ascertained at the census of 1921, the number of literates in India was 22,623,651, or in other words 72 per mille (122 in the case of men and 18 in that of women). These figures show a slight improvement since the census of 1911 when the number of literates in India was computed to be only 59 per mille, i.e. 106 for

men and 10 for women; but they are less than might be expected from the numbers under instruction.' To this it might be added that they are less than might have been expected from the efforts made and the careful plans laid. For instance, an elaborate scheme for the advance of primary education was undertaken by the Government of the United Provinces during the last quinquennium and many details are given by the Director of Public Instruction of that province in his last report. In their review of that report, Government say, 'The total recurring expenditure on primary education has risen during the quinquennium by 148 per cent, yet the increase in the number of pupils is far from being proportionate to the increase in expenditure.' To pass from the north to the south, the Director of Public Instruction in Madras says in his quinquennial report after mentioning certain statistics, 'The above figures show that while there has been a slight improvement in the three highest standards there has been an actual decline in the duration of school life of pupils in the lower standards.' As things stand it certainly looks as if a large amount of money was being expended with little appreciable benefit to the community. And this suggests a second consideration. Not a few institutions of the secondary and collegiate grades narrowly miss being to the community what they might be if they could command a little more money. With a comparatively small addition to their income they might become, through larger and more effective staffs, through better equipped libraries and laboratories, real centres of knowledge which would exert a thoroughly stimulating influence. Without that small addition they continue ordinary, struggling schools with potentialities unrealized. Thus the educational system as a whole is weakened because throughout it there are institutions which fail of their promise through the failure of the State so to distribute its resources as to give adequate encouragement to schools that deserve it. And there is a third consideration. On a small number of institutions, those namely which are

managed by Government, large sums are being spent; and these sums bear no relation to the comparatively small sums which are being spent from provincial revenues towards the support of the schools and colleges on which the main burden of the education of the country falls. Throughout India, Government manages 42 arts colleges, attended by somewhat under 11,000 students, and the cost to provincial revenues is over thirty-three lakhs of rupees. Private effort maintains 108 arts colleges with an attendance of over 34,000 students, and it receives from provincial funds under fifteen lakhs of rupees. In the field of secondary education Government educates 113,072 pupils at a cost of sixty-one lakhs; while local bodies educate 308,248 pupils (almost three times as many) at a cost to provincial funds of twenty-seven lakhs. This disproportion invites fuller consideration, and it certainly raises doubts as to the satisfactoriness of the manner in which the system of education is financed.

The facts that have to be kept in mind, the facts which call for a revision of the present financial method in regard to education, are, amongst others, first, that on elementary education 'much of the money spent is a waste of public funds'; second, that in secondary and higher education the best results are being missed by an unsatisfactory distribution of public funds; and third, that on a small group of institutions a disproportionately large amount of money is being spent from public funds.

II

The third of these facts may be taken up first. It raises the question: Is it possible to justify a very large expenditure of public funds on a comparatively small number of institutions? My belief is that no valid justification can now be adduced. The latest statistics show that the government arts colleges and secondary and elementary schools are attended by 220,000 pupils and cost

provincial revenues more than a crore of rupees; while those managed by boards are attended by thirty lakhs of pupils at a cost to provincial funds of less than two and a half crores; and those managed by private agencies are attended by forty-three lakhs of pupils and cost provincial revenues less than a crore and a half. The United Provinces Government educates 691 arts students at a cost of Rs. 3,58,818; private effort in the same province educates 4591 arts students at a cost to public funds of Rs. 4,96,166, or almost seven times as many students as there are in government colleges at the cost of one additional lakh. In the last year's budget of the Madras Government provision was made for arts colleges in such a way that the sum set apart to meet the increase in the cost of the ten government colleges over the cost of the previous year was greater than the total amount of grant given to the thirty-one non-government arts colleges. In the present year's budget of the same Government the total amount set down for building grants to the large number of non-government arts colleges corresponds to the amount that is to be expended on additions to one government college. Figures might be multiplied, but the matter does not require to be laboured. In a previous article it was urged that the schools and colleges managed by Government had no claim to the monopoly of serving as models, and this was done on educational grounds. That contention is now re-enforced by financial considerations. It is clear that could municipal, local, or aided managements spend on their institutions sums with even a faint approximation to what Governments can spend on theirs, there would be no scarcity of model schools. On financial as on educational grounds it is impossible to justify the maintenance of schools and colleges which benefit only one-thirtieth part of those who are being educated, and for this small benefit make such a disproportionate demand on public funds. Clearly then a transference of management is indicated, and if this is done there will be not only the educational advantages mentioned in the

previous article but also the setting free of considerable sums of money which will help towards a more adequate distribution of public funds for the advance of education. Even if the revenues of the country are little likely to increase for some time to come, there lies in the handing over of government institutions to non-departmental management a means whereby those who are fighting the present very unequal battle with illiteracy will receive a heartening increase of resources.

III

One of the most noticeable features of Indian education within recent years has been the growth of schools managed by local boards and municipalities. In 1912, to go no farther back than ten years, there were in round figures 29,300 schools with an attendance of 1,883,000 pupils under the management of local bodies; in 1922 there were 53,300 of these schools with over 3,000,000 pupils. This development is due in part to the growth of the desire for local self-government and in part to the policy of subsidizing these schools which has been given effect to for some time past. Now this policy raises the question: Is the present method of financing local bodies calculated to serve the best interests of education? It seems to me that the answer to this must be in the negative. The perusal of many reports and statistics leaves me with the conviction that the stability of education is not being secured and the aims of local self-government are not being attained. In justification of the present policy is claimed the support of the Government of India Resolution of 1913 on Educational Policy. In paragraph 11 of that Resolution one of the principles laid down for the expansion of primary education is that 'expansion should be secured by means of board schools, except where this is financially impossible, when aided schools under recognized management should be encouraged.' This position is regarded by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, both in his introduction to *Occasional*

Reports No. 12 and in his recently published *Quinquennial Review*, as so important as to mark a change of policy. I believe that the Government of India were desirous of introducing a departure from what had been their avowed policy up to that time; but they gave expression to this desire in a document which at not a few points is marked by opportunism rather than by statesmanship. The insistence on expansion by means of board schools which looks so absolute receives two modifications: one in the same paragraph, the other in paragraph 12. Both lay stress upon the fact that conditions vary greatly in different provinces, and that the principles are therefore to be applied 'with the necessary modifications due to local conditions.' It seems to me unfortunate that when one part of the Resolution is so often referred to by the Commissioner there is no indication of other parts which render the principle enunciated far from unconditional. I think it ought also to be added that when, soon after the publication of the Resolution, an educational association brought to the notice of the Government of Madras the principle set forth in paragraph 11 (iii), the Government drew the attention of the association to the modifying words with which the principle is introduced and indicated that they did not intend to alter their policy. But there are provinces which have given to the principle very full adherence. The Panjab, for instance, educates in its board schools four times as many elementary pupils as do aided schools, and the cost to public funds is ten times as great. In his quinquennial report on the education of the province the Director of Public Instruction draws attention to the need for economy when he is dealing with primary education for boys, and on page 91 he says, 'The second means of economy is the encouragement of private effort provided that that effort deserves support. It is possible that the five-year programme emphasized too strongly the necessity of converting private into board schools.' And he adds that since the close of the quinquennium further encouragement has been given

to aided schools by the action of Government in empowering local bodies to enhance their grants to these schools under certain conditions. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that in the United Provinces, which have placed much reliance on this principle of expansion, the advance in primary education has not been, in the opinion of the Government, proportionate to the increase of expenditure. The Director of Public Instruction of that province admits on page 80 of his quinquennial report that 'the expansion in primary education is not very creditable in view of the large expenditure.' In Bombay boards and municipalities educate 658,407 pupils of the elementary grade at a cost to their own funds of Rs. 33,46,976, which is so much below what is required that Government subsidizes them from public funds to the extent of Rs. 98,22,378.

Now it will be noticed that consideration of finance in regard to board schools very speedily raises a larger question. We may put it in some such form as this : Is the present method of financing boards and municipalities for educational purposes calculated to stimulate the spirit of local self-government ? In all the schemes for the advance of primary education this question requires to be steadily faced. It may be possible to have an expansion which is nominally by means of boards, but which is in reality little more than a departmental effort under another name. But while an expansion is always to be welcomed, the maintenance of that expansion is the really vital matter. And that maintenance is bound to depend in a large measure on the state of local feeling. If a locality so feels the worth of education that it is prepared to tax itself in order to promote it then there will be not only a forward effort but also the assurance of its continuance. If, however, a locality is of opinion that it can best discharge its duty towards education by making some contribution of its own which does not seriously affect its resources and then appealing to Government, with every assurance of success, for the major portion of what is required, the spirit of local self-

government is being discouraged and a premium is being set on a lukewarm attitude towards education. Now that there is danger of this deplorable result is indicated by not a few facts. A short table which appears on page 110 of the recently published *Quinquennial Review* is very significant. It shows the expenditure on primary schools for boys from various sources, and compares the expenditure at the 31st March 1922 with the corresponding date in 1917. Thus it is possible to see what has happened in the course of five years. The comparison shows that the Government has increased its expenditure on elementary education by over one crore and three-quarters, that private effort has increased its expenditure towards this object by over eleven lakhs, and that boards have reduced their expenditure by eight lakhs. Even making every allowance for adverse circumstances operating during the quinquennium the result is depressing. While Government is pouring into the coffers of local bodies large subsidies to promote elementary education these bodies are relaxing their efforts. It will be a bad day for the country when what is intended to be local effort becomes transformed into official effort, and when the spirit of self-reliance is changed into a spirit of reliance upon Government. And if this is not to happen much care is needed.

There is another question which ought to be considered in this connexion and which requires fuller treatment than it is possible to give to it here. It is this: Is the cause of education advanced by preferential financial treatment as between board and private management? By a G.O. issued in August 1920 the Government of Madras sanctioned the full cost of the upkeep by Government of Forms IV to VI in a number of municipal and board high schools. It was pointed out to the Government at the time that if this policy was adopted the people of a locality would naturally conclude that the best way to secure liberal grants was to have a board school in their locality. It would be argued that an aided school far from being a benefit to an area

was really standing in the way of progress where secondary education was concerned. There has been no such glaring departure from avowed policy since 1920, but preferential treatment still marks the statistics. For instance in 1922 the boards of the presidency expended of their own revenues for the maintenance of their high schools the sum of Rs. 3,22,251 and they received as subsidies from provincial funds Rs. 2,31,728. The aided managements spent on their high schools the sum of Rs. 10,79,157 and they received as aid from provincial funds Rs. 6,77,468. That is to say, if aided managements had received from Government grants on the same scale as the subsidies given to board managements they would have had practically an additional lakh to spend on the improvement of their schools. In the presidency of Bombay local bodies put in Rs. 15,236 for the upkeep of their high schools and were subsidized to the extent of Rs. 43,615 ; private effort contributed out of its own pocket for its high schools the sum of Rs. 8,02,812 and received in aid from Government Rs. 9,11,084. A system of grants that can make such a discrepancy possible clearly requires to be reconsidered. Now there are two remarks that suggest themselves at once on the conditions which these figures present. One is that if a method of distributing grants is so established as to give aided schools one lakh of rupees less in the way of grants than they would receive if they were board schools, then the ground is swept away from those who criticize aided schools. The reply to their criticism is : Aid them properly and see what they would become. And the other remark is this : That one lakh would make all the difference to large numbers of aided schools which are just missing the best results through insufficient encouragement from public funds. Any system of grants which tells in favour of a group of schools because they belong to a certain form of management is a system which does not use public funds to the educational advantage of the community. The only system of grants which can be justified is one which encourages a school not because it

belongs to a certain class of management, but because it either is, or has the possibility of becoming, a good and useful school.

IV

The third question which a consideration of the facts raises is : Has the grant-in-aid system received a fair trial ? I am sure that anyone who goes over the facts carefully will be forced to the conclusion that it has not. I would commend to all who are interested Chapter IV of the *Report of the Calcutta University Commission.* That chapter makes it very plain how little has been done in Bengal to give adequate expression to the system of grant-in-aid. And here I may parenthetically remark that, while I have seen the Calcutta University Commission's report praised for many things, I have not seen it praised for what is certainly one of its greatest services. The report is in reality one great appeal in favour of the fullest appreciation and most sympathetic extension of the grant-in-aid system adapted to the present-day situation in India. The grant-in-aid system has received official opposition from the very start. I knew that in the thirty years between the date of the Despatch of 1854 and the publication of the Education Commission's report in 1884, the aided system had received in the presidency of Madras encouragement for the space of only eight years, and that in the forty years that have intervened since the Education Commission reported, only unflagging vigilance has made possible an approach to a just application of the system, while the budgets of the last two years indicate no slight departure from it ; but I had not read the despatch from which the Educational Commissioner quotes in his introduction to *Occasional Reports No. 12* published by the Bureau of Education. That despatch states that ' Her Majesty's Government can entertain little doubt that the grant-in-aid system is unsuited to the supply of vernacular education to the masses and that so far as they have been able to form an opinion the means of educa-

tion should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government. . . .' The despatch of the Court of Directors which established the policy of encouraging private effort was published in September 1854; the despatch of the Secretary of State suggesting the substitution of official for private effort is dated April 1859. The second despatch is drawn up four and a half years after the original statement of policy. It is interesting to remember the length of time which it then took for communications to pass between India and England, the difficulty of communication between one part of India and another, and the fact that between 1854 and 1859 a mutiny had occurred which for a considerable time concentrated all the attention of Government upon itself. When these facts are borne in mind they give us some idea of the worth of the data on which the Secretary of State based his despatch. Perhaps it was just as well that he was careful to safeguard Her Majesty's Government by the insertion of the clause, 'so far as they have been able to form an opinion.' Against the attitude reflected in the 1859 despatch the grant-in-aid system has had to contend almost since its inception. It may be that this critical attitude has really been for the benefit of the system; it has led managers of schools maintained by private effort to give most careful attention to their staffs, equipment and resources. Many of them have failed to do all that the best interests of education demanded, but they have not been alone among managers in this respect. The fact remains that, notwithstanding all its failures, the system has more than justified itself. It has performed, and is performing, an immense service to India. The time has come when the system might reasonably expect to receive fair treatment in official reports, when the attitude taken by Sir George Anderson in his quinquennial report on the education of the Panjab should not be isolated. I might make many extracts from official statements which while intended as criticisms of aided schools are really criticisms of the State in its relation to

these schools. But this is not my present concern. Whatever official opinion may be there is no doubt as to public opinion. It may be found on page 46 of the Commissioner's *Quinquennial Review*, where the following sentence occurs : 'In spite of the increase in the number of government secondary schools and board primary schools the bulk of the school-going population in India is still in attendance at institutions under private management.' There are, as a matter of fact, one million more pupils in the schools provided by private agencies than in all the schools managed by Government and boards. Three per cent of the pupils who are in recognized institutions throughout India go to schools managed by Government, 40 per cent to schools managed by boards, and 57 per cent to schools under private management. The amount which private effort pays out of its own pocket, the contribution which it makes towards the maintenance and spread of education in India, is over three crores of rupees. If private effort makes in the course of a year a contribution of £2,000,000 towards Indian education then the grant-in-aid system which makes this possible is entitled to the fullest encouragement. For it brings into the educational system of the country an amount of financial assistance in the absence of which that system would be largely crippled. And it brings into that system the asset of managers who not only believe in education but so believe in it that they are ready to spend considerable sums in support of it. Space makes it impossible for me to go into these points in detail. I must content myself with one contrast based on the figures supplied by the *Eighth Quinquennial Review*. In British India the presidency of Madras comes very close to the United Provinces in respect of population ; there is a difference of only three millions between them. The United Provinces has a large number of government secondary schools and it has made every endeavour to promote primary education by means of board schools. In Madras there are fewer government secondary schools than in any other of the larger administrations, and

primary education is largely carried on by private agencies. To put the results in round figures this is what we find. The United Provinces educate 950,000 pupils in schools of general education at a cost of Rs. 1,11,00,000 ; and Madras educates 1,721,000 pupils at a cost of Rs. 1,07,00,000. That is to say, Madras educates three-quarters of a million more pupils than the United Provinces at a cost which is smaller by about four lakhs. The only other remark which space permits me to make regarding the grant-in-aid system is that Christian missions so believe in it that their contribution under it to Indian education now amounts to almost £500,000.

V

There are three conclusions which follow from this all too meagre consideration of the financial problem in Indian education. The first is that government management is too costly, and points to the need for a transfer of that management to agencies which do not make so heavy a drain on the public purse. The second is that economy will be effected by decentralization, by the setting up of local educational authorities vested with the powers of control and finance. The third is that what is most pressingly called for is a generous system of grant-in-aid applicable with modifications to public and private managements and so conceived as to draw forth local patriotism and private benefaction in the direction of education.

All these considerations previously urged on educational grounds are now confirmed by financial reasons. Their adoption would mean for India a system of education which would combine educational efficiency with national aspiration and financial economy.

W. Meston

MISSION WORK AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES IN NEW GUINEA

By CHRISTIAN KEYSSER

The tall, sturdy figure of a native of New Guinea stood before me with flaming anger in his eye. 'Give me the woman who has fled to you and whom you have sheltered, for she is mine! You have no right to interfere in what does not concern you and to keep her from me.' The man's manner was threatening and I answered: 'God, who is your God also, says, "Thou shalt not commit adultery": you have taken away the girl from the man to whom she is lawfully betrothed, although she does not wish to belong to you, and although you already have three wives of your own.' 'I have paid according to what is right and customary, and therefore she is mine,' insisted the native. There was a prolonged altercation, which ended in the defeat of the missionary, in much the same circumstances as those described by the missionary, Frank Paton, in his book *Lomai of Lenakel*, in which Nausian's widow Kaupa had to be given up to the demands of Javo, in spite of all opposition.

The above example is typical. In the early days the missionary often feels himself to be in a position in which it is his duty to make a firm stand and to present the moral obligations of Christianity in no uncertain terms to the unwilling heathen. This is always a mistake. Of course it goes without saying that the heathen must always be led to the realization of God and of His commandments whenever an occasion presents itself, but spiritual claims, in themselves right and well-founded, must not be counted as laws. Claims often repel, but Christianity comes as a gift and deliverance. Laws often cause irritation, all the

more so as the commandments of God often seem to the heathen to be arbitrary and partisan, sometimes even immoral or dangerous. A heathen once said to me: 'What has your God to do with us? He has never troubled Himself about us and He knows nothing of our customs.'

The white missionary comes as a stranger to country and people. For this reason he cannot expect that the people will accord to him the right to teach, or to censure, or to interfere with their traditional customs. He must first win for himself the confidence of the inhabitants, and this through personal capability and an intimate knowledge of the language and of the people's social and spiritual life; even when this is achieved he can only stand before the heathen as the messenger of God in Christ's place. It is hardly necessary to mention that he must have that inner strength which comes from the sense of divine vocation, and be filled with faith in Christ's victorious, life-giving power, with the love of God as his most trusty armour and weapon.

Thus equipped, the missionary may set forth to carry out the most weighty command ever given to men: 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.'

After I had made all kinds of experiments in the proclamation of the gospel message in New Guinea, and had observed that the Papuans always sheltered themselves behind consideration for the tribe, or fear of their neighbours, in their rejection of the good tidings, it seemed to me expedient not only to try to influence isolated individuals but to attempt to arrest the attention of the whole tribe. I succeeded in getting an influential chief to attend a big general meeting at which the important question of death magic was to be dealt with, and all the witch doctors of the neighbourhood were to be mentioned by name that they might be put to shame. This was an unheard-of proceeding, and one which aroused the gravest misgiving in the mind

of my brown friend. But at last the feast was held. The chief arranged a great dance, as was the custom, and the missionary earned the right to be regarded as part originator of the proceedings by providing a large quantity of rice for the festal meal, which gave him the right to speak weighty words on the important occasion. After the dance the deep tones of the conch shell called all those present together. The missionary stood with a long paper in his hand; all eyes were fixed expectantly on him. He began: 'My friends, you are like a sick man, on whose body there is a dangerous abscess. He is restless and in much pain. In such a case you open the abscess, even though the sick man remonstrates, because you are convinced that in this way alone can the trouble be cured. I want to show you now a similar case; belief in witchcraft and the fear of it are a poisonous, festering sore in the body of your people, which must be cut away if healing is to follow.' Then I read aloud a list of the names of those who were known to practise death magic. The Papuans were so taken aback at first that they did not know how to behave. Soon a violent war of words broke loose and it became impossible to distinguish between truth and falsehood. But Christianity had for the first time made itself felt as a real power for truth. The unknown, unseen God of the missionary all at once proved to be a powerful reality who had to be reckoned with. The fact that in the following year no one was killed in the neighbourhood of the mission station showed the effect of what had been said. The people were stirred up, God had come visibly near them, but I must acknowledge I made the mistake of not deepening the impression or seeking to follow it up in any way. I ought to have led the people on. But we missionaries at that time thought that individual conversion was the only right method through which to Christianize a heathen tribe. It was not then clear to me that God does not seek only for the salvation of individual souls, but that He leads whole peoples towards peace, progress and all that is good, and

that His command, 'Make disciples of all nations,' is far wider than our reason and our little faith are able to grasp.

So the influence of the meeting gradually faded. I went on preaching and at last two mission schoolboys asked for instruction with a view to baptism. They were eventually baptized, but the event did not seem to have much meaning for the rest of the tribe; on the contrary, not a few were incensed that two of their blood brothers had proved themselves faithless to the traditions of their forefathers. Soon after this, however, an opportunity of gripping the whole tribe offered itself, and I seized it without hesitation. After a long period of peace, a tribal war was to be undertaken; quite by chance I surprised them in the midst of their preparations. I spoke strongly and at last succeeded in arranging a meeting of the opponents at the mission station; that this was possible was the fruit of long years of steady, apparently unsuccessful work. In the course of these negotiations for peace, the word of God pierced their hearts like a flash of lightning. The commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' suddenly appeared to them as a living message from their God, and they felt unable to evade it. The peace negotiations soon developed into a revival which gradually touched the whole tribe. First ten offered themselves for instruction, then thirty, then eighty; in a short time a Christian congregation was formed. Later on we missionaries realized the need of distinguishing between personal and communal Christianity, and the duty of seeking and encouraging both.

It may at times be right to baptize men without any consideration of family or tribal customs, and thus to separate them from their natural and traditional surroundings. But is this always rightly applied? And is there not sometimes another way? In New Guinea I once had a number of inquirers from a heathen district in the neighbourhood. If I admitted them to baptism, the whole tribe would be embittered, and even if it did not lead to bloodshed the converts would be cast out of the community and

the rest of the tribe would set itself to oppose Christianity. On the advice of reliable native Christians, the inquirers were refused baptism in spite of tearful pleading on their part, and were sent home with the advice that they should set to work to influence the other members of the tribe. Two years later the whole tribe took a solemn oath to refrain from all opposition to Christianity and to welcome it to their country. This promise—like all other tribal agreements—was faithfully kept.

From the Old Testament I have learned much that is helpful for missionary work, but one must not let it rest at that. The people must be led on to the fuller understanding of the New Testament. That an awakening of individuals must go hand in hand with a mass movement goes without saying. What is vitally important is that all that is taught should be really experienced, otherwise the missionary is only encouraging superficiality.

When once people are aroused it is the missionary's duty to occupy and to educate those especially who have become Christians. They must never get the impression that they are in any way 'finished.' The Christian life really only begins with baptism. In a congregation there are always weaker elements, and later on incapable or even bad elements, which the missionary is not in a position to sift as chaff from the wheat. The separation of the two is God's own province, for divine wisdom is alone adequate to the task. But God has put into human hands the task of training. Souls must be led to the knowledge of their sinfulness and to the experience of the grace of God. There is no better way to do this than by leading them to practical work for the good of the community. If attendance at services, prayer and Bible reading are held up as the only obligation, hypocrisy, spiritual pride or spiritual greed soon arise. There are often signs that young Christians are full of zeal to pass on the grace they have received and to help others. This must be noted and used. A definite form of service should be indicated to each member accord-

ing to circumstances. Christians must not be pre-occupied with the salvation of their own souls or their spiritual life will shrivel and die down. In all these ways the missionary must be their teacher. He must lead his people on to co-operate with himself. It is wrong for the missionary to think he must do everything himself, so that mistakes may be avoided—as if he did not make mistakes himself. It is sometimes even the duty of a spiritual leader to let them make mistakes, but he must not be vacillating nor let the reins slip through his fingers.

In dealing with primitive peoples, it is important to lay stress on the aim of pastoral work—the direct union of the Christian with God. Quite unintentionally the missionary is in danger of becoming a sort of mediator. It is often stated, and not without truth, that newly converted Christians depend more on the missionary than on God, without either side being aware of the fact. It is only natural that children should depend on their father, but they must grow and become independent, and it shows a wrong state of things if the missionary does not direct his efforts from the beginning to making his nurslings independent of his guardianship. He must keep the management of the work, but in this also he must exercise discretion. In New Guinea we have gradually handed over funerals, marriages, a part of the instruction for baptism, and in fact almost the whole detail of the spiritual direction of the people. Of course the people made mistakes, but they did no serious harm; on the contrary, the gain was very evident and quite outbalanced any disadvantages. The Christians learnt to act independently, developed a sense of responsibility and gained much valuable experience. One danger must be avoided—that of putting the management of the work too soon into inexperienced hands: both individually and as a community Christians must be gradually educated to leadership.

These are all matters familiar to the missionary. It is more difficult to lead a mass movement. In the history of

missions there are many instances of such revival movements, but often after the joyous beginning there follows lassitude, even deadness. The old heathenism with all its burdens and superstitions has withdrawn but slowly, and has broken forth again more or less secretly. It is undoubtedly difficult in a mission to know how to deal with large numbers of inquirers. The only means of educating them is in giving instruction for baptism, and this can only deal with a restricted number at a time. The great mass of inquirers generally have to be told to wait. People of a higher grade of culture can be directed in the study of the Bible or other books, but among primitive peoples this is impossible. But it is just such people whose need for teaching is especially apparent. Their joyful readiness is a precious gift of God, and if it is disregarded they will, being unoccupied, drift into by-ways, and the grace which has been given filters away.

In New Guinea we very often directed mass movement inquirers to purely secular work—building decent homes, making larger fields and proper roads. Of course everything was done primarily as an obligation laid on them by God, who hates idleness, but desires to see in men industry, cleanliness and order. This work was very mundane, but even the most unintelligent were able to begin at once to show their good faith and make their first Christian fight against human weaknesses and heathen thoughts and habits. We missionaries at first regarded this form of activity as being outside our province : as the Apostle says, we would ' know nothing but Christ crucified.' But if St Paul acted thus in Corinth, at another time he spoke of lawsuits, of offerings to idols, of due almsgiving, of marriage, of work, of head-covering for women and so on—a proof that he had learnt and taught a great deal besides Christ crucified. But in all work, of whatever kind, the one absolute essential is the unquestioned central orientation of the missionary himself ; if the crucified Christ is his centre there is no danger of secularization, for even apparently unrelated

things will serve to point all men to this goal. A solemn obligation rests on the missionary to be a real leader to Christ, not merely a man of business who devotes himself to minor matters, nor merely a pedagogue who thinks that correct dogma is the all-important consideration.

The need for training inquirers does not end when they are received into the Christian Church. The missionary is confronted with the extraordinarily difficult question, hitherto unconsidered by him, how to lead this Christian congregation so that it keeps its vitality and does not sink down into stagnation and death. The possibility of such a decadence is usually met by an allusion to the ' little flock ' and the ' few that are chosen.' That may be right. On the other hand we see the Pauline Christian congregations full of life and hear St Paul speaking wonderful things about a congregation under the new covenant which is ' growing up unto a holy temple in the Lord.' Is there not a parallel here ? God taught Israel as a people ; Jesus wanted to save the people as a whole, and that larger plan was rejected and only the ' little flock ' was saved. Jesus wondered at this stubbornness. Why should what was unusual become the rule ? God wants the nations to become Christian. His Spirit moves the masses and National Churches are growing up. However faulty the Church was in the Middle Ages, yet it certainly ruled and led communities and peoples. Should not this be regarded as very important and as something from which in the future much can be learned ?

In my own congregation I noticed after a few years of early zeal a gradual falling-off. Not that the old heathenism again revived, but the people as a whole failed to work together in building up Christ's kingdom. When they were subjected to discipline for their faults and sins, and when they were entrusted with pastoral work, instruction for baptism, funerals and marriages, and were allowed to carry out these responsibilities independently, life and interest began to stir anew and much undiscovered ability came to light. New obligations were laid on the people

in the form of a mission to the congregation. The difficulties and dangers served to give the people new experience and taught them new lessons. But in all this missionary leadership was necessary.

Missionary work soon spread in an astonishing manner, for it was not the work of the missionary alone. Generous offers both of men and money were freely made. Some of the workers fell into disgrace and had to be removed, but it was a great gain that the congregation as a whole felt the disgrace. New undertakings and new problems were constantly faced. In spite of all this, after some years a falling-off of another kind became apparent. Many of the Christians were filled with a sense of discontent, which they could not explain. This grew more and more pronounced. The people's goodwill was undoubted; they did what they could. Various circumstances, among them the study of the Old Testament, led me to the conclusion that in every nation there is a natural, healthy longing for recreation and enjoyment, which, if not satisfied, is apt to lead to moral degeneration. For this reason God ordained festivals for His people. Our Christian festivals, being of a purely spiritual kind, left unsatisfied the people's legitimate desire for recreation and joy. Compared with the old heathen feasts, now given up, they seemed insipid. The non-Christians sometimes said: 'Your festivals are dull and empty: your God feeds you with dry words.' Following the example of the Old Testament prophets I used pictured representations at festivals and they solved the problem. Christian ideas and thoughts became so clear that they were unforgettable. They stimulated interest. Festivals now continued longer, the attendance was more numerous and the hospitality greater. The arrangement and management were entirely in the hands of the natives. The congregation is the orchestra, the missionary must be the unseen conductor. I once asked a heathen chief how he had enjoyed such a gathering; he answered, 'My heart fails me.' Of course the missionary must be on the watch for

dangers that threaten here as elsewhere. In New Guinea there were also Christian congregations in which we kept conscientiously to purely spiritual work by word and sacrament. In spite of much zeal and faithfulness it seemed impossible to check the fading of the early vitality. Leanings towards heathenism were noticeable: the congregation did not resist them, for all spiritual work, discipline and responsibility were in the missionary's hands. What he did not notice or censure could grow undisturbed. Only when we began to change our method and mobilize the congregations, laying responsibility for existing conditions on its members, did they begin to rouse themselves.

Necessary as are the study of God's word and faithful intercession, the educational side of a missionary's activity does seem one of great importance. God does not send down an awakening at our mere request, and we missionaries have to test ourselves to see that we are not standing in His way. We seek and strive for revivals, but do we always think of the heavy responsibility they bring with them, namely that of guiding the masses of the people so that the life given to them remains strong? The gift brings with it a corresponding obligation.

God help us missionaries to recognize our task clearly, and to strive for that wisdom of which He alone is the source, and to learn from Him who is the great teacher.

CHRISTIAN KEYSSER

THE CHARM OF THE ARAB

By P. W. HARRISON, D.Sc., M.D.

The motive for missionary work comes from God, but its charm comes from the wonderful men and women the missionary meets and with whom he works. The globe-trotter meets no such men and women, the missionary rejoicing over the end of his furlough he regards as next to insane. Out in Arabia poverty reaches depths unequalled, I imagine, elsewhere in the world. Yet out of that fearful poverty, out of that hopeless environment, the human spirit stands forth, not simply unbroken, but quite unbent. The most cheerful men and women in the world, and the best sportsmen, are those desert nomads. Their national pastime is no tame thing like football or baseball. Each tribe raids its neighbours, shooting them in the process, and being shot themselves, while stealing camels and goats and other hoofed property. The mortality is not very high, perhaps not a great deal higher than in American football. Many however report to the doctor for the removal of bullets from various parts of their anatomy. Such a victim was once brought to the Kuweit hospital by his brother. I offered my sympathy. 'That must have been a very bad man that shot you.' The idea was a great surprise. 'Oh no, I do not suppose that he was a very bad man. I tried hard to shoot him, but did not have very good luck.' The man was with us five months and eventually he left with a good result. In the meantime his brother took care of him, kept him clean, bought him things to eat, and cheered him up when down-hearted with a loyalty quite beyond praise. One day a fellow-patient assured me that this brother was rich. He certainly did not look very rich, so I asked him, 'Are you rich?' 'Oh no,' he said cheerfully, 'I am not

rich, but I have a lot of camels and goats and sheep back where we live. I am rich that way.' 'Well,' I continued, 'you have been here now for three months and it is likely to be a couple of months more before you can take your brother home. Aren't you afraid that while you are gone, some of your camels and goats may be stolen?' 'Afraid,' he repeated, 'that some of my camels and goats may be stolen? Why, I imagine that they have all been stolen long before this.' 'The prospect does not appear to trouble you a great deal,' I replied with some surprise. 'Oh no,' with an even broader grin, if that were possible, 'it does not trouble me at all. That is all right.' 'I do not quite see how it is all right,' I persisted; 'you have been rich all your life and now you will go back to be poor.' 'Yes, of course, but you do not understand. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will steal some one else's; and who knows, perhaps I will have more than I had before.'

Out of that environment, too, comes the finest independence in the world. Friendship they know, but subservience never. One day I hired a boy to take me aboard a small sailing vessel on his donkey. The shore sloped very gradually, and although the boat drew not over three feet of water, there was perhaps fifty feet of wading before it could be reached. For a true believer to lead a donkey upon which an infidel sat evidently turned all the moral values of the universe upside down, even for this youngster, and he looked back uneasily, first over one shoulder and then over the other. Finally he spoke. 'I am just as good a man as you are.' 'Yes, yes,' I hastily agreed, 'I did not say you weren't. Perhaps sometime I may have a donkey and put you on board a sailing vessel.'

As might be expected, once the confidence and affection of such men are gained, they show the finest sort of loyalty. In the days when I was learning Arabic, I spent two weeks on a river trip down the Tigris. Water was low and in thirteen days we progressed fifty miles. Frequently we were tied up alongside the bank for half a day. Once, when

only two Arabs were with me, a strange and hostile face appeared over the high bank. 'What are you doing carrying that Christian around with you?' demanded the newcomer. The two men with me jumped up. One seized a large stick as thick as my wrist, which was waiting to be used for firewood. The other took the heavy iron rod an inch thick and a foot long, which is used in that part of Arabia as a pestle for pounding coffee. They ran up the bank after this man who had so grievously insulted their guest. Up on the bank the man held his ground pretty well, but they extorted some sort of satisfaction from him, and he promptly left, my two champions returning. 'Why did you chase him away?' I asked. 'He called you a Christian.' 'Yes, but I am a Christian, you know.' 'That is all right,' asserted my defenders, 'we know you are a Christian, but he is not to call you one. Not while we are around.'

Arab devotion to duty is splendid. Twelve years ago Bin Saoud, the Wahabi chief of inland Arabia, conquered Hassa, the largest and richest oasis in all Eastern Arabia. A hundred thousand people live in it. Conditions previously under the Turks had beggared description. The nomad Bedouins of the surrounding desert raided the oasis almost at will. Donkeys and all sorts of movable property were likely to be stolen from the peaceful gardeners in the midst of the market in broad daylight. There were cliques and feuds among the gardeners themselves. Murder and robbery, oppression and utter confusion were the continual state of the province. Bin Saoud conquered the province easily. Three hundred Arab soldiers under his command took it from two regiments of Turks. Its possession raised him to a position of unquestioned primacy in the peninsula, or at least had that possibility if he could govern it well. To the governorship, the most critical and important post in all his realm, he appointed Bin Jelouee, now the most feared man in Eastern Arabia. On Bin Jelouee's arrival the rich and the great came in great numbers to present their

salutations and their compliments, but he sent them away. 'I want no one here,' said the new governor, 'except on business. I am anxious to contract no friendships which may interfere with rendering impartial justice between rich and poor later.' The local Bedouin chiefs found him equally aloof.

In those days when it was not yet apparent which would prove stronger—the lawless spirit of the province which had persisted for generations, or the determination of the new governor that law and order should prevail—a caravan of Bedouins who feared neither God above, nor any of His creatures below, on leaving the oasis where they had done some trading insulted a gardener and beat him severely. The new governor acted quickly. His mounted police overtook the caravan of two hundred camels and perhaps forty men and women, and forced them to return. Camels and goods were confiscated, and the men imprisoned in an empty courtyard while the governor sent to the gardens for a few hundred green date sticks. A date stick is the midrib of the date frond, about as thick as a man's wrist at one end and as his little finger at the other. When these arrived, the violators of the peace were taken one at a time, stripped, tied to stakes, and whipped until, bleeding, they lapsed into unconsciousness. The women of the caravan watched the process through cracks in the door and filled the air with their shrieks and cries. Each prisoner after being beaten nearly to death was passed on to the care of his women. Every man in the caravan was similarly treated, and a new and wholesome respect for duly constituted authority settled down on the community.

My first meeting with Bin Jelouee came after he had been governor of Hassa for seven years. He did not approve of missionaries being invited into the heart of Arabia to corrupt pure religion, and although at the command of the great chief of Riadh he provided all necessary transport and equipment, I was glad to escape from his hostile presence. His cold pitiless eye made shivers run up and down my

back, and I sympathized with my Bedouin camelmen who spoke of him in hushed and half-terrified voices even when they were a hundred miles away in the desert. Later I learned to know Bin Jelouee better and eventually we came to be warm friends. It has been possible to make a number of medical visits to Hassa, each time learning something new about this remarkable man. I learned that to take his post he left behind him his wife and little boy, the apple of his eye. My first penetration of the outworks of his soul was made by telling him what a splendid boy his son in Riadh was coming to be, and how the great chief, Bin Saoud, enjoyed having the manly youngster sit next to him on the royal settee. I learned that during the seven years since his appointment Bin Jelouee had not been back to visit his country nor his home, that he had not left the capital of Hassa for so much as half an hour, except once when welcoming Bin Saoud on an official visit. Increasing acquaintance gradually uncovered in the person of that lonely man such a sense of duty, and a loyalty to it, absolute, unquestioning and limitless, as I have seen in but one other man, and he my own father; a devotion to duty indeed that served as a new revelation of what it is that God asks of His children in the midst of a hostile, seductive and unchristian world.

Bin Sualim, the governor of Kateef, is not moulded to Bin Jelouee's calibre, but his loyalty is just as deep. He was rooted out of his beloved desert environment in Riadh and transported to Kateef, at once the richest small oasis in Eastern Arabia and its most pestilential fever spot. Bin Sualim stayed there for eight years. Under his administration the province of Kateef, although of a differing Mohammedan sect to its last inhabitant, became one of the most loyal of all the possessions of Bin Saoud. A more homesick man than Bin Sualim in Kateef I have never seen. His wife refused to come to share his fortunes in that far country, and after waiting for her for several years, he married a local wife. He had fever repeatedly. He nearly died from jaundice. Finally, when it was evident that

further residence would be fatal, he received permission to return to Riadh. He remained at home for nearly a year. Gradually his health returned and with his health the dreaded summons of the great chief to return to his post in Kateef. Bin Sualim went in to ask for a release. He wept as he begged Bin Saoud to send some one else. But Bin Saoud explained that he had no one else who could fill that very difficult post, so without a murmur Bin Sualim returned and is there to-day, a homesick exile among strangers. He would be surprised to have himself described as an example of great devotion to duty. It would not occur to him to do anything else.

Missionary work is no enterprise of pity, in which we of the smug and self-satisfied West take a superior religion, like a red apple on a long fish pole, and hand it down to poor miserable degraded heathen. The best definition of missionary work that I know is found in the book of Revelation, where the writer is speaking of the New Jerusalem : ' They shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it.' Missionary work is just that, bringing the glory and the honour of the nations into the kingdom of God.

P. W. Harrison

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A GREAT ADVANCE IN THE SCIENCE OF BUDDHISM

L'Histoire des Idées théosophiques dans l'Inde : la Théosophie bouddhique. Par Paul Oltramare. Paris : Paul Geuthner. F. 50. 1923.

The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word Dharma. By Th. Stcherbatsky, Ph.D. London : Royal Asiatic Society. 12s. 6d. 1923.

Mahāyāna Doctrines of Salvation. By Stanislav Schayer. Translated from the German by R. T. Knight. London : Probsthain. 4s. 1923.

Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism (from Winternitz, Sylvain Lévi and Hüber). By G. K. Nariman. Bombay : Indian Book Depot. R. 6.8. 1923.

The Life and Work of Buddhaghosha. By Bimala Charan Law, with a Foreword by Mrs C. A. F. Rhys Davids. Calcutta : Thacker Spink. R. 9. 1923.

Buddhism and Christianity : A Contrast and a Parallel. By J. Estlin Carpenter, D.D., D.Litt. London : Hodder. 3s. 6d. 1923.

Epochs in Buddhist History. The Haskell Lectures, 1921. By Kenneth J. Saunders. Chicago : University Press. $3. 1924.

Our knowledge of Buddhism has been gradually built up by the long, patient labour of many students in many lands ; but so many are the centuries and so many the countries covered by the movement that even down to yesterday, as it would seem, there were huge gaps in the science ; and, in consequence, even amongst great and experienced scholars high debate on questions of the largest import remained frequent. It now seems as if 1923 will henceforth be the crowning year of Buddhist study ; for two masterly treatises were then published which literally flood with light most of those intricate problems in Buddhist teaching which have hitherto baffled us ; while a third discusses in exhaustive detail and with great success one of the most fundamental of these problems. The two master-treatises are Professor Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy in India and in Ceylon*, which was reviewed in the October number of this Review, and the volume by Professor Oltramare which heads our list ; while Professor Stcherbatsky's *Central Conception of Buddhism* is the third book. These volumes illustrate the international character of our

religious science to-day : the first comes from Edinburgh, the second from Geneva, the third from Petrograd.

Keith and Oltramare cover largely the same ground ; but the books differ in method and in arrangement ; and at many points one supplements the other. Oltramare's volume is the second part of a great work on *The History of Theosophic Ideas in India*, the first part of which, dealing with *Brahmanic Theosophy*, was published in 1907. The governing idea is the distinction between ideas generated by philosophic reflexion and discussion in ascetic schools and ideas generated by religious experience and devotion in a general religious community. The former, we are assured, retain their distinctive forms even when taken over and handed down in religious organizations. There can be no doubt that the distinction is of considerable significance, and it will certainly prove helpful in the discussion of religions. The teaching of the Buddha was almost entirely *théosophique* in our writer's sense ; and the whole character of Buddhism, whether Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, reflects the fact. The church of early Buddhism was the assembly of the monks. They alone accepted and lived the teaching of the Buddha, spending their strength in the search for Release. The laity loved and admired the Buddha, and they gladly gave of their substance to support the monks, but Buddhism formed no real church nor full religion for them. They adored the Buddha, and later worshipped at Buddhist shrines, and they believed that they reaped much merit from their gifts to the monks ; but their life was not a search for Release, and it was within Hinduism that they found satisfaction for many of their most clamant religious needs. This is probably true of many village Buddhists in Ceylon to-day.

In the changed constitution of the religion under the Mahāyāna we see that these facts had formed serious problems for the Buddhist mind ; for, in the new system, the old ascetic life, while still retained, is practically negligible. What is truly an altogether new discipline is created for the laity, which makes them the real church and gives them a distinctively Buddhist life and religion. It was in this form that Buddhism made its greatest conquests in the centre and the east of Asia.

Thus Hinduism lived among the Buddhist laity from the very beginning ; and the leaders of the Mahāyāna, in their eagerness to build up an attractive system in competition with both Hinduism and Jainism, drew in ever larger elements from the old religion, not

rejecting even the folly and filth of Śāktism ; and Buddhism, sapped of its vigour, could no longer fight its great rival, and faded away in the land of its birth.

Suffering and Release may be said to sum up Buddhism ; and the major part of Professor Oltramare's book is a detailed exposition of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna teaching on these master themes. From the numerous interesting passages which strew thickly these three hundred and fifty pages we note the following :

(*a*) Buddhism is a pessimism, but it is not a radical pessimism ; for the trouble is curable. (93–95)

(*b*) Yet the cure is not possible for all the denizens of the universe : neither gods, nor demons, nor animals are in a position to win release ; only *men* ; and not the whole human race ; no *woman* can attain release. (95–96)

(*c*) Buddhism by no means sought to destroy caste as a social institution. (98)

(*d*) One of the main differences between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna is that, under the former, the monk sought his own release, while, under the latter, one could not win one's own release without seeking the release of one's neighbour. (110)

(*e*) In seeking release knowledge and virtue are both necessary ; and they are cultivated not as supreme ends but merely as means to release. (114)

(*f*) In order to win release it is necessary to cure the will, and the monk must develop the energy, the courage, the resolution to conquer himself. (127–129)

(*g*) The Buddha is no positivist : he demands that his monks should take the superhuman into consideration. (153)

The last words of the book are these :

Must we conclude that humanity would be well inspired if we betook ourselves to the school of the old Indian sage ? A number of people both in Europe and America think so. It will therefore be useful to say in a few words why neither the manner in which Buddhism has stated the problem of our destiny nor the solution which it has given to the problem can truly satisfy us. It is impossible for us to make ours a doctrine which sets forth the stilling of the mind and the spirit as the true end of humanity, and which places before us as our ideal a wisdom which isolates itself and looks from afar upon humanity in its activities and struggles. It is quite true that Buddhism makes those who sincerely profess it happy, since it teaches them to moderate their desires and to find their happiness in the thin joys of a life of contemplation and retreat. But moral unrest, spiritual unrest, the desire for something better, the thirst for an ever fuller life have a greatly superior beauty. The ideal of Buddhism is a cruel mutilation of man.

The word *dharma* or *dhamma* has two very distinct senses in Buddhism, law, norm, teaching, on the one hand, and element, on the other. Professor Stcherbatsky's book lays before us in full detail the teaching on *dharma* in the sense of element. The exposition is founded on the one philosophic book which every type of Buddhist accepts as authoritative on fundamental questions, the *Abhidharma-kośa* of Vasubandhu. Since the elements, whether belonging to the world or to our minds, stand in the very closest possible relation to Buddhist teaching on Suffering and also to Buddhist teaching on the process from which Release arises as a necessary result, the meaning of *dharma* is of crucial importance for a clear understanding of the cardinal doctrines of Buddhism. Professor Stcherbatsky remarks :

> In the light of this conception Buddhism discloses itself as a metaphysical theory developed out of one fundamental principle, viz. the idea that existence is an interplay of a plurality of subtle, ultimate, not further analysable elements of matter, mind and forces. These elements are technically called *dharmas*, a meaning which this word has in this system alone. Buddhism, accordingly, can be characterized as a system of radical pluralism : the elements alone are realities, every combination of them is a mere name covering a plurality of separate elements. The moral teaching of a path towards Final Deliverance is not something additional or extraneous to this ontological doctrine, it is most intimately connected with it, and, in fact, identical with it.

The book does not make easy reading ; yet it may be recommended with complete confidence to the student as being not only fully trustworthy but also written with real lucidity.

In *Mahāyāna Doctrines of Salvation* a number of the sentences are so unskilfully translated as to leave the reader in grave doubt as to the exact meaning the author wished to convey. There are also so many mistakes in spelling in the booklet that one is inclined to conclude that the translator can scarcely have been equal to his task. Dr Schayer's main thesis seems to be this, that each of the leading doctrines of salvation, Hindu as well as Buddhist, elaborated in ancient India, ' is a technology, the theme of which is the annihilation of the world and the dissolution of the individual ' ; but the exposition is scarcely full enough to enable the reader to realize what the precise meaning of the thesis is ; and certainly the evidence presented is not nearly sufficient to satisfy one's critical caution in dealing with a statement which is at once so arresting and so amazing.

So many of the more recent books and articles which throw fresh

light on Sanskrit Buddhist literature are in French and German that many students not only in India but in Europe also are seriously handicapped. This difficulty is most seriously felt in the study of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, for its books are all in Sanskrit. Yet even in the Hīnayāna the trouble is almost as serious. The Pali canon is undoubtedly the most valuable of all the treasures left us by ancient Buddhism ; but, after all, it is but the canon of a single sect, the Vibhajavādins, and all other sects of the Hīnayāna used Sanskrit or mixed Sanskrit for their sacred books. Thus the student requires a great deal of help in relation to Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Mr Nariman's work (originally published in 1920, now republished with slight corrections) does a great deal to meet the need of those whose reading has to be in English, and will be eagerly scanned by many. It is a rich treasure of valuable fact, despite its want of skilful arrangement, its lack of definite references to the books and articles translated, and its occasional lapses : on p. 207, for example, through an amazing slip in translation, we are gravely told that the Buddha was born about 480 B.C. The book has our cordial recommendation.

The literary labours of the monks of Ceylon on the Pali Tripiṭaka culminated in the splendid series of noble expositions and commentaries produced by Buddhaghosha in the first half of the fifth century A.D. So fair and so accurate is the work of this great scholar that his help in the understanding of the Pali canon is of the very greatest value. Dr Law has brought together in his monograph every scrap of evidence to be found in the old literature throwing light on his life and labours. His book will be of very great value, especially to young students, but also to every one who seriously desires to understand the Buddhism of Ceylon. He is to be congratulated on a very fresh and valuable contribution to Buddhist science.

We take the books by Dr Carpenter and Professor Saunders together, because both bear on the great question of the relation of Buddhism to Christianity. Dr Carpenter deals with the problem directly and in most welcome detail. While his attitude and his method may fully satisfy only the comparatively small group who stand outside all the organized religions, he is so manifestly open-minded, so transparently eager to set down only the truth, that surely no serious student will fail to find in his pages much pleasure and great enrichment.

His method is to take up significant historical scenes or note-

worthy elements in the teaching of Buddhism and to place them alongside similar or contrasted facts, ideas and developments in Christian history and faith. Hence a large number of partial or complete parallels, and a considerable number of contrasts, as between the two religions. The whole makes a charming work, Dr Carpenter's intimate knowledge of the Pali literature and his wide historical reading combining to produce a continuous gallery of most suggestive and stirring pictures; and not only charming, but definitely instructive, every page provocative of thought and question. But there is nowhere any summing up of the process. There is no passage in the book comparable with Professor Oltramare's closing words. There is no general estimate of the riches of Buddhism as compared with the treasures of Christianity; and some readers may find themselves in deep disappointment at the end of the volume. Certainly such a living comparison by a balanced scholar who knows both faiths well is seriously required to-day. From certain sides his work might meet with bitter criticism; but most thinking men would respond with gratitude; and the attempt would at least help numerous scholars to come nearer a decision. Our final word ought probably to be this, that if any competent scholar will be so greatly daring as to attempt the great task, Dr Carpenter's work will prove of signal assistance in many ways.

Professor Saunders's volume is a beautiful book, readable from beginning to end, instructive and entertaining. But it is more than that: his chapters on Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Korea, Japan, Nepal and Tibet contain a good deal that is fresh and new. They form a real addition to knowledge. We are given much fresh information about the monks of Ceylon, Burma and Siam, about the relation of Buddhism to the old religions in the Far East; and about modern schools of Buddhist thought in China and Japan. The spirit of the whole work is pleasing, for the author is eager to find the best that there is in the religious faith and practice of the Buddhist East. He is undoubtedly a reliable guide in describing the attitude of these people to their religion, the elements in Buddhism which influence them most and the moral effect produced on them by the worship and the other observances of their faith. He also frankly lays before us the truth, that, in every land of the East, Buddhism is mixed with paganism, much more in some lands than in others, but everywhere in some degree; and that in Nepal and Tibet there is very serious degradation.

The name of the work, *Epochs of Buddhist History*, is well descriptive of it. It is broadly historical in character and in order; but it is not meant to be a formal history of the religion; it is in the main descriptive and expository rather than historical, as may be seen from the titles of the chapters, which are all geographical:

I. Rājagaha; II. Pātali-putra; III. Gandhāra and Purusapura; IV. Nālandā; V. Mihintale, Arimaddana and Sukhōthai; Fastnesses of the Theravada in Ceylon, Burma and Siam; VI. Loyāng, Changān, T'ien T'ai; VII. Keum Kangsan, Nāra, Hieisan, Kōyasan; VIII. Svayambhu-nāth and Lhāsa.

The main purpose the author had in view in writing the book is laid before us very frankly in the Introduction and in several passages scattered through the volume, e.g.:

> My task is merely that of a sympathetic chronicler; yet it is my sincere desire to help Christian and Buddhist scholars towards a friendly and frank discussion.
>
> The followers of the two Ways have every reason to associate in friendship and to unite in social service.
>
> If it were not tragic it would be comic indeed that the followers of the two greatest religions of the world are still sitting for the most part in opposite camps, ignoring or misinterpreting one another's beliefs. I would make a plea not only for an attempt to understand one another but for resolute co-operation in all idealistic enterprises.

Now the meaning of these sentences and of others like them which appear in the volume clearly is that Professor Saunders has come to believe that Buddhism and Christianity are, in nature and value, so closely related to each other that Christian missionaries in attempting to persuade Buddhists to become Christians are pursuing a wrong policy; that the time has come when they ought to unite with Buddhist leaders in a common crusade for moral and religious purposes, and to give up the attempt to create a Christian Church from men won from the Buddhist ranks.

Here then is the point at which Professor Saunders's book becomes comparable with Dr Carpenter's work: both deal with the relationship between Buddhism and Christianity. Yet the difference between them is startling in the extreme: Dr Carpenter provides a great deal of material from which some sort of conclusion as to the relative value of the two religions might be drawn; but he gives expression to no such judgment; conscious, unquestionably, that far more material is required, and also a most skilful arrangement

of the whole on each side, before anything like a reasonable decision could be given on such a vast issue; while Professor Saunders gaily gives us his judgment without taking the trouble to lay out the evidence at all. His descriptive chapters do not give the basis of an estimate even of Buddhism, not to speak of Christianity. He can scarcely be astonished if he fails to carry his readers with him.

J. N. Farquhar

Manchester

CHRISTIAN STATESMANSHIP

Christianity and the Race Problem. By J. H. Oldham. London: Student Christian Movement. 7s. 6d. 1924.

The greatest of all the practical problems now confronting mankind is unquestionably that of Race. The contraction of the world, due to increased facility and rapidity of communication, has brought all inhabitants of the globe together in an intercourse which must result in either fellowship or friction. Like all developments of mechanism, this ease of communication will be a blessing or a curse in proportion to the moral stature of the human beings who control it. Even among nations of similar origin and tradition, there is ground for acute anxiety; when we turn to the new relations between races hitherto separated from one another, and for that very reason uninfluenced by each other and totally alien in customs and standards of value, the prospect is such as to alarm the most sanguine. No one can regard it with equanimity, and many will feel that here is the acid test of a religion that claims to have a Gospel for all mankind.

But while it is fair to demand of such a religion that it should substantiate its claim by its handling of this problem, it is clear that something more than loyalty to the principles of that religion will be required. There must be knowledge at once wide and exact; there must be the insight of sympathy, by which alone the facts known can be appreciated; there must be the constructive imagination which can frame, out of the material of what is, the picture of what might be. In other words, to devout faith must be added statesmanship.

In the book before us Mr J. H. Oldham, already known to a wide circle as a true statesman of Christianity, brings just these

qualities to bear upon this overshadowing problem. He is perfectly consistent in his loyalty to Christ and His principles ; and he seeks to find the way of applying those principles by means of real sympathy with the various points of view that are involved. Next to its grasp and its Christian temper, the quality which most impresses me about the book is its truly judicial outlook. It is so easy to see the case for the white man in the black man's country ; it is so easy to see the case for the black man whose country has been invaded by the white; it is so difficult to see both at once. But Mr Oldham does this. Probably many of his readers will be almost irritated by his dispassionate attitude. His plea is not one that would call forth excited cheers from audiences either of Jingoes or of aborigines' societies. He seldom finds all the right on one side of a controversy and all the wrong on the other. In particular, he has a great admiration for, and understanding of, the British Civil Service in its vast administrative responsibilities. And those who may be disappointed at the absence of appeals to righteous and delicious indignation will find their actual judgment far more impressed by the weight of his sober statement than it could ever have been by passion or rhetoric.

Mr Oldham first puts before us an outline of the problem which mankind must solve or perish :

> Having by its enterprise, inventions and eager pursuit of wealth succeeded in making the world into a single whole, mankind is now confronted with the more difficult task of establishing a moral unity. This is a greater and more exacting task than that which has already been accomplished; it makes higher demands on human nature. Yet it cannot be evaded (pp. 5, 6).

This task requires for its accomplishment just what religion seeks to supply :

> The problems of the Great Society which the discoveries and energies of past generations have brought into existence thus drive us back to the question of our ultimate beliefs. Political and harmonious relations between the different races must be built on definite convictions regarding the meaning and purpose of life (p. 9).

Accordingly we are given in Chapter II a penetrating discussion of The Christian View and its Relation to Facts. This of necessity leads to an investigation of The Causes of Antagonism in one of the most important chapters of the book, which culminates in the following passage :

> The conclusion to which we are led by our examination of the facts is that the fundamental causes of racial dislike and hostility, where these exist, are similar to those which give rise to a dislike and hostility within communities of the same race. They are moral rather than racial. There is no necessity to postulate the existence of a specific and universal instinct of racial antipathy: while on the other hand there is strong positive evidence that such an instinct does not exist. An adequate explanation of racial antagonism can be found in impulses and motives that are independent of race.
>
> These impulses and motives, however, though not racial in their origin, may *become* racial, through being connected in the mind with the thought of another race. When this association takes place the feelings may be aroused by contact with any member of that race, and operate with all the force of an instinctive antipathy (p. 43).

This conclusion is presented, not as a prejudice, but as the inevitable inference from careful observations. Its importance is both apparent and immense, for it means that racial antagonism is not grounded in human nature but in conventions of thought and conduct, so that by a change in those conventions it could be removed.

Mr Oldham next considers The Significance of Race (Chapter IV), contrasting the view that race settles everything with the more modern view that education can at least profoundly modify its influence. There follow two chapters of special value on The Fact of Inequality and The Truth of Equality. Mr Oldham is quite free from the sentimentalism which blinds some enthusiasts to the actual differences between the various races not only in attainment but also in present capacity. On the other hand, he shows by the application of objective tests that the difference in capacity is not fundamental or complete. Investigations in the United States showed that coloured children were slightly, but not markedly, more backward than white children. This real, but not fundamental inequality, appears a small thing when set over against the truly fundamental equality which consists in the common human qualities. Experience abundantly proves that there is not, at bottom, a European mind, or a 'Nordic' mind, or an African mind; there is just the common human mind, moulded by the influence of traditional, but alterable, customs. Mr Oldham insists on the great principle of justice accepted by the British Government that all men are equal before the law.

This appropriately introduces The Ethics of Empire and the

consideration of India (Chapters VII and VIII). It is here that Mr Oldham's ability to pay full regard to practical requirements while firmly maintaining Christian principles is most conspicuous. The sense of practical reality can only be fully appreciated after a perusal of the text; the principles involved and the historic perspectives envisaged can be represented by a quotation :

> Questions such as we have been considering cannot be settled by a stroke of the pen. Only infinite patience, wisdom, courage and hope can find a solution of problems as baffling as any that have emerged in human history. But the discussion has not been fruitless if it has helped to illuminate two conceptions which came before us in earlier chapters—the meaning of equality and the necessity of taking account of facts. It has shown how great an improvement in relations would be effected if the implications of equality were more clearly recognized; and how this recognition, so far from being inconsistent with, requires, as its necessary complement, the fullest recognition also of existing differences and of all relevant facts. What each of us can contribute individually to the solution of the great questions we have been considering is small. But it must always be borne in mind that the relations between peoples are not the affair of governments and political leaders alone. They depend also on the innumerable interactions across national and racial frontiers of multitudes of individuals. Whether the sphere of our work be small or great, if it be our aim to base our judgments and actions on that reverence for men as men, which makes domination distasteful and comradeship a thing to be desired, and at the same time to seek truth without fear, we shall have done our part; and those who have this aim will more and more find themselves united in an understanding and fellowship that transcend the barriers of race. The rest is in the hands of God (p. 125).

After a careful and impressive review of the complications due to Immigration (Chapter IX) we are led on to the profoundly difficult questions of Intermarriage (Chapter X), where the author reserves judgment, being content to gather together much evidence tending to mitigate the hysteria commonly attendant on this theme, of Social Equality (Chapter XI), where the main plea is for simple justice, now often outraged, and Political Equality (Chapter XII), where the following paragraph indicates the author's outlook :

> It is not only from the standpoint of the unenfranchised that a solution which has regard to the interests of one race alone is inadmissible. It is precluded equally by the vital interests of the dominant race itself. The principles on which a white democracy is based are involved. They cannot be denied in one sphere without their authority and force being weakened in

other spheres. If in the relations between races you pay no heed to justice and equity on which the social order rests, if you regard as unnecessary the social sympathy and mutual understanding on which co-operation and progress depend, you are not only doing a wrong to those whose claims are denied, but you are undermining the foundations on which the whole of western civilization is reared and abandoning the traditions and ideals which are the proudest possession of western peoples (p. 191).

Behind all these problems lies the overshadowing problem of Population. Nowhere is the judicial quality of Mr Oldham's mind more plainly apparent, and this chapter (XIII) calls for close attention and unprejudiced thinking. In Chapter XIV we find the Guiding Principles which emerge from the discussion; these are three: (1) Race must not be ignored or under-rated; (2) Race must not be allowed to obscure the uniqueness and value of the individual; (3) Differences of race are intended to minister to the fulfilment of a common purpose. The Practical Steps (Chapter XV) by which these principles are to be applied are mainly educative; the source of the difficulty has been shown to lie in the realm of ideas, not of natural facts or laws. So we are led to the conclusion in The Universal Community of the Loyal (Chapter XVI), the only hope for the future. The Church is declared to be lacking in this loyalty; and that lack is due to its defectiveness in missionary devotion.

The ultimate ground of the shortcomings of the Church is that it has lost in a large measure the missionary spirit. It has forgotten that it exists not for its own sake but for the sake of the world. Christianity is a missionary religion or it is nothing. It is in its essential nature a mission, a divine sending. 'As the Father hath sent Me,' Christ said, 'even so send I you.' Christians are in the world to transform it in accordance with the purpose of God.

The nineteenth century did indeed witness a great missionary revival within the Church. But, while the missionary movement has accomplished much, the missionary idea remained incomplete. The tendency was to conceive of human life as extended geographically in space. The aim was to bring the Christian Gospel within the reach of every person on the surface of the globe. It was not sufficiently recognized that the Christian Gospel is not only for every man but has to do with the whole of man's life. While the forces of the Church pressed forward into unoccupied fields and opened up new continents, many who were engaged in this task left out of view the new worlds created by the modern industrial system and international relations and scientific knowledge, and failed to recognize that in them just as much as in China or Africa the Christian witness has to be borne. The missionary

adventure is a bigger thing than the nineteenth century dreamed. Just as the foreign missionary movement was undoubtedly one of the principal means of quickening the life of the Church, so response to the larger call in this present century may be expected to lead to a revival of Christian life. It is only in wrestling with actual conditions that the truth, vitality and power of Christian faith reveal themselves. The Church must accept the whole of its mission and regard no part of the world which God has made as outside its province if it is to discover the fulness and wealth of the meaning of its own faith.

In consequence of the lack of the missionary spirit the Church is not to-day, as it ought to be, in the mid-stream of the world's life. It is not sufficiently in touch at many points with real things. The constructive and creative thought of our time does not proceed in large measure from those who start with Christian presuppositions. New vital forces are re-shaping the modern world, which have scarcely penetrated the general life of the Church and which it is making little conscious effort to guide and inspire. When one asks where in the world to-day one can find the most creative forces, most tingle and zest, most new insight and invention, most of the spirit of adventure in the pursuit of moral ideals, it is not to ecclesiastical circles that one would naturally turn. The pronouncements made by ecclesiastical bodies on social and moral questions are too often—there are, of course, many exceptions—the utterance of pious platitudes without knowledge and thought behind them, and practical men who know that only by hard and sustained thinking can a way be found through the perplexities and enigmas of modern life are apt in consequence to regard the Church as an influence that may be safely ignored.

The one supreme need, therefore, here as always, is the deepening of the devotion of Christian people to the Lord Jesus Himself, that they may be sent out by Him to fulfil His purpose of gathering into one all the family of God.

We have chosen to give some indication of the course followed by the author in this remarkable book, rather than to attempt any detailed appreciation or criticism. The book is so good that the showman is more required than the critic. It is a really great contribution at once to the solution of an urgent problem and to the fuller realization of what Christ's religion involves; in other words, it is a piece of real Christian statesmanship.

W. MANCHESTER

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TWO BOOKS ON RACE

THE CLASH OF COLOUR. By BASIL MATHEWS. London: U.C.M.E. 2s. 1924.
OF ONE BLOOD. ROBERT E. SPEER. New York: Missionary Education Movement. 75 cents. 1924.

IT is significant of a new conception of missionary obligation that within a twelvemonth four books on race have appeared—one (*Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal*) as part of the preparation for the recent Student Volunteer Quadrennial at Indianapolis; a second (*The Clash of Colour*) from one of the most versatile and facile interpreters of modern missions; and two from well-known missionary leaders in Great Britain and America (J. H. Oldham and R. E. Speer). It shows that the day for a presentation of missions as an isolated movement has passed, and that henceforth the missionary enterprise is to be considered in intimate relations with the international aspects of current political, industrial and racial issues.

In *The Clash of Colour* one vivid analogy after the other from history, painting and music is called upon to supplement aeroplane trips, magic gallops and surveys from the distant moon until the reader cannot fail to feel 'the murmur and the fret of the stupendous tide of racial movement on the shores of humanity.' In quick succession one is made to see the steady pressure of population from one side of the Pacific basin and the implacable resistance to this from other sides, the origin of America's tremendous and inescapable race problem, the scramble for Africa which has linked for ever the white and African peoples, the growth in black peoples of a sense of their own oneness as a race, and the rise of India's two great race problems—internally the conflict between Hindus and Muhammadans, externally the struggle for full equality of citizenship with all others in the British Commonwealth. The author resolves race strife into removable economic and political causes, and hence is able to vision co-operative, other-regarding team-play on a world scale. He pictures a time when the nations of the world will lose their consciousness of race difference in a common fight against mankind's deadly foes—low civilizations, greed, disease and personal sins—in obedience to the One who alone commands the reverent love of East and West and transcends all race rancour. The book is intended for young people; but few adults will be able to lay the book aside without finishing it. It is, as the author acknowledges, only a 'porch through which the reader will enter on a wider and deeper study of the problem'; but the colourful, picturesque treat-

ment of the issues actually raised will tend to make our modern world's great problem live in the imagination.

Of One Blood is a much longer and more serious attempt to deal with all major phases of the race question, being itself an abridged edition of a larger volume soon to be published.[1] The outstanding characteristic of the book is the way in which the salient judgments of ninety authors are marshalled for the reader and the way in which one is helped to judge between their conflicting positions by the ripened Christian guidance of one whose deepest conviction 'is that the Son of God, Jesus Christ, is the one solution of the race problem as of every moral and social problem.' When one sees the sixty additional publications suggested for reading one realizes not only one's debt to the author who has made this synthesis for the average reader but the greatness and complexity of the problem itself. While showing that there is little agreement as to the origin and nature of race, the author upholds as ultimate truth about race the thesis that God made of one blood all races of man. With reference to the problem of biological inheritance he holds that the door of life and opportunity is open to all races which, like families and individuals, may move on into new and different character. The truth of the general equality in racial capacity is affirmed and the duty of service as the real evidence and privilege of race superiority. In successive chapters are described the good and gain in race distinctions; the evils and abuses of race; the relation of race to colour, climate, nationality, language, sex and religion; various solutions of the race problem (conflict, segregation, subjugation, eugenics, amalgamation, and that of Christianity); and various specific race problems (Negroes in America, immigration, Mexicans, Japanese and Latin Americans). The author affirms that 'from the Christian point of view we should hold that only the purpose and grace of God can lift races or men; that He provided the institution of race for great and beneficent ends; that the failure of those ends can result only from the disobedience and faithlessness of man; that if we will find and follow His will for men, for races, and for all racial and human relationships, we shall find racial differences not an evil but an unmeasurable blessing and the means of a richer and better world.'

New York — Daniel Johnson Fleming

[1] A further review of the positions taken by Dr Speer is reserved until his larger volume is issued.—Ed.

BUDDHISM IN CHINA

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHISTS IN CHINA. By Professor LEWIS HODOUS, D.D. New York: Macmillan. $1. 1924.

THE aim of this little manual is indicated in the preface as being 'impressionistic rather than educational,' kindling the interest of the student and directing his activity along sound lines. No other writer has reproduced more sympathetically and with a keener sense of balance the thinking of Buddhists in China, who come to Buddhism with minds critical or passive, receptive or questioning. Chapter VIII, the best in the book, on The Spiritual Values Emphasized, is an example of this. And none has better shown how retentive of the best in the æsthetic, moral and spiritual spheres Christianity may be made, while no whit weakening its teaching on values human and divine. The subjects treated are: The Entrance and Establishment of Buddhism; Buddhism and the Peasant, the Family, Social Life and the Future Life; Spiritual Values; Present-day Buddhism and The Christian Approach. To these are added hints for the preliminary study of the subject and a brief bibliography. There is material here for the study of the modern religious situation in China which is valuable as well as interesting. Take as instance the incidental reference (p. 9) to the return to a purer Taoism, a movement on the lines that compelled exponents of Japanese religious development to coin the word 'Laoism' to distinguish the purer from the degenerate popular Taoism.

We regret the limitations imposed on the writer. In a field so little cultivated as the study of Northern Buddhism, an impressionistic presentation is of small value by itself. A handbook in this department should provide the reader with a framework, for he possesses none, into which to put his impressions. The evolution of Northern Buddhism is of paramount value in the comparative study of religions and of surpassing interest from a humanistic point of view. Professor Hodous should have been left free to preface his work with a short genetic study, on humanistic lines, of the rise of Northern Buddhism. The complement of that study would have been a short systematic digest of the principal tenets. Then we should have had a reliable and most valuable introductory manual for the use of students, and its size would have been scarcely larger than that of the present volume, for space in the later passages

would be saved by reference back to the digest. The need for such a digest is emphasized by the lack of an index, an omission that cannot be defended on any grounds.

The following suggestions are made in view of another edition. Most of the Chinese place-names would gain by translation. On p. 51 the last syllable 'fo' should find place in the Sanskrit original as 'Buddha,' and on p. 57 the translation given is neither full nor accurate.

The total absence of reference to Thibetan influence on the development of Northern Buddhism is a lack. Hence the cult of Kwanyin is referred back to India. Avalōkites'vara, her original, is Thibetan, and in explaining the sex-mutation from the original male to the female of China and Japan reference might have been made to such parallels as Osiris and Ishtar (see Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*). In the dates given for the worship of the goddess, the 19th of the 2nd month—her birthday—is omitted. In the bibliography reference should be made to Moule's *Chinese People*, and to Davrout's work. A reference to Parker's *China and Religion* (p. 76) would have made the author less confident that Buddhism was introduced into China in 121 B.C. (pp. 4 and 63).

Was the monastery of the White Horse (p. 40) built for the Indian monks, and called after their pack-horse, or was it only adapted from an official building called the White Horse Yamen many years previously? Care should be taken to make clear that Mahāyāna teaching was much anterior to Amidabhism, and the statement on p. 12 should be recast in order to show that not only the Mahāyāna teaching which emerged from the council of Jalunder (1st century A.D.) but also the Hīnayāna teaching formulated at Patna (*c.* 240 B.C.) was missionary in spirit, and is reputed under the influence of Asoka to have sent monks to China. The writer has not made clear what are the 'four methods of expressing the religious life' in use in China when Buddhism was introduced (p. 16). On p. 12 ignorance should not be made the equivalent of desire in the Hīnayāna as the cause of sorrow. Desire is the cause, ignorance of this is the cause of Samsara or world-experience. And here or elsewhere reference might have been made to Nagarjuna's linking up of Samsara with Nirvana, expressed by Suzuki in the challenging phrase 'Samsara is Nirvana.' Note also that the feast on the 15th day of the 7th month (p. 47) is distinctly a practice in the worship of ancestors adapted by Buddhists to their own uses.

Finally, Bodhidharma (p. 13) arrived in 520 A.D. not at the capital but at Canton.

Even in its present form the manual should be in the hands of all students beginning the study of Northern Buddhism.

JOHN C. STEELE

READING

A SUMMARY OF THE RĀMĀYANA

THE RĀMĀYANA OF VĀLMIKI: A SUMMARY. By J. M. MACFIE. Madras: Christian Literature Society for India. R. 3.8. 1923.

MODERN India in respect to mentality differs of course from what she was at the period which gave rise to the two great epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. Yet one can say with truth that a thorough knowledge of them is important, not only for an understanding of ancient, but also of modern India. The rich content of mythological material found in them still exists in India as a living heritage which moulds and influences the imagination of many circles. And if the ideal of the ancient seers has changed in many respects, yet much which is to be found in both epics is held up as an example before young India to-day whether by professional or unofficial teachers, and especially by the mothers. It is therefore imperative that everyone who wishes to understand India, in particular every missionary, should have a thorough knowledge of these epics, which are known even to the illiterate masses, being sung by numberless strolling singers in their mother tongues.

Mr Macfie, who has already published a detailed summary of the Mahābhārata, here gives us a similar book on the Rāmāyana. He bases his summary on the English translations by R. T. H. Griffiths (1870–4) and M. N. Dutt (1892–4). He has not used the Italian translation of Gaspare Gorresio (1847–58), the French of H. Fauche (1854–8), nor the German summaries of Hermann Jakobi (1893) and Al. Baumgartner, S.J. (1894). If he has ever referred to the original text such reference is never apparent. Though the limitation in the sources used is visible to an expert, yet we must admit that Mr Macfie's book surveys the rich content of the Rāmāyana well and truly. One can find in it all that is essential or of importance. The index is a help to the speedy turning up of isolated subjects. On that account the book can be recommended as of unusual value to all who wish to find their way rapidly and surely

about the Rāmāyana, more especially to missionaries. For a scholar it does not take the place of a full translation, but it was not the plan of the author that it should.

The summary is preceded by an Introduction which cannot claim to be of much value. In it the author reveals a slender acquaintance with the problems of Indian religion. The same may be said of the notes at the end of the book. But this insufficiency in the Introduction and notes does not really detract from the value of the book, which lies in the sound presentation of the contents of the epic. The occasional references to contradictions which exist in the epic are annoying and petty. They are apparently dictated by an interest in apologetic. In the case of Indian readers appreciation is not shaken by such references, they are merely so many pin-pricks which annoy but do not convince. If one wishes to criticize let the criticism be of large issues and on the basis of a just and adequate knowledge of the subject. These remarks apply not only to the occasional critical notes in the text of the summary but also to the attempted critique in the Introduction. Critical estimates should certainly be made, but they must be on the highest level as to content, especially if they emanate from the ranks of missionaries or those in close relation to them.

H. W. Schomerus

Kiel

INDIAN WOMEN IN MODERN INDUSTRY

Labour in India: A Study of the Conditions of Indian Women in Modern Industry. By Janet Harvey Kelman. London: Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. New York: Doran. $4. 1923.

This is a remarkable book, and there is revealed on every page of it the painstaking industry and ability of the author. There is also present throughout a true touch of human sympathy with the Indian women workers and an understanding of the hardships and sufferings which they are obliged to endure. As a carefully written summary of the facts concerning the cotton and jute mills, and as an impartial estimate of the conditions under which women work in them, it covers the ground well, and gives the reader in an interesting form a detailed knowledge of the main facts. An attempt is made also to deal with the home life of the people, but here the writer's brief acquaintance with Indian conditions makes her knowledge less full in detail

than it would have been if she had been able to live longer in the country.

The title is somewhat misleading; and even the sub-title does not make quite clear to the reader that the great mass of facts collected by Miss Kelman are gathered almost entirely from the cotton and jute mill industries. Perhaps there is no modern industry in India employing a very large number of women and children where more investigation is needed than the coal mining industry. I believe it is still true that India is almost the only civilized country in the world where women and children, numbering many thousands, work underground, dragging trucks and other loads along, much in the same manner as women and children did in England before the factory laws a hundred years ago. Miss Kelman mentions the coal industry several times, but she has not been able to give the facts in full detail as she did about cotton and jute.

As I have read this book with absorbed interest and enthusiasm, the one wish has continually arisen in my mind, that having begun such a good work, Miss Kelman might perform it unto the end, and take up again on a future visit the problem of the mines as thoroughly as she has taken up the problem of cotton and jute. It would be a very great gain to India and the world of labour if Miss Kelman went out a second time and took up the whole problem of women labour and child labour in the Indian mines and all the conditions of work underground. Such an investigation needs a woman to carry it out, and only a trained investigator can do it.

I have one criticism to make in a book that is so good. There is a strange failure to understand and to appreciate the work which Mahatma Gandhi has done for the poor and the oppressed. To me this is disquieting in a work which is so thorough in its careful analysis of facts. I would refer specially to pp. 47–51, which are certain, quite unintentionally, to wound those whom Miss Kelman would wish to win. The comparison with Rabindranath Tagore does not reach the true point of difference; and the picture drawn of Mahatma Gandhi is astonishingly incorrect. The statement about him, that 'he would repudiate the suggestion that the more active virtues, that achievement, that the search for truth, are necessary to the highest development of human character,' is quite unmeaning to anyone who knows Mahatma Gandhi intimately and has lived with him and learnt his thoroughness, his supreme test of everything by action, his passionate search for truth in action above everything

else in the world. It appears to me that probably a false generalization about Hinduism (see p. 45) led the author to make this strange mistake.

I trust that the sentence I have quoted and the criticism of Hinduism from which it springs will be modified in the second edition.

C. F. ANDREWS

SANTINIKETAN

BUSINESS MEN AND MISSIONS

THE BUSINESS OF MISSIONS. By CORNELIUS H. PATTON. New York: Macmillan. $2. 1924.

THIS is a missionary book for 'the man at the end of the pew.' He has been somewhat neglected, while special literature has been provided for women, and students, and children, and other sorts of people. The man who cannot attend a mission study group, and who is not satisfied with the occasional addresses on missions that he may hear, now has a chance to find out about the present-day meaning of foreign missions. 'If you are a Christian and also a practical man, this book is dedicated to you.'

Let nobody make the mistake of thinking that missions are for the sake of business. Dr Patton rightly assumes that the practical Christian man is more interested in what he can give than in what he can get. Missions are here described as 'the great business of the Church,' to which men must give their time and strength and ability as devotedly as they expend themselves in their other business enterprises, only much more so. In the old days, happily gone, the method of securing financial support for missions was 'to make a red-hot speech, sing "From Greenland's icy mountains," pass the plate and take what comes.' The reader of this book will find that missions are an altruistic enterprise of majestic proportions, that they are being carried forward in a way that should commend them to business minds, and that they are a concern in which every sincere and earnest Christian must have a part. Instead of the old language of armies and conquest, it suggests that missions are an intensely practical work, and at the same time so stupendously great as could never have been conceived by man apart from divine revelation and command. They are the 'King's business.' The first chapter contains a comprehensive survey of missions throughout the world, describing their vastness, their variety and their demonstrated success. Then,

China is taken as the example of a great mission field, and a more detailed view of the work is given. In the third chapter, the problems are faced, and with a wealth of concrete illustrations from almost every field it is shown that there are no illusions about the real difficulties that must be overcome. There is evidence here both of the research and of the executive ability that characterize modern missions, and no business man will miss the significance of it. The Great Partnership is the title of another chapter which tells of what has been done in relating all the various forces of the Churches and missions to one another so that they will work together in pursuit of their common aim. Co-operation in language schools, between missions, in education and in the production of literature, church union, national Christian councils in the West and on the mission fields, the International Missionary Council, and the reasons for them all, are described in a way that will interest the readers of this Review as well as the business man who too often seems to be bewildered by these many new developments. Under Business at Headquarters the practical man will be interested to find out how the missionary personnel are found, how the funds are handled, and all the other details of administration. The two closing chapters are an appeal and a challenge. The need of the world to-day is described in terms of the present time that are true and real and for which only the Gospel of Jesus Christ is sufficient. 'From now on missions must be the business not the charity of the Church.' The challenge is not left vague. Some practical and personal suggestions are made, and brief reports are given of what has been done by some men 'who have meant business.'

The mission boards will want to circulate this book widely. The publishers are preparing to offer it in a cheaper edition for that purpose. Dr Patton is Home Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and he has visited the mission fields in China and Africa. He writes therefore with the authority of full and intimate knowledge. This book is stimulating, for it deals with facts—an astonishingly large number of them, fresh, varied, accurately and concisely described. They are the facts of missions in the post-war world, with all its disillusionment and its opportunities. The book is encouraging, for it deals not with theories but with the demonstrated success of Christian missions. Its optimism is based upon the power of the gospel of Christ, of which it testifies. It is an American book, written primarily for business men in that conti-

nent. We believe it has a strong message for Christian men in Europe and the other continents. We commend it to them.

A. L. Warnshuis

New York

TRIBES OF THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE

The Bagesu and Other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate. By John Roscoe. Illus. Map. London: Cambridge University Press. 20s. 1924.

In this third and final volume of the Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa Canon Roscoe has brought together what he calls 'scraps of information' about nine tribes, gathered mainly while travelling from place to place. Of some of these he wrote in his former work, *The Northern Bantu*. At various points the present notes diverge from, and even contradict, the previous description and Canon Roscoe attempts no rectification. We are grateful for these chips while conscious (as the author is conscious) that they have not all the same value as the more solid information contained in the previous volumes of the report. Our readers, like ourselves, will be interested chiefly in what Canon Roscoe records of the religion of these tribes. In common with other Africans their religious thought and practices are mainly centred around the ancestral spirits, but there are more or less clear recognitions of a supreme deity. The Bagesu name the Creator *Weri Kubumba*, but like many other Africans did not often trouble Him with requests. In the vocabulary Canon Roscoe gives 'god' as the equivalent of *Mweri*, which we suppose to be the same word as *Weri*. The root of *Kubumba* is found in the common Bantu *bumba*, i.e. to mould, and hence we may translate the name, 'the god who moulds.' It is noteworthy that the word, applied commonly to the work of the potter, is of very general use among Africans to designate the Supreme Being. The Basoga, another Bantu tribe, acknowledge several gods whose names and functions closely resemble those ascribed to the gods by the Baganda. The Creator is named by them *Lubare*. Of other Bantu tribes—Bakonjo, Bambwa, Bakyiga and Batuse—the information given is more scanty, but from what Canon Roscoe says we gather that they all, to a greater or less degree of clearness, acknowledge a Supreme Deity. Only five lines are devoted to the religion of the Bateso, a nilotic tribe: they name the Creator

Edeke—a word whose meaning eludes us. The Basabei, who are said to belong to the Masai group, make offerings to *Oiki*, who is described as the Creator. In the vocabulary we notice that Canon Roscoe gives ' ghost ' as the meaning of *oike*. It is not clear whether *oiki* and *oike* are the same word or not, and no clue is offered as to the etymology of *oiki*.

We heartily congratulate Canon Roscoe upon the completion of his work, which might well be regarded as the fitting close to a long and notable career as a missionary-anthropologist, did we not hope that he has still much to give us from his store.

E. W. Smith

London

THE STUDY OF BANTU LANGUAGES

Neue Ur-Bantu-Wortstämme nebst einem Beitrag zur Erforschung der Bantuwurzeln. By Walther Bourquin. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer. 1923.

In 1869 a German scholar, Dr W. H. I. Bleek, published *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, which proved to be the first milestone in the study of Bantu languages. His work has been carried on by many scholars, who have earnestly endeavoured to gain insight into the phonetic and grammatical structure of the approximately two hundred Bantu languages and dialects ; in fact, a great number of grammars and several voluminous dictionaries have been edited in the last fifty years. The knowledge of Latin is a real help to the student of Romance languages, for he is able to trace back the modern form of a word and its present meaning to the Latin word from which it has been derived. In exactly the same way it would save us a great deal of tedious work if we knew the mother-Bantu from which all modern Bantu languages have originated. Unfortunately no such root-form, which would be an invaluable help in linguistic research in Southern Africa, has been preserved. Dr Bleek's assumption that the Kafir most nearly resembles the original language does not hold good any longer, seeing that it contains numerous foreign words which point to Hottentot influence.

Accordingly I attempted to construct the original forms by comparing the different extant languages, and the result of my labour was published in 1899 (*Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*, second edition, 1910). In this book I laid before Bantu

scholars a list of words of the hypothetical language, and I had the pleasure of seeing that many missionaries found it useful for the study of their particular Bantu dialect. Professor Dempwolff actually found dialects spoken in East Africa which bear the closest resemblance to the language which had been reconstructed by me. Moreover, he added a number of new words to my list, and in the same way other friends of African studies commended my theory in different important publications; I need only name Professor Alice Werner of London, M. Jacottet of Paris and Professor Norton of Cape Town.

Recently, one of the Moravian missionaries in South Africa, Walther Bourquin, has continued my work by publishing hundreds of new word-stems fitting into the scheme of this hypothetical root language. Hereby he has rendered both Bantu scholars and missionaries an inestimable service. His book throws valuable light on research into laws of sound and word-stems in both known and unknown Bantu dialects, and no one making a serious study of these tongues can afford to be without the book. Meanings are given in both German and English, and there is both a German and an English index. Although the author has dealt mainly with South African dialects, yet he has followed up many word-stems through all the territory from South Africa to Kamerun and to Kilimandjaro, in fifty-two languages. I can only hope that many missionaries will follow the example of those who have worked in accordance with the new method. Every one who wishes to do useful work in Bantu philology must needs do away with the antiquated methods of former decades, which mean at their very best a grievous waste of time and money. If we wish to master the modern methods of research, we shall have to purchase and to make diligent use of Walther Bourquin's new book. Why should we hesitate to adopt more efficient methods, where the interests of philology and mission work are so vitally concerned?

HAMBURG — CARL MEINHOF

FIFTY YEARS IN MADAGASCAR

FIFTY YEARS IN MADAGASCAR. By JAMES SIBREE, D.D. Illustrations. Map. London: Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. 1924.

DR JAMES SIBREE has rendered great service to missions overseas, as a member of the staff of the London Missionary Society in Mada-

gascar. His latest contribution to the cause is the book of which the title is printed above. He has considerable humour, a clear and racy style and a profound knowledge of his subject. He was, and still is, an indefatigable worker as pastor and evangelist; and in his spare moments his pen and his pencil were always busy. Few have given a finer life of devotion to the highest form of service. The book he has just published contains over 350 pages and 24 admirable illustrations. No one can read it and fail to feel that a large part of its value lies in the entirely unconscious portrait which he gives of himself and his wife.

The book is first and foremost reminiscent of his own life and work, with a clear and interesting record of the work done by his own society in Tananarive and in the central provinces, for which he finds abundant material ready to his hand in its struggles, achievements and victories.

His description of Madagascar when he first joined the mission in 1863 is most interesting. The country was resting after a long persecution, and was now once again open to the missionary. His own society was reaping the harvest of the earlier labours of its agents: the fidelity of so many Christian martyrs had profoundly impressed the Hova, the ruling race of the central plateaux. 'When I went there first,' he writes, 'a heathen queen was reigning; idolatry was still everywhere a great power; the poison-ordeal and many cruel customs were still practised; the native Christians were only a small section of the community; slavery was still a national institution.' In striking contrast with this we have his account of the state of affairs when he returned to the island after his first furlough. A Christian queen had ascended the throne; the whole influence of the Malagasy government was exerted in favour of Christianity; the idols of the central provinces had been burned by order of the queen; a mass movement was in full progress which brought more converts than the missionaries could teach and discipline.

In another chapter he gives an account of the inception of the London Missionary Society training college for pastors and evangelists in 1869, and its subsequent history, with a photo of the fine building of the present day. He has also a clear and interesting account of the village schools and their days of inspection by the missionary. Most of these schools were taught by instructors who were good and simple men, well able to teach their own language, but unqualified to teach French. He has a sad tale to tell of the

suppression of these schools by M. Augagneur in 1906—a great blow to missionary work in every part of the island.

Perhaps the one part of his work to which some slight exception may be taken is that which deals with the acquisition of the island by the French. Madagascar is now, and has been for nearly thirty years, a French colony. In common with most of those who, as missionaries, knew and worked under the old régime, Dr Sibree hardly values sufficiently the undoubted benefits conferred by France on Madagascar. He has however words of warm appreciation for General Gallieni during his second term of office, and notes the fact that a network of Malagasy doctors, with hospitals and dispensaries, under French supervision, has been established far and wide. He is frank and outspoken: he writes, as we should expect, as a convinced and somewhat militant Protestant, but his kindly charity towards all who work for Christ is his 'most excellent gift.'

GEORGE LANCHESTER KING, BISHOP

ROCHESTER

SHORTER NOTICES

The Message of Hope to a World of Sorrow as expressed by Buddhism and Christianity: A Comparison between the Teachings of the Buddha and the Christ. By A. Law, D.D. (Melbourne: Diocesan Book Depot. 3s. 6d. 1923.) Dr Law has put much work into this book; and the unlearned reader will find in it a faithful account of Buddhism, a sound presentation of the characteristics of Christianity, and a comparison of the two which, on the whole, is just and convincing. There are mistakes, but they are such as do not seriously interfere with the main purpose: e.g. a false derivation of Nirvana is mentioned on p. 65, and the true one is never given; King Milinda (the Greek Menander) is identified with Mihinda, the son of Asoka (the Sanscrit Mahendra); and there are some questionable estimates of matters outside the main subject, as in the opinion quoted on p. 46, 'The aggressive power of Islam is not so threatening and imminent as we had formerly been led to believe.' The book might be greatly improved by revision, by omitting the very frequent repetitions, by shortening the digressions to topics internal to Christianity, and above all, by concentrating emphasis on the central contrasts. A running commentary, which the Preface promises, comparing point after point of likeness or of difference, becomes wearisome and is not forcible. If strong light were thrown on what the author sees so

clearly to be the central truths, that Buddhism is a method, and Christianity a life; that Christ is not the Teacher of a Way, but is Himself the Way, then the minor points, in proportion to their importance, would catch light from these. R. S. C.

The Gospel and International Relations. By J. W. Coutts. (London: Student Christian Movement. 4s. 1924.) This book contains the substance of ten lectures given at the United Free Church College, Glasgow, during the early part of 1923. The development of an international consciousness is traced from its first appearance, with Amos, in Old Testament history, through his prophet successors to Jesus Christ, whose teaching about God and mankind is shown to contain the germ of true spiritual internationalism. How men slowly grew towards an understanding of His teaching—even yet not learned—is shown in succeeding chapters carrying thought on through the Apostolic Age, the Middle Ages and the Reformation up to the present day. We are reminded that in the early days of Christianity the missionary enterprise and a Christian internationalism were really one and the same. It should be so in these days also. The book closes with a quotation from Viscount Bryce appealing for right thinking on the part of individuals as the only way of building up a right public opinion.

Petite Histoire des Missions Chrétiennes. Par un Laïque. Les Précurseurs de l'Idée Missionaire en France aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ Siècles. (Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. F. 7.50 and F. 2. 1923.) The first of these books is an outline of mission history for French readers. The anonymous author has wisely avoided the pitfalls which await the writer of outline histories, by making his book a series of pictures of outstanding men and episodes. Beginning with the teaching of Jesus he passes on to the missionary work of the Apostles, the evangelization of Europe and so on down to modern times. The work of the society publishing both books is dealt with at some length, but all the larger missionary societies, and Roman Catholic missions, come under brief review. The second is a slight pamphlet dealing with a few of the leaders of the beginnings of missionary thought in France. The short-lived mission to Brazil of 1556–8 is described in some detail. Calvin, Erasmus and Drelincourt, and their influence upon French thought, make up the rest of the pamphlet, which is No. 6 in the 'Les Cahiers Missionnaires' series. Both will be of a certain value to French students of missions.

The Missionary Wife. By Louise Roys. (New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel. 25 cents. 1923.) A little book written for the Committee of Missionary Preparation by one who knows her subject. It is intended primarily 'for a young woman planning to co-operate strongly with her husband on the field,' and while showing clearly the opportunities for service she will have, both many and varied, and how she may hope to fit herself for them, is not written in such a way as to discourage by holding up an unattainable ideal. We read in the preface that 'This pamphlet is commended to the boards, their candidates, and missionaries' in America. We would commend it to a similar constituency in Great Britain and elsewhere.

M. M. U.

Servant of Sahibs. By Rassul Galwan. Introduction by Sir Francis Younghusband. (Cambridge: Heffer. 9s. 1924.) Those who know the fellowship which springs up between servant and master in eastern travel will appreciate this fresh and attractive book. The writer, a Mohammedan of Ladak, of partly Pathan stock, served many sahibs and shrewdly observed them all. For missionary purposes, the value of the book lies in the insight which it gives into the springs of action in Himalayan minds. It is a very human document and will certainly prove amusing when, as is suggested in the sub-title, it is read aloud.

Ion Keith-Falconer of Arabia. By James Robson. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d. 1924.) This little volume of the 'Master Missionary Series' is especially welcome. There is no name in modern missions which appeals more readily to the imagination than Ion Keith-Falconer's, and none which is more likely to call others to the service of God. Besides his being of ancient Scottish lineage, every gift that appeals to the heroic in men was his: an infectious personality, an athlete's physique, a keen humour, a generous spirit and a bright intellect. He was distinguished at his university as an Orientalist. From the natural rewards of these he turned aside and chose to live his life at Sheikh Othman on the promontory of Aden, an arid area with its burning rocks, its frequent sandstorms, its fever reputation and its unpromising Moslem population. How he lived and how he died for Southern Arabia—with tragic swiftness—is the story told within the pages of this book.

M. C. G.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. James L. Barton, D.D., is a Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and an authority on the relations of missions and governments. His article is the outcome of discussions with an influential group of missionary leaders in America.

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The Rev. W. Meston, B.D., whose two previous articles on 'The Problem of Control in Indian Education' and 'The Problem of Management in Indian Education' appeared in the January and April issues of the Review, is a member of the United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission and Principal of the Madras Christian College.

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While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 480.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE AFRICAN CONTINENT: A SURVEY OF TEN YEARS[1]

African History only beginning

THE African continent as a whole has been brought into the main stream of world history within the memory of men still living. Although it is a century and a half since Bruce reached the sources of the Blue Nile and a century since Clapperton discovered Lake Chad, Africa remained for the outer world a rim of coast line until in the middle of the nineteenth century the exploration of Livingstone began to open up the interior of the continent; it was only in the eighties that the continent was partitioned among European powers. Since that time European government has been imposed on the entire continent, with the exception of Abyssinia and Liberia and recently of Egypt. Western energy has been expended in exploiting its natural resources, western science has been engaged in the study of its manifold problems, and for good and for evil western civilization has impinged on the life of its peoples.

The opening up of a vast continent,[2] on the tropical

[1] This Survey has been prepared by the editorial staff of the Review, on the basis of material received from missionaries and officers of mission boards. The Moslem areas of Northern Africa are not included in this article. Roman Catholic missions in Africa were the subject of a separate study in the July issue.

[2] A concrete instance may be given: The copper mines of the Katanga district, in the south Belgian Congo, were well known to the natives before the advent of the white man. In the eighties F. S. Arnot, the missionary pioneer, wrote of Arab caravans

produce of which the complex western civilization has become dependent; the increasing contact of the white peoples with the black inhabitants of Africa who constitute one of the great primary races of mankind; the interaction of the highly developed civilization of the West with the primitive life and institutions of African peoples; and the religious struggle between Christianity, Islam and the pagan beliefs of Africa are among the most fateful events and give rise to some of the most difficult problems in the history of mankind. The question of the relation between white and black presents different features in the Union of South Africa, where the white race has established a home and is attempting to build up a civilization inspired by western ideas, and in the greater part of the rest of the continent which is tropical in character and where, with the possible exception of a few small enclaves, Europeans cannot settle permanently and are temporary sojourners for the purposes of administration and trade. Nevertheless, apart from the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the historical associations of which have from the earliest times been with Europe rather than with the rest of Africa and which have been so orientalized as to be Asiatic rather than African, the continent of Africa possesses a real unity, and on a large view the relations between white

Problem of White and Black

trading between the mines of Katanga and the markets of Uganda. Then came the white man, with his rapid comprehension of what copper in Central Africa would mean to the world outside. The first need was for transport, and even a slight examination of a modern map of Africa reveals the process of his thinking as it has materialized in iron rails creeping from every direction towards Katanga. From Benguela on the west coast the railway already covers nearly four hundred of the twelve hundred miles which lie between it and the Katanga junction Fungurume (the remaining eight hundred can be traversed by the now completed motor road). Cape Town is in direct rail communication with the same junction. From it Dar es Salaam and Beira on the east coast and Cairo in the north can be reached by a combined rail, lake and river route—less serviceable for trade transport than for passengers. On the north-west the Lower Congo-Katanga railway is ever gradually pushing its way onwards towards Ilebo on the Kasai river, which is navigable to that point. A district in the heart of the continent is thus steadily becoming accessible, and its wealth, hoarded and hidden throughout centuries, is beginning an equally steady outward flow. The freight carried by the Katanga Railway in 1922 amounted to 1,695,681 tons, in 1923 to 2,265,734. Aeroplanes and wireless stations have appeared in Africa and will certainly become more general and play their part in opening up the interior.

and black throughout the continent form part of a single problem. The question of these relations is further complicated in some parts of the continent by that of the immigration and status of Asiatic races. One of the burning questions of the past decade, so far as the British Empire is concerned, has been that of the position of Indians in East Africa and in the Union of South Africa.

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR POLICIES

Territorial Effects of the War

As a result of the war the number of Great Powers responsible for the government of Africa was reduced. The million square miles of territory formerly governed by Germany were transferred to the rule of Great Britain, the Union of South Africa, France and Belgium. The countries bordering on the Mediterranean lie outside the scope of this survey, but it may be noted that in 1912 a French protectorate was proclaimed over Morocco and in the same year Italy annexed Tripoli and Cyrenaica; Egypt, declared a British protectorate in 1914, became an independent kingdom in 1922. The present distribution, in round figures, of territory and population in the African continent is shown in the following table:

	Area	Population
France	4,200,000	30,000,000
British Empire	4,015,000	37,000,000
Belgium	930,000	8,500,000
Portugal	800,000	7,750,000
Italy	650,000	1,500,000
Abyssinia	350,000	11,500,000
Egypt	350,000	12,750,000
Spain	140,000	750,000
Liberia	40,000	1,700,000

The Mandate System

We may trace through the decade a growing recognition by western Governments of their responsibilities towards the native populations over whom they bear rule. In regard to the former German colonies the principle was laid down in the Versailles Treaty that the well-being and development of the native inhabitants should

be regarded as forming a 'sacred trust of civilization,' and securities for the performance of this trust were embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The mandates under which these territories were assigned to the Government of different powers provide for the emancipation of all slaves, the suppression of the slave-trade, the prohibition of forced labour except for essential public works and the protection of the natives in respect of land, labour and the traffic in ammunition and spirituous liquors.

Trusteeship in Kenya

Discussions regarding the status of Indians in Kenya led to a pronouncement by the British Cabinet in 1923, in which the principle of trusteeship was enunciated in the clearest and most emphatic terms. 'Primarily,' it was stated, 'Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail'; and the statement goes on to assert that in the administration of the colony His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population 'the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races.' [1]

Labour in Kenya

A few years previously the promulgation in Kenya of certain ordinances designed to increase the supply of labour on European estates gave rise to serious concern among those who desired that justice should be done to the natives. Attention was called to the subject by the missionaries in East Africa and debates took place in both houses of parliament. It was feared that the resources and machinery of Government would be invoked to furnish a supply of labour to European employers. These anxieties were set at rest by a dispatch from the Secretary of State laying down that it is no part of the duty of officers of Government to assist in recruiting labour for private em-

[1] Command Paper No. Cmd. 1922.

ployers and that compulsory paid labour for public works should be used only when it is absolutely necessary for essential services, and then only with the previous sanction of the Secretary of State.[1]

Native Participation in Public Affairs

Within the decade under review new constitutions have been promulgated in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, which have increased the number of Africans on the Legislative Councils in these colonies. In Nigeria, for the first time in West Africa, the elective principle has been introduced and the franchise conferred on the inhabitants of certain principal centres of population. Similar action is shortly to be taken in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. In Kenya a draft measure has been introduced which empowers the Governor to set up at his discretion in each reserve District Native Councils which will provide a medium for the expression of native opinion.

South Africa

In South Africa the first attempt since the Union to deal in a comprehensive way with native affairs was made in 1920 by the passing of the Native Affairs Act. A Native Affairs Commission was set up to advise the Government in regard to all questions of native policy and legislation. The Commission provides for the study of native questions and puts at the disposal of Government expert advice, while it gives to the native population a tribunal before which they may voice their grievances. The Act provides also for the constitution of native councils with considerable executive powers in matters of local self-government, and empowers the Governor-General to convene conferences of Natives to ascertain the sentiment of the native population in regard to legislative measures which affect their interest. In September 1923 a remarkably representative conference was called by the Dutch Reformed Church, to deliberate on matters affecting native affairs. The subjects discussed included native education, the Urban Areas Act, the land question, segregation and political

[1] Command Paper No. Cmd. 1509.

rights for Natives. The striking innovation was the discussion of these subjects, on equal terms, by Natives and Europeans.

Belgian Congo

In the Belgian Congo the decade has witnessed a progressive improvement since the assumption of responsibility by the Belgian Parliament in 1908. The ruthless exploitation which stained the record of the Congo Free State has given place to a government which has brought about radical improvements in the administration and is making an honest endeavour to administer the country with regard to the interests, moral and material, of the native population. The rights of the companies which had obtained concessions have been restricted and the rights of the Natives to dispose of the produce of their own soil have been recognized. The ideals which are accepted by the more far-sighted leaders of Belgian opinion find expression in the concluding words of the Belgian Colonial Congress held in Brussels, December 1920, 'Let us have faith and love; faith in the potential perfection of the black race; sincere and disinterested love for the disinherited races of the world. And all the rest will be added unto us.'

French Congo

In the French colonies likewise an effort has been made to adapt policy to the exigencies of the new situation. 'The best—I had almost said, the majority—' writes M. Allégret 'of our governors and administrators have grasped the gravity of the situation and the point of view of our colonial policy has changed considerably.' He quotes from a French writer a passage which expresses the ideals of French colonial policy at its best. The aim of that policy is said to be to regard those under French protection, whatever the colour of their skin or however backward their evolution, as human beings, and as souls to be made into a new humanity.[1]

In the colonies of Portugal there are few signs of progress. The lack of a strong and settled Government at home is

[1] IRM, 1923 (Apr.), p. 167.

unfavourable to sound administration in Africa. The unhappy legacy of the past, the lack of funds and insufficient administrative personnel stand in the way of good government and very little is being done on behalf of the native population apart from the efforts of Christian missions.

Portuguese Colonies

CHANGES IN NATIVE FEELING

The invasion of western civilization is not only transforming the outward face of the country but at the same time effecting a revolution in the minds of the people. The inrush and propagation of new ideas was enormously accelerated by the war. New desires, ambitions and hopes have been aroused. Space will permit of only one or two illustrations.

Inrush of New Ideas

M. Allégret in the article already quoted from a recent number of the Review, writing with special but not exclusive reference to the French colonies in West Africa, tells us that after the war 'the minds of the people were perturbed, intoxicated, unbalanced by the return of thousands of troops, who for the most part came back with feelings other than those of respect for the European and the white woman ; by the pan-African propaganda introduced from America and the English colonies ; by the Communist and Bolshevist tracts with which certain parts of the coast were inundated, without the necessary counterpoise of moral training or of the training of conscience ; by the influence of a spirit which was sometimes democratic to excess.' [1]

West Africa

A missionary in Kenya writes in 1922 : 'The idea of racialism is not a local infection, confined to a small area and due to special circumstances. It is endemic in Africa, and is spreading all over the continent. It exerts a tremendous fascination for the African, and it would be folly to discount it as a superficial influence or a temporary phase. Racialism in Africa is pointing the way

East Africa

[1] IRM, 1923 (Apr.), p. 163.

to race hatred and disastrous strife, unless mutual distrust can be undermined and service substituted for narrow self-advancement as the foundation principle of healthy growth.'[1]

South Africa

In South Africa we are told that while the Natives 'have for generations remained quiet, docile, even supine in their trust in the essential goodness of Englishmen, now a remarkable change has come over things. . . . The black man, under the guidance of an ambitious younger generation, has developed intelligence and some feeling of independence that has made him less easy of management.' The unrest which is fostered by economic causes has led to riots at a number of centres. The war has awakened the dormant race consciousness of the Bantu, which is manifesting itself in a development of organization on trade union lines, the spread of separatist religious movements, an increasing demand for education, and the growth of a new self-assertive attitude. The old confidence in British justice and impartiality is disappearing, and 'a sense of deep contempt for, and resentment against, the white man is unfortunately becoming more and more widespread.'[2]

Irrepressible Forces

There are of course wide areas into which the new ideas have as yet scarcely penetrated. No generalization applies to all parts of the continent. But the tendencies to which attention has been called are tendencies that must inevitably spread. They represent the insurgent and irrepressible forces of life. A French writer goes to the heart of the matter when in commenting on the Pan-African Congress held at Brussels in 1921, which gave expression to African aspirations, he says that it must not be regarded as 'an exceptional manifestation due to a few denationalized Africans or to external influences: the desire to be admitted into the human family without reserves or compromises, without outbursts of indignation or smiles of derision, will to-morrow fill the heart of the whole of Africa.'[3]

[1] H. D. Hooper, *Africa in the Making*, pp. 38–9.
[2] D. D. T. Jabavu in IRM, 1922 (Apr.), pp. 249–59.
[3] Georges Hardy, *Vue Générale de l'Histoire d'Afrique*, p. 173.

EDUCATION

Demand for Education

The new aspirations which are stirring the peoples of Africa find expression in the increasing demand for education. Those who can afford it send their sons for higher education to Europe or the United States. Too often they fail to obtain the best intellectual and social training that the West can give, and not infrequently are brought into contact with the least desirable side of western civilization. At the other end of the scale, throughout both West and East Africa, the desire for advancement finds expression in the small village or ' hedge ' schools which are springing up everywhere, and the supervision and guidance of these small village schools is a question which is causing many of the colonial Governments serious concern.

Educational Work of Missions

It is a significant fact that up to the present the education of the peoples of Africa has been almost entirely the work of Christian missions. In Dr Loram's *Education of the South African Native*, published in 1917, it is stated that all but three of the several thousand native schools in South Africa were being conducted by missionary agencies. Since that date a number of the native schools have been transferred to Government.

The following table showing the extent of the missionary contribution to education in the different British colonies is interesting :

	Mission Schools	Government Schools
Gambia	9	1 (Colonial Report, 1920).
Sierra Leone	134 (105 aided)	14 (do.).
Gold Coast	198	19 (do.).
Northern Nigeria [1]	107 (unassisted)	15 (do. 1918).
Southern Nigeria	1,602 (160 aided) [2]	45 (do.).
Kenya	500	5 (missionary estimate).
Uganda	79,631 *Pupils* [3]	None (Colonial Report, 1920).
Nyasaland	2,030	None (do. 1919–20).
Northern Rhodesia	457	1? (Report of Miss. Conf. of N. Rhodesia, 1922).
Southern Rhodesia	856	2 (do. S. Rhodesia, 1922).

[1] There are in addition in Northern Nigeria 26,000 native Koranic schools.

[2] The figures in the report show 160 assisted and 1442 unassisted schools without indicating how many of these are mission schools.

[3] The number of schools is not given, but only the number of pupils.

The statistics for the German African colonies before the war show a similar state of affairs :

	Total Schools	Mission Schools
German South-West Africa . . .	54	54
German East Africa	1001	918
Kamerun	531	525
Togo	324	319

In the Belgian Congo and in Portuguese Africa the work of education is almost entirely in the hands of the missions.

New Interest of Governments

It cannot be expected that this state of things will continue. A wide diffusion of education is only possible if the work of voluntary agencies is supplemented by the superior resources at the disposal of Governments. Within the past few years colonial Governments have shown a new interest in native education. In the past decade new education ordinances have been issued in several colonies, and the educational departments of Governments are being strengthened. Space does not permit of giving details, but an awakening of interest in educational matters on the part of Governments is unmistakable.

Advisory Committee in London

The question of how best to bring about effective co-operation between Governments and voluntary agencies engaged in the work of education is plainly one of great and far-reaching importance. As a result of representations made by the missionary societies, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1923 appointed an Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. This ensures that so far as the British African colonies are concerned serious and systematic thought will be given to the best means of promoting the educational advancement of their peoples. The Committee, of which the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State is Chairman, includes experienced administrators such as Sir Frederick Lugard and high educational authorities such as Sir Michael Sadler, the Bishop of Liverpool (formerly headmaster of Rugby) and Sir James Currie (formerly Principal of the Gordon College, Khartum). Missions, both Protestant

and Roman Catholic, are also represented on the Committee. Major Vischer, formerly Director of Education in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, has been appointed secretary of the Committee. It is hoped that the Committee will be able to keep in touch with those who are dealing with similar problems in other parts of the world, such as the Union of South Africa, the colonies of other European powers in Africa and with educational work among the Negroes in the Southern States of America.

Phelps-Stokes Commission

In 1920–21 an Education Commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the foreign mission boards of North America and Europe, visited West and South Africa, and produced a Report entitled *Education in Africa* [1] which is recognized to be the most authoritative work at present available on native education in Africa. This Report by Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Commission, has been receiving the attention both of the missionary bodies and of the colonial governments. Dr Jones has rendered a valuable service to African education in insisting that the primary aim of education at the present time in Africa should be the development of teachers and leaders of the masses, and that the education of the masses themselves is the second great responsibility. The Commission has rendered further service by outlining the type of education best adapted to meet the needs of inhabitants of the African colonies at the present stage of their development. The Commission included among its members Dr J. E. K. Aggrey, a distinguished representative of the African race. A still stronger Commission has, during the present year, visited East Africa, and its Report is awaited with much interest.

A notable advance in native education in South Africa has been made during the decade in the South African Native College at Fort Hare, which was opened in 1916.

[1] Can be ordered in North America (price $2) from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York; in Great Britain (price 7s. 6d.) from Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

From an initial enrolment of twenty students its numbers have increased to over one hundred. The College came into being through co-operation between the Union Government, the Native Councils of the Transkeian Territories and Basutoland, and the Anglican, Presbyterian and Wesleyan missionary agencies, who provide denominational hostels. The curriculum is in a line with that of the University of South Africa and tends to give increasing recognition to science, agriculture, commerce, education and community activities required for the leaders and teachers of a primitive people. The first graduation ceremony was held in May, 1924; two students received diplomas.

Fort Hare

The Gordon College at Khartum, which has now completed its twentieth year, is an educational achievement of outstanding merit. Thanks to the excellence of its staff it has succeeded in establishing a fine tradition and the moral tone of the school is high. Its aim, carried out with great thoroughness, is to meet the actual needs of the country and its hundreds of pupils are being trained for definite posts largely in the public services.

Gordon College, Khartum

An experiment that may have far-reaching influence on African education is about to be started at Achimota in the Gold Coast. Owing to the success of the cocoa industry, the Gold Coast has been fortunate among African colonies in having considerable revenues, and fortunate also in having in Sir Gordon Guggisberg a Governor who is an enthusiastic believer in education. He proposes to establish in the Gold Coast a first-rate school and college which may ultimately develop into a West African university. The Rev. A. G. Fraser, well known for his educational work at Trinity College, Kandy, has accepted the post of headmaster of the new institution, and he will have Dr Aggrey as one of his colleagues. The intention is that the school should have a sufficient staff to enable it, not only to do its own work properly, but to carry on research, more especially with reference to the best means of relating western knowledge and culture with the African past.

Achimota

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Trusteeship again

The trusteeship of the Churches of the West for the great Christian community in Africa which they have brought into being is as binding as that of colonizing western nations for the native races of Africa. The indigenous and rapidly developing Christian community has a leading part to play in the future of Africa. To develop the work begun through missionary agencies until the African Churches have attained to maturity and can themselves make manifest the redemption of individual and social life through the power of the Gospel is one of the most compelling tasks before the Churches of the West.

Numerical Growth of African Christianity

When the new edition of the *World Atlas of Christian Missions*, now nearing completion, is issued, the total numerical increase of African Christianity will appear. The evidence at present available from single missions in various parts of the continent [1] justifies the expectation that the total will be great. There

[1] Six instances are offered as illustrations out of many others of similar significance which have been received.

(*a*) The C.M.S. Missions in Nigeria show growth as follows between 1913 and 1922 : stations, 66 to 107 ; foreign missionaries (including wives), 75 to 88 ; African workers, 353 to 1976 ; African communicants 11,540 to 28,815 ; baptized, 35,759 to 106,656—a total community, including those under instruction, of 157,490 as against 52,163 ten years before.

(*b*) The American Presbyterian Mission (North) in the Cameroons, with an increase in foreign staff from 58 to 80, shows as increase in the decade : Schools, 198 to 789; pupils in day and boarding schools, 17,605 to 31,496 ; churches and organized groups, 17 to 853 ; communicants, 6654 to 29,655.

(*c*) From the great Congo field statistics are not available for the decade, but in 1916 the Christian converts numbered 23,000, in 1920, over 50,000.

(*d*) Turning to East and Central Africa, the Livingstonia Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland shows the following increase in ten years' evangelistic work : Christian community, a growth of 9600, making a total of 50,651 ; baptized adherents, 5121—total of 14,750 ; members in full communion, 5405—total of 14,528 ; office bearers, 217—total of 697.

(*e*) The Mission Suisse Romande reports between 1912 and 1922 an increase in European workers of 16 per cent ; in outstations 100 per cent; in African ministers 200 per cent ; in teachers and evangelists, 78 per cent ; in baptized members, 56 per cent ; in schools, 72 per cent ; in pupils, 102 per cent.

(*f*) The Finnish Mission in Amboland (South-West Africa) has grown in the decade from 30 to 150 outstations ; from 61 to 232 African workers ; from 1063 to 6743 communicants ; from 2760 to 14,205 baptized Christians ; from 2228 scholars to 5252. In 1912 there were 378 baptisms, in 1922 there were 2332.

has been marked and steady increase, even in areas where work was arrested during the war. This increase has been out of all proportion to the number of foreign reinforcements sent out.

The Christian community has felt the influences which have become potent in African life. In several political disturbances Christians have been concerned, sometimes in positions of leadership. There have been notable though temporary secessions from the Church, such as the Elijah Movement in Nigeria, the Malaki Movement in Uganda and the more recent Prophet Movement on the Congo. These have revealed not only much ignorance and a large admixture of merely nominal Christianity, but also a latent power of leadership among the Natives. Ethiopianism, which has always given cause for anxiety, is said to be quietly gaining ground in the south. The increasing readiness of most of the missions to meet the aspirations of the people for a larger measure of self-government in church affairs has been a feature of the decade. Devolution goes forward at a steady though not a rapid pace. Wider spheres are being assigned to individual Africans and their voice is finding fuller expression in joint councils of mission and Church. Among the advances in the direction of devolution may be mentioned the largely increased responsibility laid upon African clergy in Uganda and in Southern Nigeria; the establishment of effective synodical control of the work under the direction of the Scottish Mission on the Gold Coast; the steady advance of the Church founded by the Paris Mission in Basutoland towards autonomy; the granting of a constitution to the Thonga Church by the Swiss Mission, and action taken in the same direction by Swedish and Finnish missions. The formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa was consummated at Lovedale in July 1923. There are, however, indications in letters from many parts of Africa that where devolution has been too rapid and responsibilities have been transferred to those not yet prepared to meet them results

Aspiration and Development

have been unsatisfactory and steps have had to be retraced. Such incidents, it is rightly urged, do not reflect so much on the capacity and stability of the African as on the adequacy of the training provided for those called to office in the Church. The increase in the African ministry during the decade emphasizes again the urgent need that theological preparation enriched by the best experience of the West should be made available for the future leaders of the African Church.

Missionary Co-operation

Meantime the missionary agencies at work in the continent have entered into closer fellowship. Excellent work is being done by such well-established organizations as the General Missionary Conference of South Africa, which met at Durban in 1921—having suspended its triennial meetings since 1912 on account of the war—and the Congo General Conference, which closes its ninth triennial meeting at Kinshasa on the day when this number of the Review appears. Both conferences deal with the administrative questions which arise in large mission areas and are in close touch with government officials. The Congo Conference, which has fifteen mission agencies of six nationalities on its executive committee, has greatly increased its activities in the decade ; it has rendered noteworthy service in regulating the entry of new missions into the Congo areas and is actively co-operating in plans for Christian literature. The General Missionary Conference of South Africa has become widely influential in all questions relating to native affairs. The Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference is steadily gaining in influence and a General Missionary Conference for Northern Rhodesia was formed in 1922 and gives promise of usefulness. In 1924 the Alliance of Protestant Missionary Societies in Kenya Colony secured the formation of a United Missionary Council to deal with important educational matters and questions arising in relation to the Government. The Alliance continues in existence and will concern itself mainly with church union. Co-operation in educational work is also growing ; in addi-

tion to the common surveys already noted, opportunity is being given for the use by several societies of institutions originally founded by one body and at first reserved for purposes of its own.

German Missions

The elimination of nearly all the German missionaries from Africa as a result of the war inflicted a grave loss both upon German Christianity and upon Africa, and laid heavy responsibilities upon the already overburdened missions of other nationalities. Earnest efforts were made by missionary societies in America, Great Britain and on the continent of Europe to carry on the extensive work left derelict. Large sums of money were contributed in aid of German missions.[1] The years 1923 and 1924 saw the re-admission of three Bremen missionaries to the Gold Coast, and of two Basel missionaries to the British Cameroons. In July 1924, in response to an approach made by the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr J. H. Thomas, announced that he had decided to remove the present discrimination against German missionary societies in regard to missionary work in the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories under the supervision of the Colonial Office. German societies will henceforth be placed in a position similar to that of missionary societies in other European countries in regard to the admission of their members to the Dependencies concerned, and it will be open to the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland to recommend them for ' recognition ' by His Majesty's Government under the existing arrangements.

Christian Literature

The completion in 1923 of the *Survey of Christian Literature in Africa*, mainly undertaken at the instance of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, brought Africa into line with the movement which had previously originated similar surveys in India, China and Japan alike. As a result,

[1] See a statement in *Quarterly Notes*, the Bulletin of the International Missionary Council, IRM, 1924 (July), p. iv.

consideration has been given in the field, in North America, in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, to the deplorable poverty of the situation revealed by the survey. By the provision of material for bi-lingual text-books, with English, French or Portuguese on one page and a translation into an African vernacular on the opposite page, a good beginning has been made. It is only by the pooling of all available resources that the vast task of providing the African Church with anything like an adequate educational and religious literature can be met.

Bible Translation

Meantime the work of translating the Bible has steadily advanced, until some portions of Scripture are available in 225 African languages. In 1912 the British and Foreign Bible Society had published portions in 109 languages; by 1924 the number had risen to 172—an increase of almost 70 per cent in twelve years.[1] Of translations published by other organizations into 53 more African languages, 14 have appeared between 1912 and 1922.

The preceding pages present, however imperfectly, an arresting situation. A great continent is at the crossroads of life; it lies with the western nations to guide the destinies of millions. The Christian Churches in western lands have their share in the trust. The increase of communications has allowed access to material resources which are claimed as part of the capital of the world. At the same time the western nations who press in to utilize these resources have explicitly recognized their trusteeship for the native races of the continent—its human wealth. The problem of adjusting these two factors in the situation to one another is acute and challenges the forces of civilization and of religion.

[1] *The Bible in the World*, 1923 (July), p. 111, gives a list of the localities of 46 new languages published from 1912–23. Four of them are found in the Nile Basin and White Nile; 11 in the Uganda Protectorate, Kenya Colony and Tanganyika Territory; 4 in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; 6 in the southern parts of Africa; 21 in West Africa, especially Nigeria and the Bauchi Highlands, and at least 20 from the Congo basin and the borderlands of the Belgian Congo.

The peoples of Africa are awaking to the life of the outer world as it impinges on them from every side. Reference has already been made to the stirrings of racial consciousness, the desire for larger responsibility, the craving for liberty for self-expression both in the sphere of political life and in the Church. The eager demand for educational opportunity which has grown up in many parts of the continent, coupled with the fact that Christian schools are still so largely in possession, suggests almost overwhelming possibilities. A serious challenge as to the adequacy of present means to meet the deeper needs of the situation begins to make itself heard. Administrators and missionary leaders are asking, as they look out on the new day in Africa, ' What kind of education does the African need ? In view of the part which the Christian Church should play in the future of Africa, are individual Christians being built up in disciplined character, in habits of reverent worship, in brotherly service, on the lines of early Christian days ? Is the Gospel being so presented as to capture and develop the whole personality of younger Africans for the kingdom of God ? ' Such questions are of vital moment. Some indication of lines along which an answer may be found has begun to appear.

There is hope in the drawing together, notably in the last ten years, of the forces working for good in Africa. A common aim has been expressed. Missions and Governments have conferred and collaborated. A spirit of co-operation has drawn the missions into deliberative groups. Larger place has been found for the African in the service of the Church.

The new freedom of educational thought in western lands has already touched Africa. Healthy experiment has begun. It is not in vain that educational commissions have twice brought expert knowledge to bear upon problems on the spot. Colonial administrators and missionaries have alike been glad to visit Hampton and Tuskegee, to study the educational principles which have borne satisfying fruit among North American Negroes. There is real life and pur-

pose behind the movement to provide the African Church with food for the spirit and the mind.

There has also begun in North America and in Europe a new quickening of interest and a stirring of conscience concerning Africa. The Protestant Churches of Belgium, France, Norway and Sweden are strengthening their African work. A recent encouraging event is the opening of the door for German missions to some of their former fields. In North America and in Great Britain African questions are engaging the interest of influential groups. The preparation of missionaries is being widely influenced by the needs of African fields. Social anthropology is being used to give understanding of African thought; modern methods of language study are being applied to African languages; the standard of efficiency in the vernacular is being raised.

The lines of need and of development indicated in the preceding pages converge upon a single point. After long unfoldings of history, when the fullness of time was come, God became incarnate that He might be known. It was through Man that He revealed Himself to men. This is still His way. Each age, each decade even, renews the call. The African missionaries of the past, and those who carried on without flinching through the devastating years of war, have done great preparatory work. The blessing of God has been upon them; it is upon them still. But the purpose of God for Africa seems ripe for a new fulfilment stretching out into future years. Once again comes the word to those who have served their own generation according to the will of God to commit to those who come after them the consummation of the plan—'The Lord hath chosen thee to build; be strong and do it.'

The facts, events and conditions which find place in the pages of this survey lead up to a clear and compelling call for the service of the best of those younger men and women who have drunk of the same wine of life as is being tasted by the educated African to-day, and who know the God of their fathers and serve Him with a perfect heart and a willing mind.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE MISSION FIELD

By J. H. OLDHAM

I

The International Missionary Council at its meeting at Oxford last year had before it the subject of religious education in the mission field and instructed its secretaries in consultation with the national missionary organizations in different countries to institute an inquiry into the subject. So many vital, far-reaching and intricate questions are involved that it is difficult to know where the consideration of the matter can most profitably begin. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the approach to the subject is different in different countries. In America religious education connotes certain forms of thought and activity that have been given definite and organized expression. Many American universities have established departments of religious education. Directorships of religious education have become a recognized calling. There is a voluminous literature dealing with the subject. In Europe, on the other hand, while problems of religious education have engaged the thought of individual parents, teachers, pastors and students, there is little of an organized movement. Much that is immediately suggested to the minds of American readers by the term religious education is unfamiliar to many in other countries.

If there is to be effective international co-operation and mutual help and stimulus in the study of a subject that is of quite central importance to the missionary movement, it is necessary to arrive at some common understanding regarding the issues involved. The present paper is an attempt

to call attention in a preliminary way to some of the fundamental elements of the problem and to show their immense significance from the missionary standpoint. It has been written after several small conferences in Great Britain with missionaries and others on the subject and a conference of two days with Dr Luther A. Weigle, the Chairman of the American Joint Advisory Committee on Methods and Materials for Religious Education in the Foreign Field, at which other American students of the question and one or two representatives from the continent of Europe were present along with a few British educationists and representatives of mission boards. The paper owes much to these conferences and to criticisms of a first draft received from American and British friends, but for the form in which the matter is presented I alone am responsible. It is hoped that in subsequent papers by other writers different aspects of the subject will receive fuller treatment.

If by religious education we mean the endeavour to lead individuals into a living relationship with God, who has made His character, purpose and grace known to us in Christ, and to enable them in the light of that experience and in the power of that relationship to grow up into a full and perfect manhood or womanhood and worthily to play their part in bringing in the kingdom of God, no missionary will have any question regarding the transcendent importance of the subject. It is the core and soul of missionary effort. It is, indeed, in the light of the Christian revelation the supreme business of life. It includes the whole process by which through the combined influence of parents and teachers and the ministries of the Church individuals are helped to make the Christian choice, and to grow to full Christian maturity and enter into their heritage as children of God.

But while there may be general agreement in regard to the fundamental importance of religious education defined in this broad way, when we proceed to ask what is necessary to achieve the desired end, difficulties begin to appear.

II

Is not this business of saving and making men and women, it may be asked, just what the Church has been at from the beginning? What is the need for new emphasis on the importance of religious education and for new forms of effort supplementing the present activities of the Church? The answer is that while the aim of the Church remains the same, vast changes have taken place in the conditions of the world in which that aim has to be carried out. Three changes of a far-reaching character have helped to create the problem which confronts the Church to-day.

The first is that other powerful forces besides religion are actively engaged in moulding the life of the child. Foremost among these is the educational activity of the State. In most western countries the State has taken in hand the task of education, and in doing so has in many cases in greater or less degree excluded religion from the national system. National education is of comparatively recent growth, and few have yet realized how powerful an instrument for influencing the mind and character of the rising generation has been placed in the hands of those who for the time control it—an instrument that may become more and more powerful as increasing study, experiment and discovery show how it may be employed to the greatest advantage. Even where religion is not deliberately excluded, the growth of modern knowledge and the multiplication of subjects in the curriculum tend to leave little time for religion, which is apt to be neglected in favour of subjects which have a more immediate practical value. The secularization of education is one great fact in the life of the world with which we have to reckon.

A second change is that the methods of exact observation and measurement and of scientific experiment which when applied to the physical world have produced such astonishing triumphs are now beginning to be applied to the processes of the mind. Is there anything more deeply

significant in the world to-day? Knowledge is power. The power over natural forces which man has gained through knowledge may be used, as we have all learned, to spread destruction as well as for beneficent ends. Power gained through knowledge to influence human action may prove still more dangerous. The interest which in the nineteenth century was concentrated on the discovery of the nature and properties of the physical world is likely to be diverted more and more to the study of man and the processes of his mind. Science must more and more penetrate into that region of ideas and motives which has in the past been the special concern of ethics and religion. Unless the Church takes account of the new knowledge it is in danger of being thrust out of the main stream of the world's life and left in a back-water without any large or effective influence on the life of men.

A third change to which Christian teachers cannot be indifferent is that the study of the child has increasingly effected a revolution in school teaching. The old teaching was concerned primarily with the subject-matter; the new teaching thinks first of the child. An immense amount of thought has been devoted to the question how best to relate the subject taught to the changing needs of the child. The result has been a transformation in the methods of teaching almost every subject of the curriculum. The teaching of religion alone has remained to a large extent immune from this change. It still continues in a large degree in traditional grooves. The Church in teaching religion is subject not only to the handicap that its opportunity is restricted in many cases to one day in seven, but also to the no less serious disadvantage that the teaching of religion is often much less competent than the teaching of secular subjects in the school. This is due, first, to the fact that a great deal more brain work has been devoted to the question how best to teach, for example, history or geography than to the infinitely more difficult question how best to teach religion; and secondly to the fact that those who

teach religion are for the most part much less well trained for their work than those who are trained to teach the secular subjects of the curriculum. The China Education Commission reported in regard to Christian schools in China that ' very often courses on religion and on the Bible are the poorest that are offered.' An Indian missionary recently asserted that not only in the schools of his own mission but also in those of the other missions in the area the pressure of the examination system made it necessary to secure men with the highest available qualifications to teach the secular subjects, while the schools had to be content with any one they could get to take the Scripture lessons. It would be hard to exaggerate the gravity of this state of affairs.

The movement on behalf of religious education, then, results from a recognition of the gravity of the three facts to which attention has been called. It is certain that the Church must respond to these demands or cease to be an effective factor in modern life.

III

Before this response can be made, however, it is necessary to have a clearer idea of the nature and content of religious education. There is doubt in the minds of some whether the general aim that was set out at the beginning of the paper is to be achieved by what can properly be described as education ; and in particular whether the chief means of attaining it does not lie in a direct appeal to the will leading to conversion.

It is worth while to consider whether differences of view may not be the result of separating and isolating things that in reality belong together and form an indivisible whole. The appeal of religion is to the whole personality. This includes a mind that perceives and apprehends, emotions which constitute a large part of life and a will that chooses and determines action. Religious education must deal with all of these.

Much misunderstanding is due to failure to distinguish clearly between religious education and religious instruction. Every one would admit that religious education in the sense described at the outset is not the same thing as religious instruction. Yet the far-reaching difference is too easily ignored. To bring practice into line with our conviction in this matter is amazingly difficult, and practice is apt to react on theory and blur a distinction that is of vital importance. In a school religious instruction fits in with the rest of the curriculum. To make a place for it is relatively easy, and when this has been done there is the incontrovertible evidence in the time-table and the exacting demands of a daily duty to assure us that provision has been made for religious education and to furnish an excuse for neglecting other things which though they are more important are harder to achieve. Yet the uncomfortable feeling remains that knowledge about religion is not the main thing, and so the temptation comes to make the period of religious instruction an occasion for exhortation and moral appeal. The result is that the work becomes less thorough, intellectual standards are lowered, and religion is felt by the class to be less deserving of serious and strenuous application than the other subjects of the curriculum, and falls in consequence in honour and esteem.

The truth is that knowledge is not the fundamental thing in religious experience. Religion, as Christ taught us by the two great commandments in which He set forth the chief end of man, is primarily a matter not of knowing but of loving, and of knowing through loving. It calls for the power to appreciate, to value, to reverence, to be loyal. These are the capacities and attitudes that religious education must seek to develop, and religious instruction by itself can contribute little to their growth. The power which can call them forth is the revelation of spiritual beauty and goodness, of that which is noble and heroic and faith-provoking. Many natures remain starved and stunted because the spiritual food by which they should

have been nourished has never been brought within their reach.

While religion makes its appeal to the whole man and must satisfy his reason and conscience as well as his heart, what is fundamental and essential in religious experience is not communicated to the mind by formal propositions; it is a reality to be apprehended largely through feeling. The ability to apprehend that reality is a dormant capacity that needs to be awakened. There are many things belonging to religion which can be taught; but the central experience of the realities of the unseen world is something that cannot be taught, but is somehow caught from those to whom that unseen world has become real.

The natural response of the soul to God is worship. Much help may be given by parents and teachers as well as by the public services of the Church in fostering the habit and developing the capacity of worship. Too often the worship in which children are invited to join is perfunctory and careless, and thus not only fails to increase reverence but may injure and even destroy the religious sense. Or the worship may be not suited to the needs and capacities of children and therefore unreal to them. Happily this subject is receiving greater attention than it has done in the past, and experiments are being made by teachers in training children in the use of silence, and in habits of worship suited to their years and expressive of their own religious aspirations and needs. Efforts on these lines have been found to have a noticeable effect on behaviour in the school.

Religion, again, is a matter not primarily of knowing but of living. Whosoever will do the will of God, Christ said, will come to know. The older methods of instruction which laid the main emphasis on the learning of facts and doctrines ignored the truth that nothing is ever really learned till it is expressed in life. Christian education if it is to be effective must be an initiation into actual Christian living. Our Lord, when the opportunity was given Him, expounded the

Scriptures in the synagogue, but most of His recorded teaching was the interpretation to His disciples of the ordinary incidents of daily life or the revelation to them of His own attitude to the events which He encountered in the experience of each day.

The task of religious education is thus not limited to the period of religious instruction in Church or school. Its opportunity is found in the whole life of the community and in the whole activities of the school. Every action and experience of daily life may be made to contribute to the formation of a Christian will and character.

There are two contrasted ideas of the meaning of education. The one which has tended to dominate modern systems of education in the West conceives of it primarily as illumination. Teach people to know and understand facts, show them truth, and all will be well. The other and older view thinks of education rather as initiation into a way of living. True education, it is held, comes from sharing in the life of a society. What is most worth learning is learned to a large extent subconsciously. In this way standards of judgment are formed, and right attitudes acquired. They are the result far less of formal instruction than of sharing in a social life and of imbibing unconsciously its spirit and atmosphere. Religious instruction loses all its efficacy if the organization, practice and habits of the school are inconsistent with its teachings. Only when it is an interpretation of a life which the pupils recognize as being lived around them can it have real meaning and power.

Having recognized these deeper aspects of religious education we are in a better position to do justice to the place and importance of religious instruction. Those who insist most strongly on the importance of evangelism are aware how much is gained if some knowledge of the main facts of Christianity can be presupposed in their hearers and how necessary instruction is for Christian growth. The ignorant Christian cannot be a strong or mature Christian. Knowledge of the Bible, of Christian doctrines, and of the

history and present activities of the Christian Church all have their contribution to make to full Christian growth.

When these subjects find a place in the school curriculum, the teaching of them should be as thorough as the teaching of other subjects in the curriculum. If religious instruction is given a place in the school, it must conform to the highest intellectual standards of the school. Otherwise the practice of the school will be a standing contradiction of the professed belief in its pre-eminent importance. It must be recognized, however, that in innumerable instances those who give religious teaching have devoted far less study to the subject they have to teach and have far less mastery of it than the teachers of secular subjects in their special fields.

The shortcoming is found not only in mastery of subject matter but also in knowledge of method. The conservatism which is natural in religious matters has led to the content of religious instruction being treated as something fixed and rigid, to be imparted without adequate regard to the needs of the child and the stages of his development. While the study of the child has revolutionized the teaching of other subjects of the curriculum, the results of such study are only gradually and slowly beginning to influence the teaching of religious subjects.

If we have rightly interpreted the meaning of religious education, it follows that only those who themselves have a genuine religious experience can be effective teachers of religion. They must themselves possess a real appreciation of religious values and find a real satisfaction in them before they can communicate that appreciation to others. As a wise writer has said, ' children will tend to adopt the beliefs of those whom they instinctively recognize as happy, and of no others ' ; happiness being understood to mean ' not temperamental gaiety, but the subconscious and hence serious affirmation of life as a whole by the will as a whole.' The inevitable inference is that ' ethics and religion must be removed from set courses of public instruction unless the

believers are there ; for mechanical teaching of these things is worse than none.'

IV

The attempt to apply modern educational knowledge to the teaching of religion is, it must be frankly recognized, beset with real dangers. This does not mean that the attempt should not be made ; it is essential to the welfare of the Christian cause that it should be made. But in making it our eyes must be open to the dangers that must be avoided, if having successfully struggled out of one pit we are not to stumble straightway into another.

The danger is that in attempting to bring religious education within the compass of system and rule and technique we should confine within narrow and cramping limits what is from its nature illimitable. Religion is not, like other subjects in the curriculum, concerned with one department of human knowledge. It touches and colours the whole of life. To teach religion the primary requisite is not professional equipment but a first-hand and living experience of what religion is. Observation teaches us that a technically less well qualified teacher may influence a class of children for good in a way that a teacher professionally far more competent may fail to do. A mother with little or no education may reveal to her children far more of the true meaning of religion than a professed teacher of the subject with the highest academic qualifications. No weight of learning nor professional skill will suffice to make a small soul great, nor a shallow nature deep. A man may become a director of religious education and yet know less of vital religion than some of those under his care who have never been to school. Not through academic courses but through a hidden life of communion with God does a man learn to be at home in the spiritual world and to communicate something of its meaning to others. There is no escape from the inexorable law of life that a man's real

influence is the result of what he is and not of what he says or knows.

Here lies the paradox of religious education. The most sacred of human undertakings deserves and demands the deepest thought that can be given to its problems, the highest skill and competence in those who engage in it. If religion means anything at all it is the most important thing in the world, and therefore least of all can religious education be entrusted to those who are ignorant and untrained. And yet when we ask what kind of training will make a man or woman competent to teach religion the answer is far from simple. The essential things a college course is in itself unable to give. Religion is too rich and inexhaustible to be confined within any formula or reduced to rule. It has to do with splendours of truth and goodness which no finite mind has ever yet fully apprehended and which the experience of all humanity together is unable to exhaust. To lose the sense of mystery, of awe, of the unfathomable and infinite, is to lose religion itself.

Though I should sit
  By some tarn in thy hills,
Using its ink
  As the spirit wills
To write of Earth's wonders,
  Its live, willed things,
Flit would the ages
  On soundless wings
Ere unto Z
  My pen drew nigh;
Leviathan told,
  And the honey-fly:
And still would remain
  My wit to try—
My worn reeds broken,
  The dark tarn dry,
All words forgotten—
  Thou, Lord, and I.[1]

[1] From 'The Scribe,' by Walter de la Mare, in *Poems 1901 to 1918*, by kind permission of the author and publishers, Messrs Constable & Co.

For those who would teach religion the humility which is born of a real experience of God is the cardinal virtue. Cocksureness in educational prescription is wholly out of place. Anything that savours of professionalism is alien to true religious education. It is the seers and saints, the wise and good, the adventurous and brave, the just and the loyal, the true and pure of heart, the lovers and servants of their fellow-men who are, and alone can be, the teachers of vital religion.

While the steadily growing knowledge of the human mind must unquestionably be assimilated and made use of by the Church, and method and technique have much to contribute especially in teaching us what to avoid, it must never be forgotten that spontaneity, naturalness and self-forgetfulness are essential characteristics of true religion. It is for this reason that no more potent means of religious education exists than the sharing in the life of a society, whether it be family, Church or school, that is permeated by the Christian spirit and is living and striving in forgetfulness of self for great Christian ends.

V

It will be evident from what has been said that the agencies for carrying on the work of religious education are as wide and varied as the whole life and activities of the Church. The Church from its nature is a fellowship having as its aim the education of its members to full spiritual maturity through participation in the divine work of redeeming the world. Its constant endeavour must be to lift the Christian life above the level of habit and custom into the region of clear insight and intelligent devotion to the ends of the kingdom of God.

The issue which has to be faced is whether in its task of religious education the Church is availing itself, as it ought, of the help to be gained from the study of psychology and from modern educational methods. There is grave reason

to doubt whether the Church as a whole is sufficiently alive to the critical importance of the early years of childhood, or to the peculiar needs, difficulties and opportunities of the period of adolescence, or is adapting its efforts with anything like the necessary thoroughness to meet these needs.

Among the many activities of the Church none is more important than the endeavour to make the home a centre of Christian influence. Of all the influences which leave their mark upon the growing child none is so potent for good or for evil as that of the home. The experiences of life are first mediated to the child through its parents and the relationships of the family. No larger contribution can be made to religious education by the Church than the help which it can give to fathers and mothers in the wise and understanding training of their children in the Christian life.

Supplementing the influence of the home is the participation of the young in the common worship of the Christian society, and the teaching supplied in sermons, addresses and the Sunday school. At the years of adolescence young people furnish fresh opportunities of religious education. The preaching, teaching and pastoral ministrations of the Church are a means of helping in that continuous and unending spiritual growth of men and women which, as is recognized in the modern movement for adult education, is the heritage of those who are meant as the sons of God to be partakers of eternal life. All agencies which exist for social service and all the missionary activities contribute a vital and indispensable means of religious education. Exercise is necessary to growth; learning takes place through doing; and the Christian life in particular is a participation in a life that was poured out in sacrifice for the saving of the world.

In view of such magnificent opportunities and sacred responsibilities the task of training those who must take a leading part in religious education—candidates for the regular ministry, evangelists, catechists, Bible women and Sunday school teachers—is seen to be of transcendent importance. It must be the aim of the institutions in which

they receive their preparation to set before them the highest ideals of religious education and the richest interpretation of its meaning; and to offer them the best help which modern educational insight and experience can suggest in dealing with the problems that will confront them in their work. A field of study of extraordinary interest is opened up by the question how those who are to minister to the needs of rural communities in China, India or Africa may, in the light of sound educational theory and of a deep understanding of the conditions under which the work has to be done, best be equipped to be real pastors of their people, nurturing them in true religion and virtue and making them a force for righteousness and the advancement of the community.

Success in these various activities demands, however, an understanding of the human mind in the various stages of its development, and familiarity with the principles and methods of education which experience has shown to be the most fruitful. It would be the reverse of progress if religious education were to pass from the hands of men and women who have a living Christian message and a natural love for children into the hands of teachers efficient in method and organization but lacking in a genuine and deep personal experience of religion. On the other hand in a world in which knowledge of the processes of the human mind is rapidly increasing and study of the child and of the adolescent is revealing more and more clearly how their needs can best be met, it would be disastrous for the Church to remain indifferent to the results of this new knowledge. The task of religious education cannot without dishonour to the Christian cause be left to uninstructed zeal and well-meaning but ignorant and untrained teachers. In proportion as religion tends under present conditions to be crowded out of the school it becomes imperative that the Church should have a policy of religious education as well-considered and in the best sense of the word as efficient as the educational policy of the state.

VI

No reference was made in the preceding section to the school—the chief agency through which a human society by conscious and deliberate effort endeavours to hand on to the rising generation its ideas regarding life. What part is religion to play in this formative process ?

The nature of the problem varies in different countries. Policy in regard to religious education must take account of the character of the national system of education. The problem is different where religion is excluded entirely from the national schools and where religious instruction has a recognized place in the curriculum.

It is the duty of the Church to see that Christian ideas and the Christian spirit permeate the general system of education. Where national education is purely secular this can be done only indirectly through the individuals who teach in State schools and colleges ; direct religious instruction must be provided for otherwise. Where a place is given to religion in the regular curriculum far larger opportunities are presented.

In mission lands Christian schools and colleges offer an opportunity for religious education that cannot be excelled. The daily hour of religious instruction affords much longer time than is available in the Sunday school. The common worship of the school, rightly used, may be made an invaluable training in habits of devotion. The whole of the class-work and the hours of play are rich in opportunities of exemplifying and interpreting Christian living. Above all it is possible in such institutions, if the staff and a sufficient proportion of the students are Christian, to realize the life of a Christian society devoted to the service of the kingdom of God, which through its unconscious and contagious influence is the most powerful of all forces in the shaping of Christian character.

No question of greater moment exists for Christian missions than whether it is possible for them to retain a

place for Christian schools and colleges within the national system of education which, as they have already done in the West, are developing in the East and in Africa, and thus be able to continue to give that highest type of education which finds its inspiration and mainspring in Christ. How this may be done is a subject too large to be discussed here and it has already been treated elsewhere.[1]

VII

Religious education, as we have seen, is a comprehensive term, including all the conscious efforts by which we try to help others to enter into a full and expanding life drawing its strength and inspiration from a knowledge of God revealed in Jesus Christ and expressing itself in the whole-hearted service of His kingdom. We miss its deeper meaning if we leave out of account any of the influences which may contribute to this end. It is not to be set over against any of the means which lead to a genuine experience of vital religion, but is an inclusive process, embracing all such influences from the earliest religious responses of childhood to the full maturity of Christian growth.

The task thus outlined of saving and making human beings that they may live as children of God and become fruitful workers in His kingdom is an endeavour so high that it may well seem presumptuous to engage in it at all. Deliverance from the sense of presumption comes from the realization that the work is not after all our work but the work of the Holy Spirit. The forces by which man's redemption is to be carried out are not our forces. They are the forces of eternal truth and goodness which may reside in us and operate through us but have their source and origin outside of us. It is not in our power to educate our fellow-men. The most that the best teacher can do is to

[1] *Papers on Educational Problems in the Mission Field.* By Professor Paul Monroe, Sir Michael Sadler and J. H. Oldham (International Missionary Council, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. Price 1s.).

create for another opportunities of coming into contact with truth and beauty and goodness. The response of that other is a relation between the individual soul and God.

Yet it has pleased God to use human instruments in His great work of redeeming and educating mankind. It is the concern of each of us to become fit instruments for the carrying out of that great purpose. In this work of religious education we can never be anything but learners. We know, most of us at least, very little as yet of what religion is. Its heights have still to be scaled, its deeps still to be plumbed. We possess as yet little of that rich, full, mature, manly or womanly character which is the fruit of true religion, and this poverty of what we are empties our words and conscious acts of the significance they might otherwise have had. We are without clear ideas of the goal of religious education, of what it is that we would make of human nature; or if we think we know, our formulas contain but a few drops from the ocean of God's infinite purpose for the life of man. Our knowledge of the human nature which has to be educated is still very imperfect. The study of the child is still in its beginnings, and the religious life of the child in particular is a field that is as yet largely unexplored. And if there is an immense amount still to be learned about the life of childhood and adolescence in general, there is also a wide field of study of the needs and capacities of the particular children who are being educated in different countries, each group differing from every other as the result of a different racial inheritance and different social environment. Because of our ignorance of all these things much of what we are now attempting may be on wrong lines. Some of the things we are trying to do may be contrary to psychological laws; they may be doing violence to human nature. Much of our effort may be wasted because it is directed to wrong ends. The sacredness of the missionary cause demands that such waste of effort should be eliminated so far as possible.

What is needed if we are to fulfil the high calling of

religious educators is a fellowship of learning. We are members of one another, and the experience of others has much to teach us. The desire of the International Missionary Council is to place its services at the disposal of those who may be in need of help by putting them in touch with others who are working at the same problem elsewhere. How this may be done most helpfully and effectively is receiving, and will continue to receive, earnest consideration. The pages of this Review, training schools for missionaries, conferences of many kinds in the mission field and at home, afford opportunities by which the richly varied experience of those who belong to different countries and different communions may enlarge the outlook and illuminate the minds of their fellows. In many ways information may be brought together and made accessible, which will enable those who are conscious of their need of help to draw more fully from the abundance and overflow of life of those to whom for the sake of the whole body God has granted special gifts of insight, knowledge and skill. Already contacts have been made and conferences held that have been found stimulating by those who shared in them. As interest grows and deepens and contacts multiply, plans may be expected naturally and almost of themselves to take more definite shape. In a matter in which so much has still to be learned the right course at the beginning would seem to be to take advantage of every opportunity of bringing about an interchange of ideas between those who approach the subject from different standpoints, so that our understanding of the subject may become increasingly rich and comprehensive, and new organization, if and when it is required, may be the instrument of mature thought and well-considered aims.

J. H. Oldham.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND MISSIONARY WORK

By EDWIN W. SMITH

Social anthropology might almost be claimed as a missionary science, first, on account of its great utility to missionaries, and second, because the material upon which it is built has so largely been gathered by them. I need not dwell upon this latter point: a reference to the bibliographies in Sir James Frazer's books will afford sufficient proof of it. It is upon the utility of the science to missionaries that I am to write.

Social anthropology deals with the life of men. The best statement of its aims is found, I think, in one of Sir James Frazer's lectures.[1] He distinguishes it from sociology, which is the study of human society in the most comprehensive sense of the words. Social anthropology is restricted to one particular area of that immense field of knowledge; it is 'that inquiry which seeks to ascertain, first, the beliefs and customs of savages, and, second, the relics of these beliefs and customs which have survived like fossils among peoples of higher culture.' He thus divides the province of the science into two departments—the study of savagery, and the study of superstitions. The latter is widely known as folklore. This simple exposition of the scope of the science is in itself sufficient to show its importance to the missionary, whether he works among peoples of the lower culture or among Chinese, Hindus or Moslems. One might even go further and say that this study throws considerable light upon our own civilization and religion and should therefore be of use to all clergymen and ministers.

[1] Delivered before the University of Liverpool, 1908, and published in his *Psyche's Task*. (Macmillan.)

In their attitude towards native life missionaries, so far as my experience goes, may be divided into four classes. A few of them know and care nothing about it. Some members of this class have not got beyond the Elizabethan's description of native customs : ' Ye Beastlie Devices of ye Heathen.' A large proportion of missionaries are social anthropologists without knowing it ; that is to say, while not having studied the science they have accumulated a large amount of knowledge almost unconsciously in the course of their work, and to a greater or less degree they apply their knowledge in their ministry. Some few have studied the science deliberately and of set purpose use it in the education of their people. Others possess considerable knowledge and do not apply it. It is to this last class that Captain R. S. Rattray, Director of the Anthropological Department in Ashanti, West Africa, refers when he notes as a remarkable fact that some missionaries have not in the past made more use in their everyday work of their store of ethnological learning.[1]

Science may be loved and studied for its own sake. ' Science,' it has been said, ' has never prospered until it has freed itself from bondage to the immediate wants of life, till it has pursued its investigations with perfect indifference as to the results and uses to which they may be applied.' But missionaries cannot study social anthropology as a pure science, any more than medical students can study physiology or engineers can study mathematics, without reference to the use they will make of it. This, however, does not mean that they should not pursue their study in a truly scientific spirit, examining all the facts patiently, dispassionately, systematically. This is precisely what I am advocating. I should like to see the science of social anthropology recognized as an essential discipline in the training of missionaries. Why ?

Captain Rattray, in the book from which I have just quoted, tells the story of the Golden Stool of Ashanti, the

[1] *Ashanti*, p. 87, footnote. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1923.

sacred emblem over which two costly 'little wars' have been fought by Great Britain in West Africa. Those conflicts need never have taken place if the meaning of the emblem had been understood. Is there on record a more fatuous question put to a warlike people than that addressed by the Governor to the Ashantis in 1900? 'Where is the Golden Stool?' he demanded, 'Why am I not sitting on the Golden Stool at this moment?' He evidently imagined it to be a kind of throne, carrying the significance of supreme authority, whereas it was regarded as the shrine of the *sunsum* or soul of the Ashanti nation and was never sat upon even by the king. I know that it has been denied that the Governor ever used those words; possibly it is an instance, not of inept speech but of the folly of trusting to interpreters; but certainly the people understood the Governor's words as an insult and went from the meeting to prepare for war. 'I am sure,' says Captain Rattray, 'that if the Government of that day had ever known what [the stool signified] it would not have asked for it at all, and there would have been no siege of Coomassie in 1900.' There might have been another war, with further waste of money and precious lives, had not Captain Rattray investigated the whole subject and discovered what the stool stood for in the mind of the people. This is an excellent illustration of the value of social anthropology in the realm of government, and surely Captain Rattray is right in saying: 'Necessary and valuable as anthropological training is to the administrator or merchant, it should be an indispensable adjunct to the training of the missionary.'

It is not governments alone who make blunders by failing to understand the minds of the people. Some missionaries have lost their lives, others have imperilled their mission and raised prejudices against themselves and their message, through ignorance or neglect of native custom and belief. Let me give three examples of what I mean.

A certain missionary in Fiji dropped his comb while performing his toilet, and a young chief picked it up and

thrust it into his own fuzzy locks. Turning round and seeing the comb there, the missionary snatched it away and in so doing touched the chief's hair. He could not have committed a more deadly offence against native custom. The Fijians, like many other people, regard the chief's head as sacred; it is the seat of his *mana*; none but hereditary priests may dress his hair. By snatching away the comb the missionary not only behaved rudely; he committed an inexpiable wrong. He was killed and eaten.[1] In this case, ignorance or neglect robbed the Church of a very valuable life.

I rather hesitate to bring out my next example, for it concerns a lady who was very highly honoured during her lifetime and whose husband bears one of the most revered names on the roll of African missionaries: I trust he will forgive me if I use the incident to point a moral. Dr Laws of Livingstonia, accompanied by Mrs Laws and the heroic evangelist Koyi, paid a visit some years ago to Mombera, the chief of the wild Angoni. Mr W. P. Livingstone tells the story:

> One day the little son of Mombera came over from the village across the river to see the strangers. Mrs Laws welcomed him, and with a motherly gesture placed her hand on his head. He became ill, suffered from a severe headache, and a native doctor was called in to see him. The cure was blood-letting. To open a vein was easy, but how to stop the flow the practitioner knew not, and the child bled to death. The superstitious Ngoni believed that he had been bewitched by Mrs Laws, but Mombera, though troubled in mind, would not listen to such a charge, and set his face like flint against any reprisal.[2]

The narrative makes it clear that had it not been for the affection conceived by the chief for Dr Laws, the whole party would have been exterminated. As it was, the incident compelled Dr Laws to withdraw (though Koyi heroically stayed) for a time.

Mr Livingstone evidently does not appreciate the meaning of Mrs Laws' 'motherly gesture' to the minds of raw

[1] A. B. Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 30. London: Seeley, Service. 1922.
[2] *Laws of Livingstonia*, p. 200. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1922.

Africans. The kindly lady could not have realized what she was doing, or she would have refrained from an act which, while its motive was so pure, bore such a terrible significance in the eyes of the people. For, interpreted by them, Mrs Laws was saying : ' So high . . . and no higher ! ' In other words, she was predicting the boy's death, and, since to the native mind to predict is to produce, was actually pronouncing a sentence of death upon him. This is not mere fancy on my part. My African friends repeatedly warned me against this gesture and explained its significance ; they dreaded sending their sons away from home lest a stranger should place hands on their heads. It is easy, of course, to label it as superstition, but even we who are most thoroughly emancipated from superstition would hardly think kindly of a person who prophesied our child's speedy death ; and what if we believed that he was thereby actually causing his death ?

One more example. A friend of mine went with a fellow missionary into a native village after nightfall, and his companion, who was a builder and interested in the construction of the village, drew a plan of it on the ground with his walking-stick. The village seemed asleep, but unfortunately some wakeful person observed them. Next morning there was great excitement and the villagers were barely restrained from throwing the two men into the Zambezi to be devoured by crocodiles. Not only had they entered the village at night, but one of them, in making marks on the ground, had done precisely what a sorcerer would do who desired to encompass the chief's death. For a sorcerer marks out the places where the funeral fires are to be lighted, predicting, and so producing, the chief's death. We have only to look at the matter through their eyes to understand their anger.

My point is that a study of social anthropology will lead the young missionary to look at things always from the natives' point of view, and this will save him from making many serious blunders. Tact is not enough ; nor

is love. Robert Morrison loved the Chinese, but love did not prevent his throwing into the fire a piece of paper upon which his Chinese teacher had written some words for him to memorize, and thereby deeply offending the man's feelings. Had Morrison known the sentiments of the Chinese as to paper upon which words of their language are written or printed—had he known of Yuen Liao Fan and the society founded by him three hundred years ago for the Prevention of the Misuse of Paper bearing Chinese Characters, I am sure he would not have offended. The dictionary defines tact as 'an intuitive perception of what is fitting' but the most tactful of Britons might automatically throw a piece of paper into the fire without realizing the unfitness of his action. Tact needs to be based on knowledge; love there can hardly be without understanding.

It cannot be denied that it is difficult for civilized men to understand the uncivilized. This is not, however, because the mind works differently according to the degree of civilization. Dr McDougall is unquestionably right in saying that the interval between the modern man of scientific culture and the average citizen of our modern states is far greater than that between the latter and the savage.[1] The difference between ourselves and savages is not that we are logical and they prelogical; it is largely a matter of disparity in dominant traditional ideas; they have been taught to argue from certain premises and we from others. We fail to understand them because we do not place ourselves in their attitude toward things; and we do not do this largely because we do not take the trouble to understand their point of view. I believe it to be quite possible to understand the mentality of African and other peoples.

I will give one illustration of what I mean. A missionary tells of finding a Christian African in a terribly unhealthy state and quite unable to walk to the mission hospital, two days' journey away. He arranged for men to carry the patient in a *machila* and promised to give each of them

[1] *The Group Mind*, pp. 75–6. London: Cambridge University Press. 1921.

half a crown for his trouble. The four men duly turned up at the station to claim their money, but without the sick man. A month later he hobbled alone into the station after a long and painful journey on foot. The missionary says (in brackets): 'At this point some explanation seems necessary, but the workings of a native's mind are, to a European, beyond all explanation.'[1] Here is one of those seemingly irrational actions which baffle missionaries. The man might have been carried comfortably to hospital, whereas he dismisses the bearers and aggravates his complaint by walking a long distance. A perfectly absurd act! And yet if we had been in his place we should have done precisely the same. From his earliest days he had been told that to carry a man stretched out (whether healthy or sick) was to predict carrying him to his funeral, and therefore to encompass his death. Had the missionary understood this point of view, he would not have proposed carrying him in a *machila*; if he had rigged up a chair on which he could be carried in a sitting position there would have been no difficulty, for it is being carried stretched out like a corpse that is taboo.

In hundreds of similar ways a knowledge of native beliefs and customs smooths the way to an understanding.

I should like to quote here from a report drawn up by the British Association:

> An accurate acquaintance with the nature, habits and customs of alien populations is necessary to all who have to live and work amongst them in any official capacity, whether administrators, executive officers, missionaries or merchants, because in order to deal effectively with any group of mankind it is essential to have that cultured sympathy with them which comes of sure knowledge.

These last words, 'cultured sympathy which comes of sure knowledge' sum up what I want to say on this part of the subject. All missionaries presumably go to the heathen with some amount of tender emotion: compassion

[1] *Central Africa: A Monthly Record of the work of the U.M.C.A*, 1922 (July), p. 168.

for their helplessness, pity for their degradation, or a more or less sentimental feeling. These are but weak and transient compared with the deep fellow-feeling which is born out of full knowledge.

A study of social anthropology is the father and mother of that cultured sympathy which comes of sure knowledge. And this is the answer to an objection I have heard against the science, namely that it lays bare 'the broad, bawdy, and orgiastic—or maenadic—foundation of life.' The suggestion seems to be that if one plumbs the depths of human viciousness one will become so disgusted as to lose all power of doing people good. I have known missionary leaders who deliberately wished to hide the seamy side of African life from their younger fellow-workers with this dread as their motive. It is an impossible attitude to assume. Missionaries, men or women, cannot live among the people without having unpleasant facts thrust upon them, and it is well that they should learn the facts early in their career. For one thing, they are then less likely to be deceived. They cannot but be disgusted; but is it true that knowledge of this kind unfits for helpful service? Is it true of the noble workers in the vicious surroundings of our great English cities? Bacon said that 'a little Philosophy inclineth Mans Minde to Atheisme; But depth in Philosophy bringeth Mens Mindes about to Religion.' And it is my experience that while a shallow knowledge of savage life may lead to disgust and despair, fuller knowledge brings the mind about to hope and a more passionate determination to save the people from their degradation. For it reveals much that is noble, much that is rich in promise of better things. I believe firmly that the more one knows of human nature the more one learns to respect and love it. Did not He who knew above all others what was in man, reverence man more than any other who ever lived? Let us face the facts, courageously and with an earnest desire to comprehend and save. Blinkers should form no part of a missionary's outfit.

This leads me to another point which I will introduce in words used by Mr J. H. Holmes in his recently published *In Primitive New Guinea* :—'The savage is soul-sick, and we cannot help him satisfactorily until we can diagnose his disease of heathenism.'[1]

A study of social anthropology leads, I have said, to a deeper sympathy with people, in that it reveals them to be neither devils nor angels but men of like passions with ourselves. It discovers that there is a kernel of good even in their things evil, but it does not lead to the conclusion that they need no help. Bernard Shaw says: 'Those who understand evil pardon it, those who resent it destroy it.' And one objection urged against this study is that the missionary who undertakes it is apt to be so busy seeking to understand that he fails to resent the evil as sin and is led into an easy tolerance of wrong. I cannot deny that there is some truth in this. Unquestionably there are tendencies against which the anthropological missionary must be on his guard. He is not there for the sake of scientific investigation merely, but to understand that he may wisely bring the Gospel to bear upon the situation. A doctor might conceivably be so absorbed in studying his patient that he omitted to cure the fever he was called in to prescribe for; a farmer might be so enthusiastic a botanist and soil-analyst that he forgot his business was to produce crops. And any missionary who neglected his duty of saving men would be as delinquent as they. All the same, diagnosis and soil-analysis and social anthropology have their place, and cannot be neglected if good results are to be secured. The missionary is a spiritual physician who cannot achieve his end without diagnosis; he is a spiritual agriculturist who analyses the soil in order to discover precisely what it lacks and how it shall best be cultivated; and the study of social anthropology, conducted with earnest and loving purpose, is his best instrument.

The attitude to be taken by the missionary towards

[1] P. 2. London: Seeley, Service. 1924.

indigenous beliefs and customs has been long discussed, and the discussion is not yet closed. To-day we are witnessing a widespread revolt against the tendency to denationalization. With the rise of the nationalistic sentiment men turn to their past history, and wonderingly discover that they too have precious elements to contribute to the enrichment of mankind. They may, and do, idealize their past; they cannot recover it integrally. Touch with western thought makes it for ever impossible for them to get back wholly to where their forefathers stood. Yet none of us would dare to say that everything in the past was unworthy of reverence and perpetuation. We could not honestly say it of China, Japan or India; we cannot say it of Africa or Polynesia. We recognize as a platitude to-day that Christianity and western civilization are not identical and convertible terms; yet how far do we confound them in practice? Christianity is a spirit which is able to possess many diverse bodies; it can permeate and sublimate many forms of traditional culture. The study of social anthropology is impressing upon us the futility of expecting that all peoples are to be, or ever can be, forced into one mould. And in Africa, as perhaps elsewhere, missionaries are faced with a new problem to-day. Governments are providing for the training of their officials in this science; they are setting up anthropological departments as an essential part of their machinery, with the purpose of studying the peoples in order to govern them wisely. What is going to be the reflex action of this upon our missionary work? I have already quoted Captain Rattray's criticism of missionaries for their failure to put their knowledge into practice. Place over against that his account of his own procedure :—

> I have taken every opportunity, while gathering material for this volume from my Ashanti friends, to impress upon them strongly that our culture, our ideas, arts, customs, dress, should not be embraced by them blindly to the entire exclusion and extinction of what is good, just and praiseworthy in their ancient national institutions. I have told them that their ideal should be, not to become pseudo-European, but to aim at progress for their race based upon

what is best in their own institutions, religion, their manners and customs. . . . I have told them that the work of the new Department is to study their institutions, which the rising generation is tempted to despise, and that it is anxious and ready to help and advise the nation as to what will be of assistance to it—conserving, and not destroying, all those customs that are best and not detrimental to progress. I have tried to make the people understand that we are here among them to help them by grafting on to their institutions such of our own as will enable them to take their place in the commonwealth of civilized nations, not as denationalized Ashanti, but as an African people who will become the greater force and power in the empire because they have not bartered the wealth of their past, metaphorically and not infrequently in reality, for a coat, a collar, or a tie.[1]

Now it is plain that if government anthropologists are to be appointed in all the African dependencies, and if they all adopt this attitude, while on the other hand the missionaries, as is alleged, pursue in their teaching and preaching the contrary practice of ignoring native customs or of otherwise teaching the natives to despise them, then an impossible position will be reached, with the Government and the missions working against each other on this most important subject. Personally I do not think it should ever be left to a government official to talk like this ; the missionaries should have done it from the beginning. We do not want Africans to be sham Europeans, we want them Africans ; in so far as it is possible to do so, we desire to Christianize African life. We too recognize some customs as detrimental to progress, and that our business, in some measure, is that of grafting. As a matter of fact, the official anthropologists may announce their aims ; it is only the missionaries who can carry them out thoroughly. I think they should both recognize their limitations and work together on these lines : studying, diagnosing, discriminating, grafting, rejecting. An excellent illustration of what can be attempted is reported from East Africa, where the Universities' Mission is deliberately trying to Christianize the Bantu initiation ceremonies,[2] thus carrying out (*post hoc*,

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.
[2] See *Central Africa*, 1922 (June), pp. 126–8.

if not *propter hoc*) the suggestion made by me in this Review, in January 1922.

Some of what I have hitherto said may not win general approval, but I think every missionary will agree with my next proposition, that a study of the people is helpful in preaching and teaching by providing points of contact and thus enabling us to proceed along the proper pedagogic road from the known to the unknown. As Mr Campbell Moody and others have pointed out,[1] and as every missionary knows, the Gospel comes as a great novelty and presents immense difficulty to the heathen. In a new mission it is manifestly impossible to make appeals founded upon a knowledge of the Bible, as can be done (or could be done) in England; and so the missionary, while pressing on with his translation and with concurrent teaching of the Scriptures, has no resource but to find texts and illustrations wholly in the life around him. If he knows the proverbs of the people, their folklore and customs, he will never lack material, but will discover innumerable points of contact. If for nothing else the young missionary should make it his business to be steeped in these things.

Archdeacon Johnson, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Nyasaland, has demonstrated what is possible along this line.[2] He collected village stories—not the usual kind of beast-fables, but narrations of actual incidents—for the express purpose of using them in his teaching. He records many fine examples of the altruism and other admirable qualities of the people and one can easily imagine his hearers listening with delight and being led on insensibly into Christian truth.

The most pleasant memories of my missionary life at Kasenga are associated with the weekly preachers' class, when half a dozen intelligent young men and I deliberately tried to find out how to relate our preaching to the actual life and thought of the people. I sat among them, not as

[1] *The Mind of the Early Converts*, p. 44. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1920.
[2] *Nyasa, The Great Water*. London: Oxford University Press. 1922.

a master but as a fellow-learner. We sought not illustrations merely, such as one might derive from fables and from the classics, but for adumbrations of Christian truth in the native religious and social practices. It was never difficult to teach about God—never necessary to prove His existence. Hundreds of times I have opened religious conversations, individual and public, by asking, 'What are the praise-titles of Leza (the Supreme Being)?' With a little adroit assistance on my part it was always possible to get a list: 'The Moulder,' 'The Creator,' 'The Great Giver,' 'The Guardian,' and so on, from untutored pagans. These gave an excellent opening. Old traditions about Mwana Leza, 'The Child of God,' who came down to earth, preached good-will and was slain, formed a natural introduction to preaching about our Lord. The facts of slavery—how men and women became slaves and how they were redeemed by the self-sacrificing efforts of their clansmen—helped to bring home the truth about Him who gave His life as a ransom. Fireside tales of men who voluntarily died for others led our hearers to contemplate Calvary. I have before me now the notes of an address we produced in concert, on the text, 'He taketh away the first that He may establish the second,' drawing out the analogy between the Hebrews and the Ba-ila; every point driven home by reference to native custom, worship, temples, sacrifices; and all through no denunciation, but a sympathetic attempt to show how the new religion is the perfecting of all that was valuable in the old. The implicit trust reposed by natives in their charms, and the sense of confidence thereby produced, was constantly used by us to illustrate the nature of faith. There are indeed some New Testament texts upon which it is easier to preach to Africans than to Europeans. 'Your life is hid with Christ in God,' e.g., is not perhaps readily comprehensible to modern English audiences; but by people who believe that it is possible to abstract one's life and hide it for safety, the great truth expressed by the Apostle is grasped with less difficulty.

I need hardly point out that this method of preaching involves an expert knowledge of the language.

All this is an argument for studying native life and thought ; but, it may be asked, is it an argument for missionary students studying social anthropology as part of their training ? How can it be possible for any lecturer to teach all the customs and beliefs of all peoples to any class of students ? At some of the lectures organized by the British Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries, thirty students may be present who are going out to perhaps a dozen different fields ; complete instruction for them would involve, not only something approaching omniscience in the lecturer but almost individual tuition. But just as it is possible to impart the principles of phonetics to men and women intended for lands so diverse as China, India and Africa, so it is possible to teach the common principles of social anthropology to a class, because underlying all diversities there is a general similarity among the customs and beliefs of backward peoples.

At the very least the students can be placed in the right attitude of mind and shown the lines of approach and be given hints as to future study. If they can have specialized training in the life of the actual people to whom they are going so much the better.

I close with a quotation from the Rev. W. C. Willoughby [1] :—

> There is much, of course, that can only be learnt in the costly school of experience ; but the unexplored region of Bantu life is both vast and perplexing, and each new explorer should be taken by the easiest and quickest route to the point of vantage that former pioneers gained with bleeding feet, so that with unspent vigour he may push as far as possible into the unknown. If it be protested that the missionary is a propagandist and not an explorer, the objector must be met with the retort that no propagandist can ever become efficient in any community till he has discovered the psychology of the people.

EDWIN W. SMITH

[1] *Race Problems in the New Africa*, pp. 268–9. London : Oxford University Press. 1923.

MISSIONS AND CULTURE

By MARTIN SCHLUNK, D.Theol.

I

The history of Christian missions shows in each of its three great periods an entirely different attitude towards the surrounding culture and civilization.

When Christianity began it appeared to a world, rich in classical culture, as the direct antithesis of all for which that culture stood. In order to understand the world's attitude when the man from Tarsus, who bore the Jewish name Saul as well as the Roman Paul, flung down the challenge to the ancient world on the Areopagus at Athens and proclaimed the religion of the Cross and of the Crucified, one must have wandered with an open mind through the ruins of the Roman Forum, or gazed at the tall arches of the Coliseum and the glory of temples and triumphal arches, or trodden the pavement of the Appian Way, seemingly built to last to all eternity. One must have been immersed in the art of ancient Hellas, have gloried in the thoughts of Plato, the verses of Homer, of Sophocles or of Euripides, and have transplanted oneself in thought to the proud culture of a time which looked on everything non-Greek as simply barbaric. Above all one must have realized the curious mixture of hatred, scorn and envy with which the Jewish people was regarded.

All through the early history of the Church Christianity suffers from the hatred of the cultured world. In the Acts of the Apostles the first disciples are described as unlearned and ignorant men, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians we learn that 'not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called' and that the preaching

of Christianity was 'unto the Jews a stumbling block and unto the Greeks foolishness.' According to Tacitus the hatred of the whole of humanity was concentrated on the Christians. Minucius describes them as the followers of a pitiful, proscribed and despairing sect: Lucian calls them half-crazy, deluded visionaries, recruited from the dregs of humanity, and the best advice to give them is that they should betake themselves out of a world in which there is no place for them and give no further trouble. These invectives only faintly reflect the scorn and hatred poured out by the cultured world upon Christianity.

On the other hand a strong desire on the part of Christianity to make its own the wisdom, knowledge and poetry of the cultural life around it can be clearly traced from the time of St Paul's discourse on the Areopagus where he alludes to the altar to the Unknown God and quotes from the poet Aratus. He was thus the pioneer in the strange development by which the Christianity of that day, estranged from culture and separate from the world, gradually made its own the learning, philosophy and art around it. Through processes now of opposition, now of assimilation, it imbued pre-existing culture with new strength and life and spirit, and helped it to re-birth after moral disintegration. Christianity realized all this clearly for itself. Athenagoras said, 'You will find among us uneducated folk, artisans and old women, who do not understand how to set forth the value of our teachings in words but who prove it by their actions.' Here, in the moral and religious strength which was recognized and admired by the heathen and which found its expression not alone in the joy of martyrdom but even more strongly in the moral behaviour of Christian communities in the difficult circumstances of everyday life, lay the secret of the way in which, partly through struggle and partly by adaptation, in one of the most striking processes of assimilation which the world has ever seen, Christianity, after being regarded as hostile to culture, became the greatest cultural power, and

became not alone the religion of the Mediterranean countries under the Roman rule, but the determining influence on the history of the world.

An entirely changed attitude on the part of Christianity towards cultural questions is therefore to be noted in the second period of church history, during the conversion of Europe and of countries bordering the Mediterranean. It was as the religion of the dominant culture which had drawn into its service all departments of civilized life that Christianity spread to the Irish tribes, to the Goths, to the tribes on the Weser, Elbe and Warthe, to England, Scandinavia and East Prussia. The conversion of Europe is based on the cultural influence of mediæval missions, and the cultural developments of to-day on the Christianizing of Europe. It must be admitted that during this period much that was done in the name of culture was really a serious crime against it. The conversion of whole peoples by means of the sword, by the mild suasion of authority or by a mistaken accommodation of Christianity to heathen ideas and customs, is anything but true culture. Yet, in spite of all, the monks with their knowledge and their art, their scholarly industry and their aptitude for colonization, their frugality and their self-sacrificing love became the messengers of culture to the heart of Europe. The results of this period matured slowly and were not without serious disadvantages. The most adverse circumstance is possibly the fact that the messengers of Christianity were no longer—as during the first period—voluntary Christian workers but professional priests and missionaries. Through them the world was influenced by the Church and in turn the Church was influenced by the world. But it was necessary that development should move along these lines and it brought its own blessing. A gradual growth towards independence and a slow awakening to free moral determination was possible. Culture cannot be grafted, it is not a hot-house growth, it needs time, much time, and inward growth and ripening. In this way one fault in the system corrected

another, and although culture was spread in a manner which was often contrary to its real nature, it was able to grow and expand, because its supporters were officers of the Church and its aim was identification with the educational organization of the Church. Under its shadow and protective care, all that had been won by forced conversions and hurried reception into the Church was to be slowly consolidated. The Church had gained the ascendancy over heathenism — but heathenism was transplanted into the Church.

It seems almost as if in modern days since the Reformation the attitude of Christianity to culture has remained the same, for it still holds firmly its hard-won position as the religion of the highest culture. In these days, it is true, it is brought not only to primitive peoples—the Indians, Chinese and Japanese are the product of a culture far older than Christianity itself. It may well have seemed strange to many a missionary to be regarded as a 'foreign devil' or a 'red-haired barbarian' in China, and thus to share in the contempt from which primitive Christianity suffered in the world of the Greco-Roman civilization. But how much higher the level of present-day culture stands above heathendom than did that of the Middle Ages. The giant strides of development, from the invention of gunpowder to the production of nitrates from the air, and from the invention of printing to wireless telephones and telegraphy, which from decade to decade, nay from year to year unfold an amazing technique with startling rapidity, make any comparison with mediæval conditions impossible. The present time is, so far as technical development goes, really new in every department and missions have both the advantages and the disadvantages incidental to it.

Secondly, the cultural superiority of Christianity in our own day is counterbalanced by ever-growing influences such as world commerce, means of communication and politics, the passion for colonization and the imperialistic tendencies of our time. It is long since the missionary has been the

only representative of our culture in non-Christian lands—indeed in modern times he has never been such. When Spain and Portugal founded their overseas empires, it is true that troops of priests and monks accompanied every ship, but they were not the pioneers of culture in the full sense of the word: they were co-ordinate or even subordinate elements in the scheme of colonization. Protestant missions must not forget what shameful treatment their pioneers received in early days at the hands of colonists, although they had gone forth furnished with the authority of the Danish king.

In spite of all this there were times and places where the missionary was an absolute autocrat and where the nimbus of cultural superiority surrounded him completely. These days are past and gone. Voyages round the world have become health or pleasure cruises; world traffic has cast its lines round the globe, and if war does not upset it, life pulsates up and down these lines in a surprisingly regular and punctual rhythm. World commerce has drawn into its net all places from which anything is to be obtained and all places where men are to be found as purchasers for its goods. And then of colonial politics—the partition of Africa was practically concluded in a decade from 1884 to 1894, and before 1900 the partition of China fired the imagination of all the colonizing powers. Add to all this the scientific expeditions which explore all hitherto unknown territory and visit distant parts of the earth for every conceivable scientific purpose, and the fact that there is a stream of peoples to the western hemisphere to meet that moving in the opposite direction, and it will be clear that missionary work is only a very small cog in the wheel of our complicated life to-day, and that the work of the individual is almost swallowed up in the immensity of the whole organization.

Thirdly, the unity of culture has been shattered owing to the vast developments in our modern life. The monk-missionary of the Middle Ages was at least sure that even if influences made themselves felt which were not of the

Church, thanks to its unquestioned authority they would never become anti-Church. In our day Europe displays to the non-Christian world both orthodoxy and monism; the old-fashioned preaching of the Bible on one hand, and Spencer and Nietzsche on the other. One is bound to say that the number of Christians in non-Christian countries to whom Christianity has become superfluous or a matter of custom (and who therefore hinder the missionary in his work) is greater than those who live in sympathy with the missionaries and in accordance with the claims of Christianity. The more tangled the threads of cultural influences, the more difficult it is to trace them back to their origin and it is sometimes inevitable that the colonial administrator should arrive at conclusions in regard to the effects of culture different from those of the merchant or the missionary. On the other hand, the varied cultural influences begin to militate against each other. Which should the non-Christian follow, the strict commandments of the mission or the allurements of the unscrupulous atheist? Is he to believe Haeckel's riddles of the universe or the Bible? And to what extent does real and enduring culture arise from these conflicting influences?

Perhaps it is as well to consider a fourth factor in our common cultural life which has only emerged in the days of Protestant missions, when side by side with the unified works of the Roman Catholic Church is operative not only denominational but also national missionary work. To-day political, national and religious cultural motives co-exist. This leads us to ask how far religion and nationalism can and must mutually permeate each other in order to produce real culture. Such questions did not arise in the days of mediæval missions, they are characteristic of our own day.

II

As historical survey leads up to the question of the relation between missions and culture, so the same question

arises from the consideration of missionary work as it is to-day.

At the outset the mission itself develops automatically a variety of cultural work. The missionary equips his station with dwelling-houses, church, school, garden, water-supply, stable and workshops ; in this way he forms a new centre where the natives can receive instruction in cultural work and can also see for themselves its value. Every mission station becomes a training school for artisans, and each one acts as an example for others. During building operations the missionary learns the native language—often one still without literature. While for his own benefit he is compiling vocabularies, formulating grammatical rules, constructing primers, translating Bible stories, writing down songs, and later on—when he has become quite familiar with the language—putting the wealth of fairy tales, stories, proverbs, songs, myths and historical events into written language, he becomes a pioneer in obtaining for the people a culture of their own, racy of the soil—and he is at the same time a representative of his own native culture. From the moment when preaching to the heathen is succeeded by the first instruction for baptism, a new phase of culture begins, a conscious, and indeed often a much stronger unconscious influence on the moral and social life of the people, on their standard of living, the division of their time, even on their dress, and questions concerning it all. And the longer the missionary goes on, the more he will become a leader of his people in a thousand questions and methods of culture, without any neglect of his own particular work. Presently the work makes such claims upon him that he can no longer manage it himself and sets about the training of a band of native helpers. These in turn rise to a higher standard of culture and represent a new branch of missionary work in the interests of civilization. This development takes place involuntarily and at the same time automatically, and no one takes exception to it until all at once culture becomes too dominant and we ask ourselves if our feet are set in the

right way, or whether the mission which was founded with purely religious aims has grown, unrealized by us, into nothing but a piece of cultural work.

In addition to all this, missions have been obliged by force of external circumstances to deal with forms of cultural development which cannot all alike be traced to missionary origin. To take, for instance, the development of missions in India during the second third of the last century. A vast territory held together by a culture differing in details but in the main of the same character, is suddenly influenced by colonization and by missions. Alexander Duff, with the outlook of genius, realized that at that time there was only one way of bringing the Indians to true Christianity and that was by means of English language and education. In this way a school system grew up, built on the principle of using English as the governmental language in instruction, which favoured the more educated classes by reason of their greater usefulness from a political point of view, and which developed up to the grades of high school and university.

Side by side with this an equally strong literary work was carried on—the educated classes were to be won and therefore Christian literature in the English tongue covering a wide range of subjects was placed at their disposal. And then it was felt that the various associations and fellowships which form so large a part of our Christian work at home were essential, and the Young Men's Christian Association and other similar institutions were organized throughout the country and helped to develop Christian culture.

This development does not stand alone. American missions have followed the same plan, especially in lands of ancient civilizations, and seek to spread the leaven of the Gospel among these peoples by means of richly endowed schools and universities, by the distribution of Bibles, tracts and instructive literature, and not least by means of splendid institutes in the seaports and capitals, as an object lesson in the principles of Christianity.

Wherever this plan has been put in action an attempt has naturally been made to win by its means whole classes of the population, such as the Brahmans of India and the scholars of China. This establishes a connexion between missions and culture, the idea being to use culture in order to achieve what without it would have been impossible. This is quite a different method of procedure from cases in which missions have at the same time needed and led up to cultural work. Here the question arises : How can we reach our goal in the quickest and most effective manner ? What means are at our disposal to present the mission, which is definitely allied with culture, in the most attractive light to the peoples who are to be reached by it ? And again the question of principle stands out. Is such use of cultural agencies in mission work justifiable and how far ? In what way is the definitely religious side of the mission endangered by the contact with the forces of culture ?

The question is a particularly burning one in older mission districts where cultural agencies which arose from necessity are developing independently and now have a life of their own, side by side with the mission in the growing native Churches. Plantations and trading stations have their own rules of life. Ought the mission to use them in order to assure its own means of support or to provide their Christians with a means of livelihood, or does the mission go beyond what is permissible in allying itself with such undertakings ?

III

The argument that natives of non-Christian lands only regard missions as a part of our culture and want them because of that culture, seems to me no solution of the problem. It is sometimes said that the unselfish, kindly missionary who places himself beside the people is the most suitable and sympathetic teacher to initiate them into the mysteries of foreign culture, and that from a practical standpoint there can be no possible doubt as to the right of

missions to forward work of the kind. The results of the mass movements towards Christianity are the best justification for cultural work connected with missions. To me it seems that arguments on these lines only beg the question —one of principle—and carry no conviction whatever. I think too that very little help is afforded by the advice that missions should go quietly on their way as cultural forces but should not use cultural agencies as a means of recruiting for the work for which they originally exist. Either culture is a justifiable force in the mission, and in that case there is no reason why the fact should not be stated, or it is not justifiable, and in that case it should simply be rejected as part of the mission's activities.

To me there is no doubt how the answer should be given. By separating the motive of the mission and its aim from the means employed to carry out the work, you get a clear and simple formula. The motive of the mission must have a purely religious basis in the missionaries themselves; our aim must never be other than that of spreading the kingdom of God which knows no national boundaries or limitations of time. But methods of work cannot be purely religious—such a thing is impossible; cultural agencies are a fully justifiable and appropriate method in missionary work.

To make the above sentence clear I must state briefly what I understand by culture. In its highest sense it denotes the obligation of humanity to itself and to the whole earth, as it is written on the first page of the Bible: 'Replenish the earth and subdue it and have dominion over it.' Looked at in this light culture is not a means but an end. But the process of subduing the earth to the dominion of mankind causes certain actual results to mature which in themselves tend to become means to other ends, and culture becomes more objective at the same time and grows to be the expression of a certain stratum of society. Just as there was a culture before Christianity, as there is a Chinese culture which owes nothing to Christianity, so

there is a modern culture which is certainly influenced by Christianity but is an independent and objective form of it, and which embraces our natural science, our historical study and philosophic thought as well as our technical science, and indeed the whole of the material possessions with which we surround ourselves and make our lives comfortable. And this whole material, independent and yet ever-growing culture can and should be taken into consideration as a missionary asset, that is to say as a subordinate member in its organism and as one which leads on from the religious motive to the religious goal, the furthering of God's kingdom here on earth.

Of course culture must only be introduced as a subordinate member into mission work ; it must not be allowed to become an end in itself. We must not be satisfied with splendid schools, with well-paid professors and admirable methods. We must not feel the end is attained when a number of cultured oases have been introduced into an African landscape. Our aim goes ever higher, beyond the limits of the visible, the tangible and the measurable, we seek the souls of men for their eternal value and strive to lead them to their fulfilment. But in principle the whole wealth of present-day culture stands at our disposal as a means to that end, indeed it would be wrong not to utilize what has been won by work and effort. The progress of civilization consists in our building on what former generations have achieved. We must avoid the prevalent mistake of thinking that each individual worker must begin right from the beginning and make all the foolish mistakes which others have already so bitterly regretted. For instance, anyone who is so uncultured as to refuse to take a prophylactic against malaria in a malarial district certainly has no business there. And just as a mission has a right to open a little village school, so as soon as it has the means at its disposal it can open a university—always remembering the foregone conclusion that the religious motive and the religious aim are never lost sight of.

As this is a necessarily subjective question in which feeling has a voice the decision as to the right of a mission to have a cultural branch of work will always remain uncertain and will have to be left to the tact and discretion of the missionaries to settle. But perhaps reflection may have a valuable effect on the decision. All educational work in a mission ought to be justified by the fact that it combines a definitely religious aim with real cultural value, and that it serves the people whom the mission is out to serve. Secondary schools which have no primary school as foundation, or those whose curriculum was largely formed by transplanting a European or an American one to China or to India, should be regarded as of negative value in a scheme of Christian culture in China or India and at the most should only be allowed for a short time during a transition period. Primary schools which alienate an agricultural people from the soil are non-cultural and as such are unsuitable for the mission. The mission should oppose by all possible means the government desire to exclude the native language from mission schools, because its aim is not to Europeanize or to Americanize but to Christianize. This does not mean transplanting unchanged into other races those forms of Christianity in which we have been brought up, this again would be non-cultural; but it should mean the planting of a seed in new ground and leaving to God the way in which the seed develops in its own way in the new soil. True culture only originates in this way and if the mission works on these lines it will take its place in the educational scheme of humanity and produce the culture which God desires, without making it its chief aim and object.

If these reflections are right, a deduction may be drawn from them for home base work. To those who have no understanding of the religious intent of the mission, you can with a good conscience lay stress on the cultural apparatus which the mission uses. If the latter appears to them of intrinsic value they may help to sustain it.

Only it must be made clear to them, and this is the duty of all concerned, that they cannot have the cultural apparatus without the religious intent, which to them may seem unimportant. The mission can only use all the cultural influences of the present time for its own end with a glad heart when its motives and aims are respected and unassailed.

MARTIN SCHLUNK

THE RE-GROUPING OF MISSIONARY FORCES IN CANTON

By J. STEWART KUNKLE

In any consideration of the needs, the difficulties or the possibilities of a united programme in mission work the Canton field in South China deserves special study. It is one of the oldest, best-manned and most fruitful of mission fields. In it thirty-six missions and a number of unrelated Chinese churches made serious trial of working independently. Their experience led them to formulate and carry into operation a programme by which their forces are united and their work co-ordinated.

The first period of missionary work, beginning with Morrison, was the age of missionary giants. The difficulties, the opposition, the isolation, demanded men and women of great force of character. They set the standard for those who followed them in days of richer opportunity when much still remained of hardship and isolation, down to comparatively recent times. Consequently fifteen years ago, when our study begins, missionary work in Canton was completely dominated by men and women of strong individuality and splendid record of service. Some had opened up new evangelistic fields, and by a lifetime of arduous labour built up a circuit of churches. Others had begun educational work, and with little capital other than their own labour and learning laid the foundation of colleges. Even in the funds received from the home lands they were dependent largely upon their own efforts, receiving little encouragement or help from mission or board. It is not surprising then that they exercised, as of right, the largest liberty in the conduct of their own work. The missions into

which the several boards had grouped their missionaries were little more than fellowship groups of independent workers.

In the period now before us, however, each mission came to question seriously the wisdom of the continuation of such individualism. The work and opportunity were seen to have outgrown the resources of the individual. The independent missionary could give no assurance of the permanence of his work or of its proper development. The beginning of a work required only one man, but its completion usually involved the co-operation of many others. The one-man institution could not meet the needs and opportunities of the new China. But the conditions of effective co-operation were lacking. The experiment was too often tried of placing two equally independent missionaries in one institution. If individualism was thus insufficient to relate the missionaries in an institution, how much more was it inadequate to bring into any real unity the efforts of the workers scattered over a large field?

It was natural to expect the mission organization to provide for the co-operation needed. The mission consisted of all those sent out by one society and so represented the common purpose that had guided all in the past, that was guiding them in the present and might still be expected to guide the generations of missionaries to come. In this was the hope of continuity for the work. The mission stood for the whole resources of the home society which alone were adequate to the new demands of the growing work and increasing opportunities. What more natural then than to substitute for individualism the ideal of co-operation within the mission? The work of the members of the mission, however distant and however varied, could in this way be co-ordinated so as to serve the common purpose. The mission could formulate policies and outline programmes. It could make the work of its members its own work and bear the responsibility of financing and staffing the various enterprises. The mission might become the common authority

recognized by all, might be able to regulate conditions of work so as to maintain harmonious relation in all joint undertakings.

Mission co-ordination of work, however, met with stubborn opposition. As the missions one after another attempted it they had almost without exception to pass through a serious and distressing conflict; for it seemed too often to the individual like an organized attack upon his work. But the final victory in each case lay with the new policy; willingly or reluctantly all forms of independent effort in time submitted to mission control.

The dominant factor in the Canton mission field was thus no longer the individual. It was the mission. A rapid development of mission organization followed; committees multiplied and volumes of resolutions and policies were published. A fine *esprit de corps* was not wanting. Mission work went forward by leaps and bounds. New recruits and enlarged budgets increased the general optimism. Ambitious programmes were the order of the day.

But just as the missions had come to question the wisdom of individualism, so men with the whole interests of the work at heart began to question the adequacy of mission co-ordination. It had provided for co-ordination within denominational groups, but had left thirty-six such groups working independently in the same field. There was no attempt at a division of labour. The work of each group was very much a duplication of that of every other, as far as their resources permitted. Each, for example, overburdened itself by attempting to provide all its own schools. A division of field came to be recognized as desirable, but too late, it was thought, to apply to the more populous districts where work by different groups was already under way. As many as eight missions were working in a small county, while other districts were entirely neglected. Schools of some kinds were multiplied beyond any real need, while others were entirely unprovided for. Competition, it is true, came to be regulated by rules of comity. But

where different policies and methods were used, confusion and controversy could not always be avoided.

A system so unsatisfactory from the point of view of the interests of the work as a whole did not have the success expected of it from a denominational point of view. The missions looked with confident eyes to the home Churches for the support of their new denominational programmes. They looked not wholly in vain; in most cases, however, they found that an appeal to be effective must be in terms of an entire field or an entire need. Here was an embarrassment. To report all the work being done would make the appeal too complicated to be effective. To omit the work of all other groups was hardly honest. The appeals, however made, were disappointing in their returns. The missions had to face the hard fact that the home Churches would not provide the men and money needed to carry out the denominational programmes. The support for the work already under way was wholly inadequate. The missions made heroic and determined efforts to maintain their work, only, in too many cases, to be forced by numerous breakdowns in their staff to the conclusion that they had begun more than they could complete. At the same time they were painfully conscious that the progress of the work and new conditions on the field were strongly demanding a better quality of work. No mission had in any field or institution a sufficient force to make its work really effective.

It was not usually the purpose of separate mission programmes to reproduce in China the denominational divisions of the West. In so far as there was such expectation it received little encouragement from the Chinese. They were much more impressed by the things all Churches had in common and by the practical need of unity. The demand for a national Church began to be heard. Seven Churches, established by as many missions, united in forming what they called the ' Church of Christ in China.'

It was from the point of view of the Chinese that the most serious objection was made to organization of Christian

work around the mission. The dominance of the mission organization meant that Christianity in China has always in the minds of the people had a foreign brand upon it. Christian Chinese have been called after the name of the mission and the nationality of the missionaries responsible for their conversion. They were 'American Presbyterian Christians,' 'Berlin (Mission) Christians,' 'London (Mission) Christians,' etc. Mission work was in this way closely associated in the popular mind with foreign governments, to the serious detriment of the work. Every disturbance of China's international relations meant a disturbance as well of mission work. The American missions were affected by the boycott of 1905, the German missions by the Great War, the English missions by every unpopular act of the Hongkong government.

Mission control meant for the Chinese above all else foreign domination in Christian work. The large force of preachers and teachers were employees of the mission. The body of Chinese Christians were under its care. The relation was never very successful in awakening much loyalty or in commanding very efficient service. The rise of independent Chinese Churches only loosely associated with the missions marked the end of any effective administration of the work by mission organizations alone. The body of Chinese Christians, on all hands recognized to be the main evangelistic force on the field, had passed beyond their control.

The frank facing of the situation in the autumn of 1918 showed mission work in the Canton field to be extensive and impressive but unrelated in its various parts. It was prevented from going forward and making its influence felt on the whole field not from lack of devoted labour but through want of a common programme. When almost every part of the work was in dire need of more adequate support and staff, there was waste through conflicting plans and policies, overlapping of fields and unnecessary duplication of institutions. Great and far-reaching opportunities

were being lost not because of lack of forces on the field, but because of the lack of any organization to unite and direct them.

It remained for the largest mission at work in Canton to take the initiative in bringing the demand for such reorganization of mission forces before the entire missionary body. In doing so it expressed its willingness to be guided in the work it should undertake or abandon by the judgment of a competent body representing the interests of all the work in the field. There was already in Canton a loose general organization, called the Missionary Conference, that met from time to time to hear discussions of matters of common interest. This organization called special meetings for consideration of the situation, which resulted in a determination to take whatever steps were necessary to promote real co-operation between the missions. Missionaries of one large society, however, objected and threatened to withdraw. This seemed to defeat at the beginning the very end the conference had in mind, but the necessity of closer co-operation was so strongly felt that it was decided to go forward with the missionaries that were ready for it, trusting that the others would eventually take their part in it.

The detailed work of the study of the situation and the preparation of recommendations based upon it was put into the hands of a committee of the conference, called the Board of Co-operation. This board appointed special committees to consider the various aspects of the work. These committees, after some months of careful work, submitted their findings. The Board of Co-operation from these formulated a united programme which they called the ' Programme of Advance.' The spirit and general scope of this united programme may be seen in the following quotation :

> We desire to express our gratitude to God for the new spirit of co-operation among the missions. It has enabled us increasingly to realize the oneness of all our mission work and the consequent relation of the work of each mission to the work of every other mission and to the work as a whole. United in one purpose and owing allegiance to one Lord, we earnestly desire such

mutual understanding and inter-missions organization as shall enable us to work with united strength for the kingdom of God.

The Programme of Advance calls for an organization of Christian forces round the work in which they are engaged rather than round the home Church which supports them. In the new organization no distinction is made between Chinese and foreign workers of like training and responsibility. They are grouped according to their department of work into evangelistic, educational and medical associations. The object of these organizations is 'to confer on their common work, to consider policies and methods and to plan concerted and co-operative efforts.'

The aim of the united programme is the co-ordination of all the Christian work of the field. The Canton programme seeks to accomplish this through small executive bodies over each department of work and over the work as a whole. The evangelistic work is placed under the general direction of an evangelistic council. To it is given the following duties :

To represent the interests of the evangelistic work as a whole . . . to plan for the effective occupation of the province, to study needed adjustment in the work of the missions with reference to the work of other missions and to the work as a whole, and to make recommendations in regard to the same (Programme of Advance, p. 6, C. 2).

Similar to this body is the Board of Education whose work is as follows :

To plan the development of Christian education in South China, to determine the general educational policy, to define standards, to establish calendars and curricula, to consider and decide matters relating to educational comity and the co-ordination of the various schools in the Christian system of education in Kwangtung, and to recognize officially the schools conforming to its requirement (Programme of Advance, p. 20, Art. 6).

To co-ordinate the work of the several departments the Canton programme calls for a Board of Reference and Counsel to unify the whole work and to give general oversight and direction.

Special consideration is given in the united programme to the paramount rights of the Chinese Church. Its independence is recognized as 'necessary to the Church's life and growth, and something to be sacredly respected.' It is interesting to see how this is applied to the question of the occupation of a district by missionary forces. It used to be a matter between missions. The right of a mission to enter a new field was adjudged on the basis of the work and claims of other missions. The Canton programme proposes that it be considered chiefly in the light of the relation of the proposed work to the Church already established in the district.

Reorganization on so large a scale requires time for its realization. Many of the provisions of the Canton programme are still under consideration by the missions and boards. But much progress has already been made. The Evangelistic Association has, not without difficulty, succeeded in bringing together workers of the various missions in charge of evangelistic fields and pastors of independent churches. While the realization of fellowship in a common work has been the chief gain, some progress has been made also in the consideration of methods, policies and programmes. The reorganized Educational Association has given a large place on its programme, as in its membership, to Chinese educators. The Medical Association is actively directing the policy of the medical work of the field. Largely through its influence the medical missionaries of Canton, so long divided over rival projects of medical education, are now united in developing a union medical college.

Some steps have also been taken towards the co-ordination of the Christian work of the Canton field. Evangelistic work in Canton city is related under the general direction of a committee and an evangelistic secretary. The work of the Y.M.C.A. and of the Y.W.C.A. has been linked up with that of the missions and the churches. Progress has been made in the development of a large and well-equipped

central hospital to which the country hospitals are related. The Christian schools of the province are being organized into a system by the new Board of Education. Each school is thus being related to every other school and to the whole work. Common curricula have been prepared, standards determined, schools recognized and supervision provided for.

Something has been done also to relate mission work more closely with the Chinese Church. A number of mission schools have sought and obtained from the Church formal recognition of their work, looking forward to the participation of the Church in that work. The seven missions whose Churches united to form the Church of Christ in China have come together in an inter-missions committee to promote common action and closer relations with that Church. The evangelistic work in the different districts is now generally administered by a joint committee consisting of representatives of the Church of the district and of the mission or missions co-operating with it. In one district the work of four missions is thus jointly administered.

United effort is the order of the day. Eleven missions have part in union institutions. There is a union normal school, two union middle schools, a union theological college and a union hospital. United evangelistic efforts have met with great success. One campaign in Canton city resulted in three thousand decisions. The union of Christian forces in an anti-gambling crusade resulted in the prohibition of gambling in the province. A purity campaign has profoundly stirred the whole of South China and secured important legislation.

The idea of a united programme cannot but appeal to all genuinely interested in the progress of Christianity. We rejoice that a programme is possible for a field like Canton. The recent Educational Commission has given us a programme for all China. But if a united programme is to be more than a splendid ideal, the experience of Canton shows us that it must be backed by a reorganization of Christian

forces. Are we ready to enter the larger fellowship of all those labouring with us in the same field for the same cause? Will the missions be willing to surrender their leadership? Will the home boards give their active support to the carrying out of a united programme? The readjustment of work necessary in an old field will require sacrifice. It will mean in certain instances the giving up of cherished plans and work that is dearer than life. But it will in the end mean a larger field, a wider fellowship, a chance for better work and a more direct contribution to the progress of the Kingdom. With all labour and all resources marshalled in the evangelization of the field, success is assured. The united programme everywhere, as in Canton, is a programme of advance.

J. Stewart Kunkle

THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF A CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION IN CHINA

By THOMAS F. CARTER

The problem that is occupying much of the best thought of the Christian Church in China to-day is how to adapt that Church to its environment of twentieth-century China, and at the same time retain all that is essential to Christianity. The aim of this article is to suggest certain fundamental issues involved in the solution of that problem. What is desired is a product which shall belong to the twentieth century, which shall belong to China, and which shall be utterly and completely Christian. The solution must be so scientific as to satisfy the exacting demands of the present day; it must be so in keeping with China's historic heritage as to commend itself to the best thought of the land; and at the same time it must so burst the bands of narrow nationalism as to make full use of the religious experience of the rest of the world, and especially of that unique experience that centres in the life and person of Jesus Christ.

Seldom has there been such an opportunity as there is in China to-day to go deep down and examine the very foundations of society. While the social heritage in every nation is undergoing rapid re-evaluation, there are few lands where that social heritage is being subjected to keener criticism than in conservative China. A couple of years ago the writer in addressing a small government school in Central China made the innocent remark, 'There are those who before building wish to tear down completely, whose slogan is, "Destroy the state, destroy religion, destroy the family."' The mere suggestion was greeted with such prolonged applause that it was some time before he could go on with his address. It is fortunate that China possesses

a slow moving peasantry who effectually prevent the total breaking down and rebuilding of society over night that is desired by the enthusiasm of the younger generation. Nevertheless the old bands that have held society together are being broken and only a new and strong foundation for the social structure that is to arise can save the nation from disintegration.

The three dimensions of this foundation may be described as the three criteria of geography, of history and of science. First, the foundation must be as broad as the world. Its basis must be the experience of the whole human family, not merely, as in the past, the experience of one section or race. Narrow nationalism, ignorance of the outside world, must give way before a new breadth of view. In the second place, an enduring foundation for the culture of a people must go deep down into that people's historic past. Any foundation, however broad, that does violence to historic continuity will be like that of a house transplanted and not securely bedded in its new location. And, third, the new structure must be based on science, the science that may be defined as a search for truth at all costs, a patient unwearying quest for reality. The historic basis may degenerate into traditionalism. The study of other peoples of the world may lead to copying or to a faddism that takes account only of what is striking and new. Both need the scientific spirit of patient examination which will accept only ' whatsoever things are true,' whether they be new or old, whether they be fashionable in the wide world or not—which subjects both every tradition and every suggested change to those searching questions adopted as a slogan by the new renaissance movement of the students of China, ' What ? Why ? How ? '

It would be well if each phase of China's changing life could be appraised in the light of these three criteria, of history, of geography and of science. When the Manchu dynasty was overthrown, the new leaders looked about the world and sought to make a constitution based on those of

other nations, especially those of the republics of the United States and France. China's own past was largely forgotten, the self-government through the ages of the village and the clan was largely lost sight of as a basis for the new national structure. Nor was there time for a scientific analysis of the various elements that were taken over from the constitutions of the West. The result has been a tenuous one-dimension foundation which is as unsatisfactory in the political realm as is a blind copying of the West in other phases of China's new life.

In the family the divergence of view seems almost irreconcilable between the old generation with its eyes fixed on the customs of the past and the younger generation that looks vaguely over the sea for its example, but looks more directly into the eyes of the much-desired life partner, determined to leave not even a veto power in the hands of the parents who have been accustomed in the past to the exclusive management of matrimonial affairs. The one generation looks to the historic past, the other looks abroad. The reconciling point of view will come here not so much with science in its technical meaning, but rather with that superscience which we call common sense, and which seems to be after all the abiding characteristic of the Chinese race.

It is not necessary here to go into the various phases of Chinese life where the three-fold basis must be laid for the new culture. Whether in industry or in education, in politics or in the home, the blending of historic continuity with world consciousness and the tempering of the whole with the spirit that seeks for truth and reality is the task that confronts present-day China.

In no field of activity is the necessity for this foundation more pressing than in that of religion, for religion controls the hidden springs of man's conduct and is more or less at the basis of all social life. It is now that this religious foundation for the new China must be laid. On the one hand we see vast masses of men and women, China's millions, scarcely affected by any modern thought. To the scientific

man their religion appears as superstition. It has not only no scientific basis, it is also out of touch with the currents of the wider world. But it has a very deep historic basis, and that is its strength. On the other hand we see a smaller but very influential body, consisting of modern men and women who have cast aside religion, who have left behind them their own historic faith (and often much of their historic culture with it), and have rejected that most world-wide of religions, Christianity. These claim to be strictly scientific. The one body of men, the masses, rest on history and tradition alone, the other on science. Each is resting on an insecure foundation of one dimension only.

Over against these stands the Christian Church, whose foundation it is also well to examine. It must be freely confessed at the outset that any section of the Christian Church which has, on the one hand, cut itself loose from the national heritage and on the other hand has not linked itself up with modern science—any part of the Church whose religion is a blind copying of the West—has a foundation as weak as is that of those who blindly follow the tradition of the past. All missionaries, theoretically at least, are seeking to avoid this danger. They want an indigenous Church. But imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, and there is something about human nature that just naturally craves such flattery. There are those who seem to pray, 'God raise up great independent leaders in the Chinese Church, and may those leaders do what we think they ought to do.' A social structure or a religion that is based merely on imitation has a very precarious foundation.

The need in China to-day is for a religion that shall be set firmly on a three-dimension foundation, where China's deep racial heritage, the broad experience of the whole human race and a fearless regard for scientific truth shall all have their full place. The corner-stone of such a foundation is not difficult to find. 'None other foundation can any man lay than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus.' What we need is a religion as true to the best in the national heritage

of the people as was His who came ' not to destroy but to fulfil ' ; as broadly catholic in spirit as was His who welcomed the centurion and who talked with the woman of Samaria ; as free and untrammelled in its search for truth as was His who said, ' Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.'

If we are to accept these criteria as our own and to build such a foundation for the Christian faith in China, it will take some clear thinking through of certain fundamental issues. On the historic side, the question naturally arises whether we are making as full and as wise use of all that is best in China's heritage and especially in ancient Chinese literature as Jesus and His disciples made of Jewish history and literature in their proclamation of the new faith. If the Christian Church is to be an integral part of the Chinese community, it is also necessary that it avoid the danger into which the Judaizing proselytizers of St Paul's day fell, who bewitched the foolish Galatians into becoming altogether like themselves. I think of two Chinese Christians of my acquaintance, both equally sincere and true, both highly educated. The one was brought up in a Christian home and in Christian schools. He has never seriously questioned what he has been taught. It is easy for him to work under missionary direction, for his point of view is essentially that of the missionary. The other became a Christian late in life after an exceptionally good classical education. The missionary's ways sometimes jar on him as being foreign to his habits, and it would be hard for him to work under the missionary, for the Church he and his kind will develop will be different from that of the West. But he has a leadership among independent red-blooded Chinese that a man of the other type can rarely have. It is under such leaders, provided they have caught the vision and the spirit of Christ, that the Church will take root in Chinese soil.

It was right here that the conflict in the seventeenth century between the Jesuits and the other Roman Catholic orders centred. It was a conflict between those who wanted

Christianity to adapt itself to Chinese culture and those who wanted to conform strictly to European practices and belief. It would be well if every missionary could read Abbé Huc's account of the controversy in his fascinating book *Christianity in China, Tartary and Tibet*, for the points at issue all bear strictly on our present-day problems. Christianity was making very rapid strides forward under imperial favour and under able leaders. Ricci, the first missionary, was a man of broad culture and very deep Chinese scholarship. To him *Shang Ti* and *Tien*, being the highest conceptions of Godhead that the Chinese had known, were the words to use for God, just as Θεός had been the word chosen by St Paul. To him the philosophic conception of the *T'ai Chi* was an adumbration of the Christian idea of the Great First Cause. His followers combated the notion that the Christian ritual must be in Latin—they even wrote a letter to the Pope suggesting the possibility that Jesus might have been born in China, and asking what the people of Rome would think if they had been required to learn Chinese in order to adopt Christianity. And finally these Jesuit missionaries found in the veneration of ancestors not a mere form of idolatry to be abolished, but a great power for good to be Christianized and conserved. To the Dominicans and Franciscans and even to certain Jesuits—men usually whose work was among Chinese of inferior education and who were often of inferior education themselves—these things were pure idolatry, and must be given up without compromise, if true religion were to go forward. The Pope decided in favour of the narrower view and sent a special legate to China to enforce his decision. The result was that after the papal legate had been called to the palace, and explained his position before the emperor, and after the emperor had stated his own views with regard to outside dictation concerning matters within China, the whole Catholic Church was expelled from the empire. The writer of the narrative, as a loyal Catholic, must of necessity defend the action of the Pope, but the reader lays down the book

with the feeling that after all the emperor was right and that the Church lost a golden opportunity to make Christianity a vital force in Chinese life.

But history shows also another side of the question. There was in an earlier age an opportunity which the Church lost through an entirely different cause. Back in the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ the Nestorian Church made rapid progress in China. It was highly favoured by certain emperors. We have no historic records to show why later it failed. A hint of the reason may be found in the account of Christian doctrine which is contained in the Nestorian tablet at Si-an-fu. After telling a little of Old Testament history and of the birth, life and miracles of Jesus, it passes over intervening events and tells of the ascension. Later it says the cross is the symbol of the Christians because it points north, south, east and west. We can see here a Christianity that adapted itself to Chinese ways of thinking to such an extent that it lost its vital message. We know that at a time somewhat later the Nestorian Metropolitan of China reported to the home Church in Bagdad only once in four years. The touch with world-wide Christianity was weak and as a result the faith lost that very element which has made it a power in the rest of the world.

Christianity is based on the deep heart experience of those who have accepted it in all the world. It is based more especially on the experience of the Jewish people and on the unique experience of Jesus Christ, who so revealed the Father that Christians in all ages have acknowledged Him to be the Son of God. A Christianity that loses touch with this experience of the whole Christian world and which loses its vital relation with the life and death of Jesus Christ, has lost its power, and is destined to be absorbed in the life about it, rather than to mould that life. If the attempt to bring Christianity into touch with Chinese thought and Chinese culture goes so far as to take the heart out of the faith, it is no longer the Christianity of Christ. China in her religious life needs the experience and the background

of every Christian nation. The Chinese Church needs more than all that unique background which is contained in the records of the Old and New Testaments.

A superficial or haphazard adaptation of Christianity to Chinese ways is in danger of incorporating elements so foreign to the Christian spirit that Christianity will no longer have a unique message to the Chinese people. Compromise is always hazardous. Only a clear broad-minded understanding of the deep springs of Chinese culture and an equally clear understanding of the essentials of Christian truth will enable the intellectual and the spiritual leaders of the Chinese Church to select those elements of China's social heritage which have permanent value and which will enrich and not weaken the message of the Christian Church.

The Christianity that is to be successful in China must on the one hand adapt itself to China's historic heritage; it must on the other never lose sight of those elements in the experience of the Christian world which are essentially Christian. There are certain points at which these two criteria seem to conflict, and it is here that the scientific point of view is needed. It is necessary to approach the problem of China's religious future with a mind utterly free of prejudice, to look facts and evidence squarely in the face. This is equally necessary in the case of historical judgments and in the case of judgments of value for present-day life. The scientist will accept nothing, either on the authority of tradition or on the authority of world-wide fashion, but will examine each element fearlessly, asking first whether it is true, and second what is its value. The Christian need have no fear of this point of view. Believing as we do both in the truth and in the supreme value of our religion, we cannot but be glad to have every element in it subjected to the severest test. We know in advance that much will be swept away of the chaff which has during the centuries adhered to the Church; but we are confident also that the kernel of truth, the truth as it is in Jesus Christ, will remain. It is only the free untrammelled mind of the true scientist

which can avoid that overloading of religion with traditions of men that was the bane of religion in Jesus' day and has been its danger ever since. This search for reality must scrutinize both every element of western Christianity and every Chinese custom before allowing either the one or the other to become a part of the Christian religion of China. That religion will then be as free from the trammels of tradition and of fashion as was the Carpenter of Nazareth, who astonished the scribes and Pharisees with the freshness and the simplicity of His teaching.

For the laying of this foundation master builders are needed. The supreme qualities that such builders must have are without doubt qualities of heart. Vision and character are indispensable, the vision that aims clearly toward the completed structure and the character that can work unswervingly to accomplish that aim. But even character and vision untrained may fail to achieve their purpose. There are great qualities of mind which are also indispensable and which can be fostered and strengthened by direct preparation. These are equally necessary for the missionary and for the Chinese leader.

The master builder must have real insight into the religious experiences and needs of men in all the world. He must know his Bible, must know it so well that he has made that unique religious experience that came into the world with Jesus Christ his very own, a part of the very fibre of his being. He must know something of church history and what constituted the strength of those that have stood firm for the faith in the past. He must be able to understand and enter into the religious experience of men to-day, not merely those of his own land, his own denomination, his own group; his religious sense must be so alive and true that it links itself naturally with true religion in others, even when expressed in forms altogether different from his.

The successful builder must know China. He must know her language so as to be at home with it; he must know her history; he must know her literature; he should, if

possible, have some appreciation and understanding of her art; he should have a certain instinctive feeling for her code of propriety. Above all, he should understand the Chinese people of to-day. There are those who naturally enter into the life of the people about them and see with their eyes; there are others who live all their lives in China and who even speak the language and to whom the Chinese point of view remains, as it were, a closed book. Strange to say, this is a weakness from which even Chinese who have lived much of their life in a foreign atmosphere are not altogether free. The builder of the Christian Church in China must not only live his life in a Christian atmosphere, but in a Chinese atmosphere if his work is to be well done.

Furthermore, the master builder must have something of the spirit of the world's great scientists. He need not necessarily know the technical details of physics or chemistry or any one of the special sciences, though all of these are useful, but he must have entered deeply enough into scientific study to have made its spirit and its method his own. He must have opened his mind wide to truth from whatever direction truth may come. In accepting or rejecting what he hears and sees, the final word must be reality, not prejudice or even tradition. Perhaps a study of the lives of great scientists such as Pasteur is as fruitful a method of approach as the study of science itself. At the heart of the true scientist is a glowing passion for the truth.

Such are the qualities of heart and of mind needed for the laying of the foundations of the Church of China. The Chinese Church needs not so much many leaders as great leaders. Jesus Christ accomplished more than all the religious leaders that went before Him, and His ministry lasted only three years. Quality not quantity must be our aim. The foundation of the Christian Church in China to be well laid must be laid by men of vision, who see broadly, deeply, truly, men whose vision is centred in Jesus Christ.

THOMAS F. CARTER

THE MODERN CHINESE WOMAN: HER WORK AND PROBLEMS

By ANNA KONG MEI

The history of China during the last two decades has been alternately bright and gloomy, with the shadows predominating. Periods of optimism quickly followed spasms of reform which raised many false hopes, only to be succeeded by longer periods of pessimism and despair. Chinese thinkers are mystified as to the best remedies applicable to the general chaos that is now their country. 'The sick man of the Orient' has indeed fallen upon evil days, has never appeared more helpless. Internal forces of disintegration have run riot and seem to undermine the whole national fabric, unchecked even by foreign menace; national paralysis everywhere seems all but complete. Behind all the political and industrial nostrums advocated by various reformers is the devastating background of an apparently unchanging mass of ignorance, an incomprehensible inertia, an oppressive hopelessness which staggers the weak, yet challenges the strong.

A gleam of hope in a decadent situation comes from the score or more of men and women whose faith in the Christian message of freedom leads them on in the fight for a better order of things. These have seen hundreds of schemes initiated, tried and abandoned; they realize the utter folly of reform from the top down, and they are bending their energies towards education and social self-help, towards progress and reform from the bottom up. To this view also the modern Chinese woman has slowly come, and with conviction she is carrying out her ideas in nearly every conceivable sphere of service, to effect a general levelling-up, especially to emancipate her sister women from the shackles of age-

old customs. Her work is founded upon and inspired by Christian courage, charity, and freedom; it is a distinctly new phenomenon. It is too early yet to speak of Chinese women creating a new moral and spiritual force that is insinuating itself into the hearts of men, but signs are not wanting that they are gradually constituting themselves into such a force. China has been synonymous with a vast vacuous inertia, but she is a land of paradoxes, for the suddenness of changes wrought with bewildering rapidity in late years has been as astonishing as it has been encouraging. Thus we see women to-day in the professions, succeeding in trade and industry, serving their generation in self-denying social work—all this happening side by side with the old-fashioned women and girls who shrink from anything but the traditional ruts that men for thousands of years had made and kept for them.

We have women who have studied abroad now returned as physicians; I need cite only Drs Mary and Phebe Stone, whose work among the poor and lowly in the factories and the slums is well known. Then there is Dr Ida Kahn who directs a large hospital in northern China, and Dr Mary Chang who organized Red Cross work in the revolution of 1911. Trained nurses are increasing as medical colleges and nursing schools are turning out more every year; many of them have done excellent work in the area of the fighting.

There is a law school in Shanghai giving legal instruction to women, founded by a Christian woman, wife of an ex-minister of justice. She is not a returned student, but Christian ideals have so appealed to her that she must put them to practical application. In an ancient land where the legal position of women has been that of continuous subjugation to men, their rights more often ignored than respected or even defined, where women as a whole have been sunk in abysmal ignorance and enslaved in concubinage, they had hardly expected fair treatment from men; but now, legal and higher education give promise of freedom and the assurance of a new day.

A women's bank in Shanghai, another in Peking, organ-

ized and conducted by women for women are interesting developments of something like sex solidarity. That in Shanghai has a moving spirit in Mrs O'Ben, a staunch Christian woman, of forceful personality, far sighted and shrewd in business, generous in philanthropy. She herself was a waif brought up in an orphan asylum, and after marrying a rich merchant one of her first acts was to found an orphan asylum and industrial school where orphans could be trained to useful trades. She has been untiring in church, free school and social work, and in organizations like the Y.W.C.A., never far behind the lead in welfare work of all sorts.

Numerous are the teachers trained both abroad and at home, and devoted women are they all. Deans of women in universities, mission colleges and government schools have made records for capacity and scholarship as well as educational leadership. In this connexion might be mentioned the advent of co-education in China, hitherto an unheard-of innovation, but which is likely to spread as good sense and economy prevail. Ginling College for Women in Nanking is yearly turning out dozens of splendid, high-spirited Christian girls, graduates who have already won a position in different callings. A new college for women just planned at the Union University of Chengtu, West China, will fill a great need in a vast region with a population of over 100,000,000.

In the field of journalism and *belles-lettres* are women who have edited women's magazines and written good verse. One very versatile editress is Mrs T. C. Chu, a former chairman of the National Committee of the Y.W.C.A. in China, who has had experience in many lines of endeavour, not the least being the organization of the Chinese Women's Club of Shanghai and of free schools for poor children. Since graduating from Wellesley College she has won recognition as one of the chief figures in what may be called the feminist movement in China. With her name may be coupled that of Mrs D. Y. Lin, also a Wellesley graduate, former dean of

the Y.W.C.A. School of Physical Education and Hygiene at Shanghai, for many years a most successful and hard-working secretary of the Shanghai Y.W.C.A., who is now giving splendid assistance to her husband in the attempt at province-wide afforestation work; she is also organizing a new Y.W.C.A. at Chefoo.

There were women soldiers in the republican revolution of 1911, of the corps known as the ' Dare-to-dies,' a body of men and women organized more or less like the American Minute-men of 1776. Many girls have sacrificed their lives in the cause of democracy. Only a few weeks ago there was a report of two women appointed to division commands in the contending armies in the south and west of China. This certainly is no sign of either retrogression or of old-style inactivity among Chinese women.

Other indications are not lacking that our modern women are resenting the old rôle of contented idleness or that of only rearing babies and mending socks. Women and girls in the cities are now filling business offices as book-keepers, shop assistants, saleswomen, stenographers and even commission agents, while hundreds have become telephone operators and bank clerks. There are shopkeepers without number. The substitution of machinery for handicrafts has taken hundreds of thousands of women from the homes to the factories and the mills, and has created for China new and puzzling socio-industrial problems that require solution before they get out of hand.

In religious work might be mentioned Miss Ting Shu-ching, acting general secretary of the national Y.W.C.A. movement. She has had wide administrative experience in Peking where as general secretary of the city Y.W.C.A. she not only had much to do with the routine activities of the Y.W.C.A., but co-operated in welfare and social service work of every kind in the capital. Then Miss Fan Yu-Jung is fast coming to the fore as religious leader, social work thinker and investigator. An eloquent and convincing speaker, she has presided many times at conventions and

meetings of all kinds in masterly fashion, winning high praise from foreign and Chinese collaborators. Chinese women missionaries have gone from the seaports to the interior, under the auspices of home missionary societies, for evangelistic work in far-off Yunnan and Szechuan, sharing struggles and enduring hardships with the men. The scores of able and devoted secretaries now staffing the thirteen Y.W.C.A.'s in as many cities of China, in responsible positions as general secretaries and heads of departments such as student work, publication, general administration, religious training and industrial welfare show the many-sided interests of modern Chinese women, who have caught the gleam of Christ's leadership, and who, regardless of past traditions and hide-bound customs, have cut new trails as pioneers for the coming generations to follow. The paths they have blazed are every whit as difficult, hazardous and trying as any in the West.

There are also those ex-students and others who have had advantages of education or residence abroad, but who have only returned to lives of ease or have slipped back into the rut of the past. Pity them for the wonderful opportunities they are missing of making their lives count in this great transitional era of their country. Some there are who, taken by the pleasures of the West, add them to those of the East with increased assiduity and craving; some seek the excitements of the dance hall, the gaming tables, or advanced styles in dress and adornment, even bobbed hair. If I say so much it is only to give a complete picture of modern Chinese women as they are, and to show that surely these are not the stay-at-homes their mothers and grandmothers were. China is changing and with her change the women and girls who have abandoned the restrictions of a long masculine civilization. Moral and social standards of ancient times are being unceremoniously jettisoned. The women of to-day are discovering themselves in every direction, and finding independence sweet and good.

The double standard of morality is rapidly losing favour

among women in China—more rapidly than is considered desirable by the men, for its maintenance means the continuation of male superiority with all the evils of concubinage, slavery, patriarchalism and domestic tyranny. Its elimination from the minds of Chinese men and women will destroy the vicious notion that women are men's natural, legal and economic inferiors. The faces of our modern women are set against the old system of things. Consciously or unconsciously they are determined to get freedom, and with the example of western women before them, their attainment of the franchise and equality of treatment in industry and labour, Chinese women are peering into the future, anxious to experience the thrill of independence and equality when they shall cease to be merely domestic beasts of burden or the wives of cavemen. They are no longer willing calmly to submit to parent-made marriages with men whom they have never seen; they demand to arrange their own marriages. A few months ago a young girl in Peking dared to defy the conventions by suing her undesired betrothed to annul the engagement. It seemed a modern miracle, but she won, even over her own parents' objection, the ridicule of the press and very rigid official conservatism.

If men practise marital infidelity, their modern wives are at least not doomed to that silent toleration which for centuries seemed tantamount to aiding and abetting the curse of concubinage, of plural marriages and of slave girls. Their protest against the old order is plainly registered in the large number of divorce cases crowding the court calendars—a situation hitherto unknown, the very suggestion of separation being appalling in old Chinese social life.

The demand for female education which provides for higher training beyond the middle school reveals an insistent desire for awakening the feminine mind and the general raising of women's status. It will not be very long before sex solidarity will firmly demand the right of women to participate in public affairs. The popularizing of knowledge by mass education in the essentials of writing and reading

will make this objective easier of achievement than conservative people now think possible. It is this general leavening of the Chinese masses through popular elementary education making for literacy, that will reduce the present appalling 90 per cent illiteracy. Coupled with the gradual awakening of women's minds, their participation in public affairs and active interest in the problems of social welfare gives promise of a great hope for the China that is lying helpless in the grip of corruption, chaos and civil war. The passing of the docile women of yesterday, and the advent of the aggressive and practical type of to-day has to be taken into account in such matters as public health work, better factory laws, child labour legislation and fairer wages. In the initiation of all these reforms the women, chiefly through the Y.W.C.A. and the National Christian Council, have had a voice. The incipient industrialism, new economic readjustments, novel social ideals and rash political conceptions are great forces now playing upon the Chinese woman's mind, and their impact causes strange reactions. As the significance and application of these new forces comes to be understood, what a tremendous driving power there will be released and utilized for the national well-being.

Against the great evils now tormenting China—such as brigandage, poverty, famine, flood, pestilence; industrial exploitation of the man and woman power of the nation; vicious customs such as foot-binding, gambling and indulging in opium; the petty restrictions of the old family system—against all these men have for centuries struggled in vain because they have fought alone, unaided by the women's intuitive knowledge, moral indignation and enthusiasm. Now, with Christian women taking the lead in nearly every line of reform and uplift, holding aloft the ideals of a militant Christianity as a torch to millions of the oppressed and exploited, while never ceasing their quiet work of building up an indigenous Church, extending the field of home missionary endeavour and keeping clearly and steadily before themselves the great objectives of civil and

social emancipation which their sisters of America and England have won, it is no idle dream to think that in the not too distant future China will experience a real renaissance. Then the modern women of China will indeed come into their own, because they will have done their duty and fulfilled their destiny as saviours of their race.

ANNA KONG MEI

CHINA THE ETERNAL

By PEARL S. BUCK

I said to myself, as the old junk was towed slowly through the wandering canal, that China had not changed after all. And I was glad. The indolent toiler in the neighbouring field looked up from his clods with the same vacant interest as we passed, his blue coat cast aside and his brown back shining in the morning sun. The little villages were as sleepy and as dirty as ever they were in the old days, with their swarms of dusty children sprawling in the streets, naked and cheerful. Mothers gossiped in the doorways, their shuttles twisting gently with the spinning of coarse cotton thread, and they stopped occasionally to unfasten a well-worn button when a toddling youngster's hungry mouth came nuzzling. The old grandmothers and grandfathers doddered and dozed against a mud wall, in the hot sunshine and flies, and all was peace.

It was even reassuring to have a mangy yellow dog rush at me from the bank with startling directness. Evidently foreigners were infrequent still. I might go back to my home then in the drowsy little old interior city and be quiet again, shut away forever, if I liked, from the incessant turmoil of progress as the West sees it. For I was very weary of screaming locomotives and factory whistles, of swerving automobiles and the frantic rushing about of too many people with strained eyes and tightened lips and restless laughter that was not gay—of all those things which are to be found in the centres of the world.

To be sure, I had been rather dismayed when I stepped off the train at Liuyang. There had not been a train there when I left. A cigarette was an awesome thing and a dangerous innovation, and the most foreign object in the

place had been a decrepit silk hat owned by the magistrate. Now I stepped off the Blue Express, if you please, and was received into the literal bosom of a swarm of blue uniformed railway coolies, who seized my bags and bore them off, even as others of their kind had done in New York and London. I was dazed, and only a primitive desire to cling to my possessions urged me on. The Chinese equivalent of 'Keb, sir?' and 'Taxi! Taxi!' was shouted at me as I was deposited on a brief stretch of asphalt walk, and I sat myself into a luxurious new riksha and was borne down the street.

That street. I had left it a delightful, ambling old thing, lined with junk shops and bake shops and coffin shops, all in deep, one storey buildings open to the street, and with all sorts of queer and astounding sights and smells. There was never such a thing as a policeman, and at any time of day the most interesting brawls took place between long-queued coolies, with such fervid cursing of ancestors that genealogies were bandied about until a fight sounded like one of the *begat* chapters out of Genesis. These quarrels were a pleasure and recreation for the whole community, and every man in the immediate neighbourhood laid down his business and hurried to the scene, agog with anticipated excitement. Fortune-tellers' booths were tucked into the great gate of the city wall, and there on a hot summer day in the cool shady depths of the thirty-foot-thick arch one might find the most delicious water melons, rosy and dewy, and split open to tempt a man to his last penny and a mighty stomach ache.

Well, it was quite different now. A chubby-faced young policeman in a prodigiously starched white uniform promenaded the street with a fixed bayonet and immense dignity. The little dirty quaint shops were gone, and in their stead were plate-glass windows with gay displays of tawdry Japanese and western produce; hats, shoes, watches, spectacles, ties, ribbons, face powders and scents and rouge; everything a very young American college boy or girl with exceptionally loud tastes might long to possess.

And then into the city gate, all swept and garnished and all the old blind fortune-tellers gone with their scrolls and cryptic rhymes and strange geomancers' tools. No water melons any more nor anything save huge cigarette posters plastering those dark and ancient bricks and defiling their sombre age with crass and glaring colours.

Thus it was that I stepped on the old junk with a sense of relief to be borne a week away into the interior. Day after day had slipped past, leisurely and still. I had watched the quiet evening light flow through old curved bridges and had seen the bowed figures of homeward passers black against the golden sky. I never saw even a wheelbarrow; only the lumbering old ox-carts, their drivers cracking long whips over the sluggish, unmoved oxen as they paced slowly along the dusty country roads. At night wild geese flew low against the horizon, fearless in this harmless land, and occasionally even at high noon the canal bobbed with tiny teal ducks, diving and fluttering and unafraid of the women beating clothes on the stones at the water's edge. Restful and unstirred, this countryside, whose inhabitants knew and cared nothing beyond what their forefathers had known and loved and lived by. Their greatest excitement was a market day, with a juggler and a troupe of travelling actors, with a repertoire of historical plays and threadbare costumes, for amusement. For worship, the bowing before the tablets in the old ancestral hall, a bit of incense at the temple when one was sick and a sacrifice of cakes and fruit and rice wine at New Year or to the moon god in the eighth month. Otherwise the steady length of days with the leisurely tilling of rich fields and the receiving again of generous harvests. Occasionally there was a flood of swirling, muddy water from that old sorrow, the Yellow River, and then there was a year of bitterness, stoically borne, and they buried their dead. Life ran very deep and still in this hidden corner of the world. Death and birth, misfortune and prosperity were known and shared by all in utter simplicity and with no display beyond the fixed stateliness of ancient customs.

Then came I again to my little old city. It was quite unchanged, I thought. The junk was moored to a stout peg in the bank and I walked down the gangplank and along the foot of the city wall to the gate. It was the same as ever. I remembered the vines springing from every crevice, and the determined little pine wresting a scanty living from between the bricks. It had grown and spread to the top of the wall.

I passed through the gate and down the cobbles of the main street. The same old hot water shops, and then the blacksmith's shop, with the bellows still squeaking and the fire flaming behind the half naked apprentices, beating a twisted, glowing piece of iron. I stood and watched a minute, and they wrought the molten mass into a plowshare before my eyes. The old blacksmith looked up and gave me a sooty smile from his blackened face and a casual word of welcome home again. Five years was little to him. There was such a lot of time. It was never either long or short—just natural.

Curious faces, friendly faces, familiar faces—all just the same, thank God. An old deaf sewing woman recognized me and greeted me affectionately.

'You are back? It is good. We hear there is fighting and distress abroad and we feared for you. Now you are safe. There is peace here.' And she patted my hand.

'No bandits?' I asked.

'Oh yes, outside the city,' she answered calmly, 'but we lock the gates at night and are safe enough. Anyway, they are not so dangerous as the fire engines and strange spirit machines of which I hear. Ah, you have seen many things, I doubt not, which would frighten an old woman like me, in those wild, foreign countries. Well, you are home again now, and here everything is as always and we are safe.'

Yet not many days passed before I began to wonder. Was it all the same? To be sure, the shell of the city was unchanged; the houses, the streets, the old temple, the

market-places teeming and bickering and brawling. My old friends came to see me as before, and we had leisurely and dignified talk of many things as we sipped our tea, and nibbled the little sesame cakes. But the heart of things was stirring. There was a strangeness, for instance, when old Mr Ch'u stopped smoking a waterpipe and took to flippant little cigarettes, and his wife solemnly lit a huge black cigar in my living room. The sight of that dainty, fragile, tiny old soul in a silver-grey satin coat and a pleated black silk skirt holding in her slender fingers a cigar fit only for a western business man, and a fat one at that, was rather overwhelming. I could not reconcile the delicate, aged lips strained about the ugly thing. But evidently it was not the first time, and the old pair felt themselves in the height of Shanghai style. Or take Li Chi T'ien, the only son of the white-haired artist on the Street of the Three Temples. The family has always been students and artists and teachers.

'What are you studying, Li Chi T'ien?' I asked, amazed to see such a sturdy specimen before me. I had left him a thin, dreamy lad, always immaculate in pale silk robes.

'Agriculture,' he laughed, answering me in English. 'At the University. Great stuff! We do much practical work.' The explanation of the browned skin and bright eyes, then.

'Why agriculture?' I asked curiously.

'China needs the practical science,' he replied firmly.

'What does your father say?' I asked again, looking at the boy's hard hands and short nails. He had had such soft hands before, white as lotus buds, with long, transparent nails.

'Oh,' replied the youth nonchalantly, 'he does not like at first. But what to do? We students are modern. China must become modern. We wish to adopt the good of the West. We must make China now, we young.'

Or old Mrs Ch'en. Now old Mrs Ch'en was an ardent Buddhist and very anti-foreign. Only a chance to help a sick child had given me the entrance to the proud, con-

servative house. Even at that, I could never quite forget that she deplored my misfortune in being of a white-skinned, light-eyed race. She received me in state always in her handsome guest hall, dusky with age and the darkness of rich old carved beams and pillars. I never dared admire freely the heavy brass candlesticks on the long redwood table under the ancient painting of a Ming emperor, or the deep jade urn. These things were family heirlooms, too precious to be mentioned by a mere outsider. But this time when I made my deep obeisance she took my hand lightly, and laughing, said :

' I, too, have been a traveller since we met.'

' Yes ? ' I said interrogatively.

' Yes,' she replied, seating herself and waving me carelessly to a chair. (This in itself was astounding enough, for heretofore the polite preliminaries to seating ourselves had been endless.)

' Yes,' she continued, cracking a water melon seed skilfully, ' I went to Peking to my have sickness cut out. You had heard I had a sickness ? ' I shook my head.

' Oh yes, a terrible sickness. It grew in me as big as that,' she measured off about a foot of space. ' My husband being dead, I asked his next brother who is head of the family now, if I might go to Peking to have it cut out. You see, I had taken medicine from every doctor in town, oh, the very best medicine ; centipede heads, even, and the milk of a young mother with her first child, and all to no avail. My son came home from Peking University then, and he said the foreigners could cut it out so that I should be quite well. You can imagine how afraid I was. I would not even hear of it, until I began to see that it would be either my sickness or my life, and my son said he would stand beside me and promised that he would let them take nothing from me except the sickness. For you know, it is said the foreigners wish for our hearts to make medicine. Although I no longer wholly believe that now. Well, the head of the family refused to let me go. He said it was

better to die respectably than to go to a foreign devil. I just waited until he was ill one time with his opium, and I went with my son secretly. Such a white, white place, the hospital! And I slept peacefully throughout the cutting, and knew nothing more until I found myself in a bed like snow for whiteness, with the sickness beside me on the table in a bottle. I brought it home and here it is.' And there it truly was, in the place of honour between the jade urn and the candlesticks, a large bottle of alcohol with a ghastly, red-veined tumour within. But meanwhile, old Mrs Ch'en is quite reconciled to foreigners. The operation was evidently the event of her life and people come from far and near to see the marvel of a sickness safely imprisoned in a bottle. She has become famous, and reigns in conscious distinction among her townspeople.

II

Such things have set me thinking rather idly as to what the West has really done to China. Has the invasion of a foreign civilization a menace in it for this ancient and honourable race? Is there danger of denationalizing them with the dazzle of our brilliant, effervescent life? I do not think of the commercial pacts and treaties by which we have blackened ourselves in many ways. I mean that subtler touch of personalities, the dominating arrogance of the Anglo-Saxon upon the apparent passivity of the Oriental. How is it working out, and what have we to fear for the Chinese?

Well, many things, superficially. I think first of this freedom of the sexes which is sweeping over us. It is an intoxicating thing to young men unaccustomed to even casual contacts with erstwhile shy and modest maidens to find themselves in the co-educational colleges which are springing up in the large centres in China. Girls are bobbing their hair and with their shorn locks are discarding the old downcast eyelids and ready blushes. I saw to-day a

brilliant young woman, married by her parents against her will, who calmly wrote to her husband saying she no longer desired him. With which informal divorce she is going her way and making a remarkable record for herself in college. Of course the conservative folk are holding up their hands in righteous horror, and we hear a great deal of the sanctity of the home to be preserved at all costs. 'What if there never was any sanctity?' said the young woman grimly. 'Some one has to be the vanguard of the courageous young against old and criminal social usages.' I daresay she is right. Anyway, right or wrong, I place my vote of confidence in the young of any race and age. Their frank eyes are apt to see more freshly and clearly than our old ones, cautious and befogged with years.

Intoxicating, yes. So intoxicating that some of them are being swept off their feet into the mire beside the road. That is inevitable. The weak heads will have unsteady feet. But the strong ones will march on to force a better order, I believe, so that in the end, even the weak will be stronger. To be sure, they do strange things, these boys and girls.

'Where is Miss Wang?' I asked my class yesterday, missing her keen young face.

'Oh, her fiancé is here, and she went to see him.'

'What!' I cried aghast. 'Why, no western girl would do that. She should wait for him to come to her.'

'When he has come so far already? Are not men and women equal?' was the simple answer. Old half-forgotten precepts of my young days rose to my lips, but on second thought I let them die. Who am I to superimpose my ideas of a mediæval western chivalry upon these clear-headed young things? Let them work out their own salvation freely.

Meanwhile the vanguard marches on. Behind them is an invincible procession ending away back in the little primitive towns and villages, where the ancient customs seem to prevail untouched. Yet even there they know

that they are part of the procession. And this is the beginning of progress.

Religion? Well, opinions might differ as to what has really been accomplished. We have been divided ourselves. So far the contribution of Christian missions has at least been as much educational as moral. It is a good thing, too, for if we have presented our religious dogmas with one hand we have given them science with the other, and being canny creatures, they have applied the science to the dogmas. This, on the whole, is an encouraging fact. The Chinese is a fair-minded individual, and he has applied science remarkably impartially to all religions alike, with the result that the real stuff of which Christianity is made stands up well under the test. Considerably better than any of the other old religions. Therefore we hear a great deal to-day of an indigenous Church in China and the Chinese applications of the principles of Christ. A good many of us are going to see some cherished dogmas and denominations cast aside, but some of us will see emerge the rare figure of a Man, liberated from the trappings we have put upon Him, which were not of His choosing.

Just now the weakest thing in China is the Government. Everything one hears of it is true. It is quite as bad as possible. It could not be more corrupt and helpless. What then? Well, I do not think the procession of youth will pass it by. Given time for them to grow a little more in depth, I believe these courageous young will fall upon it and demolish it. Bolshevism? No, I think not. The young Chinese rants a little and philosophizes a great deal, but he has an inner foundation of unemotional, hard common-sense, a practical gift from his ancestors, which will make him stop and see what Bolshevism has done thus far, and finding it barren of fruit, he will cling to a saner, slower order of progress.

Time, time, that is the great essential of the Chinese. Expose him, figuratively speaking, to the best we have, let him take the best as he sees it, and then let us wait for

development ; wait, if need be, with patience to the third and fourth generation. They have always built slowly. Their great city walls are typical. Huge foundations, steady, immovable, laid with the unhurried hands of a hundred generations of men. So again with their ancient civilization. It has been a thing of ages. It must be so again in its rebuilding. They are not a facile, quick people. They must see well and work slowly. But the result will be founded in the depths and it will be sure.

The carpenter next door but one to me came last year to make me a little dragon carved table. He spent weeks over the pattern. Every detail must be perfectly clear before he could begin. He brought me half a dozen drawings. At last the table was fashioned and finally finished, and then polished exquisitely as only dull teak can polish. It will be a thing of beauty for my children's children. Now this does not mean that there will not be much cheap work done in many things ; cheap politics, superficial education, shoddy commercialism. That is a phase of progress. For the last ten years the famous china ware of Kiangsi has been degenerating into a distressing stuff made for quick sales for foreigners. Blurred patterns and careless workmanship made sad those of us who know the rare old rice pattern bowls and teacups. But last summer I noticed some of the old lines creeping back. The temporary fever of the sudden new market was passing. The old craft was coming into its own again.

'This is an old design,' I remarked to the proprietor in a china shop.

'Yes,' he said with a smile, 'there is a beauty there which has been tried and found to be well beloved.'

So, I say, the menace of western civilization is superficial. I confess I do not like many things. I do not like, for instance, to see these young men and women students just back from abroad locked in the foolish embraces of modern dancing. It is unseemly and unfitting. I keep seeing behind them the graciousness and dignity of their ancestry.

This hopping about is unworthy. We have better than that to give them. But I realize too, that they must find it out for themselves and we shall have to endure for a space until they do so.

Least of all am I afraid of denationalization. They may adopt foreign things wholesale for a brief time. But the immutability of Chinese nature will be too much even for their own desires. They will unconsciously and inevitably begin to adapt—adapt customs and religion, morals, and politics ; and in the end be quite as individually Chinese as ever. Indeed, the West may be rather astounded some day to see certain things she had considered her own become so essentially Chinese that she will have to swallow hard and rub her eyes and think to remember their real origin.

Many times has China been conquered, so they say. It must be true, since history writes it so. But the conquerors and all their pomp are long since gone ; enveloped, assimilated. And the vanquished have become the final victors through sheer persistence of inertia, and of time. It has been as much as a nation's life is worth to conquer the Chinese. Unresisting and resistless, they have slowly and peacefully dissipated the alien forces and in a hundred years have again become the conquerors. It is this unreasoning, enduring individuality which the foreigner first dislikes and then perhaps unwillingly admires in the Chinese. He never quite understands it. It is more than pride of race, although it has that element in it. It is an unconscious thing, a conviction which is part and parcel of their make-up that China is the real place and everything else is foreign and extraneous. But it is more than that. It is like the ocean ; inexplicable, changeful, yet fundamentally unchangeable. Everything added to it does not increase it, and nothing can really be taken away from it. It is as natural and as unaccountable as an element of nature. Whatever it is, it is the quality which will keep China sane in a whirling world. It will keep her young people sober and her old from the hopelessness of the times. It provides

for them a sublime self-confidence which nothing can destroy, a firm belief that all will eventually be well, in spite of present flood and famine and banditry.

'Are we not the people of the middle country of the world?' asked my old teacher the other day in a tone of tranquil surprise and as innocently as a child. And I, for one, was not prepared to say him either yea or nay.

PEARL S. BUCK

C.O.P.E.C. AND THE MISSIONARY

By EDWARD SHILLITO

'The mystic Ruysbroeck says that the love of God enters the little but uplifted soul of man as a simple light—and then it grows and becomes a spreading light, which flows out to all in common. Now the infinite and all-creative love of God comes unto the soul of the Church in the simple life of Christ. But it has not there been transformed into the spreading light which shall redeem the whole world—it has not been fully used, fully applied.'[1]

In the month of April there was held in Birmingham a conference upon applied Christianity. Its name in full was a Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship, but for convenience this was shortened to 'Copec.' Those who planned it sought nothing more for it than that by its means the simple light of Christ might become the spreading light, which would flow out to the whole of human life. They did not seek for any new commandment, but rather to understand the old commandment, and by the application of it to present conditions to make it new. 'Copec' was a conference of Christian people, trained in many schools but at one in their confidence that in their Lord there had been imparted to them the knowledge of a purpose which gave meaning to the whole of life. With one assurance they began their explorations, they were sure of God in Christ Jesus, and because of this certainty they could not withdraw from obedience to Him any part of human life. He must be all and in all. There were not two Gospels —an individual gospel and a social gospel; there was one Divine Rule, into which all human life must be brought.

No one could read the story of 'Copec' without thinking of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh 1910. In that historic conference the conviction was brought to

[1] Miss Evelyn Underhill at 'Copec.'

the Christian Church that there could be no redemption except on the scale of humanity. 'We are only saved in a saved race.' But this truth needed for its completion the truth that the Gospel was not only for every man, but for every part of every man. 'Copec,' as Mr Oldham showed in its closing session, came not to correct the vision of Edinburgh, still less to defer the task of Edinburgh, it came to complete the vision and to hasten its fulfilment. God must be all and in all. We must know with all the saints not only the breadth of His Kingdom but the depth and comprehensiveness, and His will.

No one can be more concerned in this quest than the missionary. The days are past or passing in which there was a sharp contention between those whose great concern was to carry the Gospel to every nation and those who pleaded that this nation must first be made Christian, and then might safely carry its experience to the ends of the earth. It is clear now that there can be no postponement of the missionary task; it is impossible to wait until there shall arise a Christian nation, Christian through and through. It is not the divine way, it would seem, to let one task be completely finished by the Church before another is thrust upon it. The outgoings of Christian people cannot be checked. But at the same time no one knows better than the missionary how much the character and the power of his service depend upon the depth and intensity of the Christian life as it is set forth in Christendom.

'Copec' therefore was busy upon matters of first importance for the missionary. He is embarrassed in his work by the knowledge that in Christian countries there is so much that is either non-Christian or sub-Christian, and that Christian society takes this as almost inevitable. The knowledge of this is becoming common property in Africa and the East. And it is not so much the imperfect obedience that startles the observer, it is rather the acquiescence of Christians in conditions which are manifestly unworthy of their faith.

Every faithful attempt therefore to apply Christianity to human society in the West will have far-reaching effects in the East. In the Conference at Birmingham there were no members more alive to the importance of the quest than the missionaries. They had much to give, but it is not with their contribution that the present article deals. Those who wish to review the service which missionaries have done as social reformers will find it briefly but admirably illustrated in the memorandum prepared for 'Copec' by the Rev. Frank Lenwood. They will be reminded how the missionary was compelled to take a strong constructive part in the social life of his adopted tribe or nation; and how in experience he has learned much that the Church at home would do well to study. The student of missionary history is constantly grateful for the vision which it brings not only of the power and wisdom of Christ, but of the human situation with which He deals both there and here. The Church in the field will have more to give with each year of experience.

But the missionary of the present age, as he watches the tide of modern industrialism sweep nearer and nearer, will be the first to confess that he has much to learn from the wisdom which is made available in the reports of 'Copec.' He will not read these documents as if in education or industry or sex he had no other interest than that which one Christian man may have with others whose lot he does not share. The same problems are met in the mission field as at home. It is true that the problems are put more simply to a teacher of primitive tribes. Against a non-Christian background problems in applied Christianity are seen more lucidly. The pictures are in black and white with none of the vague and subdued tones with which we are familiar in countries which have lived at least in part by the Christian faith. But it is more the resemblances than the differences that strike the onlooker.

In the East, for example, an industrial revolution can be seen in full progress. Conditions which were familiar in

this country a hundred years ago are found to-day in the valley of the Yangtse or in the mills of Japan. Already the Church of Christ in the East is called to define the bearing of the Christian Gospel upon the new and perilous relationships between human beings introduced with the new industrial system. In the heart of it the problems which such a change introduces are problems in human personality as it is shaped in its relationships. It cannot be a matter of indifference to the Christian teacher that a new social order should be introduced among his people. He sees it not so much a problem in economics as a problem in personality, and as such a direct concern to the preacher of Christ.

The Church of Christ is in being in the East. It must shape its own policy more and more. It must work out its own salvation. But it is still in the power of the missionary to give counsel to inexperienced communities. He is in some ways the mediator of Christian history. He has it in his range of duty to set the new Church in true and living relations with the Church of Christ, as it has lived through the ages.

Such a missionary must often think of himself as put back within the England of 1820. He can read in the completed story how the Church of Christ dealt then with the problems with which the Church in China or Japan or India must deal to-day. Is there any one who can tell him with authority upon what principles that Church did act, and upon what it might have acted? Certain men within the Church took one way; Shaftesbury, Maurice and Kingsley in later days held one interpretation of Christian duty. The majority of Christian people held another. Was there a Christian way of approach to the industrial system when it was rising in this country? And, if so, may that not be the very thing which the Church in China needs to learn? The problems are the same; but there may be one significant difference in the meeting of them, the Church of Christ in the East may learn from our experience and from our failures.

Again, in the pursuit of his one great task, the missionary is set down in the midst of a primitive tribe. After years of witness a Church of Christ is gathered. Its members are at the same time in the fellowship of the Church, and in the social and political order. There is a state within a state. Each Christian man is living his daily life upon two planes of human life. He is in other words compelled to face in a simple form the problems of citizenship which trouble us in Christendom. With such problems as those discussed in the 'Copec' reports upon citizenship, or upon war, the missionary is vitally concerned. What bearing has the Christian faith upon the duties of the Christian in such an hour? Or how must the Christian tribesman bear himself in the political life of his people? Or in what way should an Indian Christian, because he is a Christian, bear himself to *Swaraj*? These are problems, different in form, but only in form, from those which must be solved by the Christian citizen in western lands. In the mission field the new Christian communities are looking for guidance upon these matters.

What then may be sought by the missionary from the proceedings of 'Copec'? The missionary, as we have seen, comes into this quest not as an onlooker but as one deeply involved; he must seek to discover what is the wisdom of Christ for the use of his people who look to him for guidance. He has a responsibility, none the less solemn when it is remembered that he deals with a people which may yet be saved from the making of experiments along hopeless ways. With such a burden upon his mind he will seek from 'Copec' more than a programme or a formula. The wisdom which he needs cannot be set forth by 'Copec,' which indeed claims no legislative authority, establishes no new standard of orthodoxy. But when the missionary seeks to think out for himself the duty of the Christian man in that social order which he knows better than any other, he will find in the reports of 'Copec' material of great value.

The Conference was in one sense a sequel to a long and

honourable preparation. It had its roots in the Christian tradition, and there had never ceased to be through all the ages of the Christian Church a brave witness to the fulness of the Christian message. During the nineteenth century many seers had delivered their witness against the evils tolerated in the modern social and national life. In ' Copec ' there was provided a place of meeting to which the toils and hopes of many servants of God converged. Lord Shaftesbury, Frederick Denison Maurice, Ludlow would have rejoiced to see that day. Yet ' Copec ' could not serve the conditions in which Maurice and Kingsley bore their witness. What it could do was to bring reverently and bravely the wisdom gained in the past and to offer it to those who in another age must work out their own problems.

They offered moreover a method, tried and approved, to which all who seek to guide the Church of Christ in the fulfilment of its task should give heed. It is the method of fellowship in prayer and in study. No one man is sufficient ; what is needed is the work of a team whose members acting in the closest fellowship can attain to a wisdom denied to any individual one of them. The reports presented on the various subjects, such as education, sex, war, were prepared by groups of thinkers with widely different experiences and qualifications, and not seldom with profound differences of judgment ; but they were able to think together and to present reports which were not the bare residuum left when all the rich variety of experience had been thinned down, but something in themselves gloriously comprehensive. And behind the commissions there was a great crowd of thinkers at work locally by means of the same method.

To the new Churches rising in India, China and Japan, certain as they are to be faced by new problems in social and political life, there is offered an experience of this method of ' Copec.' It is in reality no new method but the method of Jesus recalled. Progress need not be hindered in these new Churches by the old wasteful method of conflict between

brethren. It may even be that through the adoption of this method the Church in China or in India may be spared the age of heresies. By patient and sincere thinking in fellowship upon social duty the new communities may learn a method which will be of value in the entire range of their life and thought.

There is one volume among the reports, which should not be neglected by the missionary; if he could only read one, No. XII should be the one selected; it deals with *Historical Illustrations* of the way in which in other ages the Christian Church has dealt with social problems. In that history every missionary will be able to find himself; and in the story of the Church as it acted in a situation such as he recognizes he can find encouragement and warning. When Christian and Hopeful escaped from Castle Doubting they set up a pillar to warn future pilgrims. This volume has many such pillars. Some missionary will find himself in the ancient world, another in the mediæval, and another in the world in which the discovery of new machinery transformed the social order in the West.

History has many stories of judgment upon those who suppressed any part of the 'whole counsel of God.' For those who are content to live upon a lower level than that of the Gospel there has been no peace. 'Ye cannot halve the Gospel of God's grace.' Nor has there been any effective action when Christian people have separated action from faith, and sought to live at once in two worlds, one of devout communion with the unseen, and the other of service to mankind unrelated to faith. When the Church has been most effective, it has been in hours when it was very sure of God. But from such a little book as this report much may be learned. The missionary movement has reached a stage in which it would be criminal folly to ignore history. There was once a member of the British Parliament who boasted that he had learned the rules of that body by breaking them all. That is not the best way to learn the laws of God.

There is no need for the new Churches to be burdened

with the traditions of the West concerning the distinctions between social and individual, or between the secular and the spiritual. These traditions must be re-examined in the light of the Christian revelation. They are so reviewed in the 'Copec' reports. They deal with the social duty of the Church, but they are based upon the character and purpose of God in Christ Jesus. It is written large upon the face of all the reports that the chief need of the Christian people in these days is to know God. There have been hours in which a passion for social reform was understood to be a solace for those who had lost their faith in the spiritual world. Being denied the vision of God, they ranked themselves with those who love their fellowmen. Experience has made it clear that there can be no such separation between a spiritual faith and a life of service to the community; and it is the constant burden of those who planned 'Copec' that the social reformer can only be on sure ground when he knows that he is true to the divine will. Nor can anyone expect to know that will perfectly till he seeks to carry it out within the human plane. There can be no retreat for the soul into some mystic paradise shut away from the noise and confusion of earth.

This will be taken for granted by the missionary. He will not grudge the time spent in the conference upon the nature of God and His purpose for the world. But he may find when he plunges into this report that he had not understood how inevitable the claim of social service must be if God is as we have seen Him in Jesus Christ. It will not be a hard duty to be done blindly, but a joyful expression of the eternal heart. So only will it be done with freshness and patience. If this world is evil, then we shall know how to plan our lives. If it is a machine, then too we must make the best of it, and build on a philosophy of despair. But our Lord neither taught the otherworldliness which despairs of making things better, nor did He teach a system of ethics, appropriate to beings who are in reality the victims of illusion when they call themselves free. Our Lord taught

that the material world is susceptible of God; through its processes man comes to himself and to God. All things are sacramental, but man is His great sacrament. It will be seen at once that there is an infinite value put by Christ upon human personality. That, itself a simple fact, is capable of leading out into strange revolutions in human values.

All such attempts to base a social system upon the nature and purpose of God will be of peculiar value to the missionary because he is familiar with other systems in which religion is a social bond. The people to whom he brings the Gospel of Christ will not find it strange to hear of a religion with social obligations ensuing. They cannot easily understand any other kind. Religion, in the lands which he knows, is not counted separable from the life and the community. The idea of a religion which can be held by individual men apart from their life in society is almost meaningless among primitive peoples, or in the great civilizations of the East. It may well be that the first introduction to Christian faith may mean an assertion of the individual life over against that of the tribe. But the Christian believer can never be satisfied until there is a new unity among his people, a unity restored upon another plane. The home, the city, the tribe will be seen from the beginning as objects of the divine redemption. How the Christian redemption in its truth and even more in its spiritual energies provides a new value and a new direction for all social relationships can be read in these reports. They give suggestions and inspiration to all missionaries who covet for Christ not only individual souls but the whole life of their adopted people, and who would offer to God the response of a redeemed society.

Of the various reports much might be said in detail. The reports, for example, on sex, war, the social function of the Church, are peculiarly relevant to spiritual conditions in the mission field. It is only possible here to commend them earnestly, not as a body of doctrines to be received on authority but as material for study, and as a bold challenge

to the Church of to-day, that it should venture forth upon the will of God.

It is a critical hour in the history of the Christian Church. The speed of the action in the divine story is quickening. Much depends upon the willingness of the new communities to learn from the experience of others. They can learn in these days more swiftly than before. The wisdom of the whole Church may be available for each new society. The follies of the past can be known, and over against them there can be seen the patient Lord of the Church in all His perfect wisdom and truth and love. To Him, past those who have imperfectly represented Him, the new-born Churches may go. And with the warnings and encouragements of the past before them, they may enter into a nobler service. They can refuse at the very outset to part what God has joined together. And while within the older Christendom the faithful are seeking to claim for Christ provinces long abandoned, they who are the first-born in other lands will not allow such provinces ever to be lost. 'Copec' itself cannot save Churches either in this or in other lands from missing the way; but by the mercy of God may act as a guide at the crossroads, warning new Churches of the perils which threaten them on certain roads and of the glories that await them if they take the true way.

EDWARD SHILLITO

NOTE

The Reports of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship are: (i) *The Nature of God and His Purpose for the World*; (ii) *Education*; (iii) *The Home*; (iv) *The Relation of the Sexes* (3s. each); (v) *Leisure*; (vi) *The Treatment of Crime*; (vii) *International Relations*; (viii) *Christianity and War* (2s. each); (ix) *Industry and Property* (3s.); (x) *Politics and Citizenship* (2s.); (xi) *The Social Function of the Church* (3s.); (xii) *Historical Illustrations of the Social Effects of Christianity* (2s.); also *The Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C.* (3s. 6d.), and *Christian Citizenship*, by Edward Shillito (3s. 6d., see Bib. No. 633), all published by Longmans, Green.

RIDDING THE WORLD OF LEPROSY

By FRANK OLDRIEVE

Ten years ago it would not have been possible to speak of ridding the world of leprosy as being a practical proposition. Now, however, the conditions have so greatly altered that I believe we ought to look forward to getting rid absolutely of this terrible disease which has afflicted mankind for so many thousand years; we ought not to be willing merely to contemplate this as a desirable aim, but to set to work immediately to accomplish it.

Leprosy is a disease which has its own specific bacillus, known now to the medical world for nearly fifty years; the disease is contagious, it has a very long incubation period, ranging between a few months and several years, and it is not hereditary.

Generally speaking, leprosy is not easily communicated, the majority of lepers contracting the disease after prolonged association with other cases, but children and young people are specially susceptible. The disease itself has terrible results; the victims not only suffer physically, but there is the added sorrow of separation from loved ones, loss of possessions, and forfeiture of social rights, and in some parts of the Far East the most terrible atrocities have been perpetrated against lepers. The disease is a particularly loathsome one, the leper in Scripture being said to be unclean, and all who have had anything to do with these poor, sick, suffering people realize that many of them ought not to be allowed to mix much with ordinary healthy people.

Leprosy is widely distributed in the world. The following figures give a general idea of the number of lepers found in the countries where it is most prevalent:—

EUROPE—		
South Russia	1,200	
Baltic	1,000	
Turkey	600	
Crete	1,000	
Roumania	551	
Spain	522	
Portugal	466	
Greece, Italy, Bosnia, France, and other countries	1,661	
		7,000
AFRICA—		
Tropical Africa	509,300	
Egypt	6,515	
Madagascar	4,200	
Nyasaland	1,609	
South Africa	3,640	
Mauritius	536	
		525,800
ASIA—		
India (Census)	102,513	
China	1,000,000	
Japan (official)	102,585	
Indo-China	15,000	
Siam	14,000	
Philippines	5,000	
East Indies	5,891	
Malaya	1,145	
Ceylon	589	
Palestine	600	
Other countries	9,577	
		1,256,900
SOUTH AMERICA—		
Brazil	15,000	
Guiana	2,960	
British West Indies (Census)	1,047	
Cuba	1,500	
Other countries	3,193	
		23,700
OCEANIA—		4,600
Grand Total		1,818,000

The estimated number given for Tropical Africa is based on the number of cases of leprosy found when varying numbers of people, in different parts of the country, were examined for the purpose of vaccination. The estimated number given for China is one that is considered by those who know that country to be well within the probable number of cases in that densely populated land.

Dr Victor Heiser estimated a few years ago that there were probably three million lepers in the world, and Sir Leonard Rogers, whose figures I have quoted above, says that he thinks it would be quite safe to say that double the number he has given in his total would roughly represent the number of lepers who ought to be dealt with to-day.

In some countries, notably in India and the Philippine Islands, a considerable amount of work is being carried on amongst lepers. The Mission to Lepers, which is international and interdenominational, is responsible for most of the work that is being done through missionary agencies. That great mission, whose jubilee is being celebrated this year, works in co-operation with thirty-three different missionary societies and is carrying on leper work in twelve different countries. The mission's own asylums, or those managed by it, number some forty-six, while there are twenty-seven asylums and other institutions for lepers to which the mission gives grants-in-aid, and a further twenty-two asylums in which it provides Christian teaching. Altogether the mission ministers to some 18,000 lepers and untainted children, for the care of the healthy children of leper parents is one department of the mission's activities. Generally speaking, the leper asylums belonging to the mission are the most economically and efficiently managed institutions that can be found in any country, and on the whole they are successful in every way. The majority of the inmates voluntarily enter the institutions and remain there for years. There is no compulsion to attend religious services in any of the institutions with which the mission is connected, but it should be noted that in the mission's

own asylums more than sixty per cent of the inmates are baptized Christians. Indeed, Christian work amongst lepers is one of the most successful departments of missionary endeavour.[1]

In America the American Mission to Lepers is closely connected and co-operates with the parent society, but is now responsible for certain work in the Far East.

The French Mission to Lepers has recently been formed ; it is an entirely French organization, though helped by the Mission to Lepers in London.

The British Empire Leprosy Relief Association has lately been formed, and is preparing plans for dealing with leper work in a comprehensive way in the whole of the British Empire.

Various governments are dealing with leper work in a small way, but as far as I am aware no country has yet given very much consideration to the problem of the leper, nor have adequate plans been made in any land for dealing with this particular class of sick people.

The outstanding feature of leper work to-day is that we now have a treatment which is resulting in many cures. Various preparations of chaulmoogra, hydnocarpus, cod liver, linseed, soya bean and neem oils are being injected, and the most wonderful results are being obtained. A missionary reports that the death-rate in his leper asylum has fallen within three or four years from 25 per cent per annum to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum, and in the last fifteen months he has allowed seventy-four inmates to leave the institution as he believes that they are entirely free of the disease. Other doctors are having the same experience in India and China and in the Philippine Islands. This is not the place to deal at greater length with this side of the subject, and I would only say further that Dr E. Muir, of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta, and Sir Leonard Rogers, the greatest British authority on leprosy, both

[1] For further details on work among lepers in India, see the author's *India's Lepers*. London: Marshall. 2s. 6d. 1924.

now say that a relative cure can be looked for in most early cases of leprosy where the treatment is given properly and for a considerable time. I think I ought to add that when I was myself last in India, visiting leper asylums, I saw more than 1100 cases under the new treatment, and the majority of them were recovering.

Accurate statistics are now available which prove beyond any question that the segregation of lepers does result in a diminution in the incidence of the disease. Segregation has been carried out in Norway, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands and other places with good results; voluntary segregation should now be encouraged and compulsory segregation, in some cases, enforced.

Every nation should attempt to solve its own leper problem. The needs of the situation in its own area should be carefully studied, and in this matter Great Britain has taken the lead, having now its national association to which I have already referred, which is seeking to co-ordinate all the efforts made for lepers in every part of the British Empire, with the object of stamping out the disease. It is to be hoped that every nation will follow this example. Splendid work has been done by the United States Government in dealing with leprosy in the Philippines. Where conditions are such in any country that it is unlikely that a national committee or association will be formed, then it seems to me it might be the duty of the body in connexion with the International Missionary Council to take up the question. I venture to suggest that the National Christian Council in China should take action, and, through its medical sub-committee, prepare a comprehensive scheme for dealing with the great number of lepers in that country.

From experience in leper work in India, and from a study of leper work elsewhere, I suggest that the following are the best plans for dealing with leprosy in any country: (1) Increasing the number of homes where lepers will voluntarily segregate themselves. At present the majority of these homes belong to the Mission to Lepers, and the number of

these should be increased, especially in China. (2) Increasing the size of existing leper institutions. If a home for lepers is to be run economically and efficiently, it should have between 400 and 500 inmates, and it will then need the whole time of a superintendent. (3) The provision of leper settlements or colonies by governments or municipalities, where lepers without means of subsistence would be compulsorily segregated. In India legislation is already available for this purpose, and all the Provincial Governments in that country have schemes before them for building such settlements. Indeed, Madras and Bengal have already made a start. In all these institutions, whether for voluntary or compulsory inmates, the latest treatments should be given. It is not enough to-day merely to admit lepers as inmates; they must be provided with the very latest that science can give them. (4) Opening special leprosy clinics in all main centres in countries where there are large numbers of lepers. It has already been proved in India that such clinics can be made a success, and lepers are coming forward in considerable numbers asking for the latest treatment. Provision should also be made at the institutions mentioned above for the medical treatment of leper out-patients.

It is the experience of workers amongst lepers in other countries also that large numbers are asking for admission and begging for treatment, especially those in whom the disease is at an early stage. If the plans outlined were followed in every country where there is any considerable amount of leprosy, I firmly believe that ten or fifteen years should see a marked reduction in the number of sufferers from this disease.

Finally, an international leprosy committee should be formed on which would sit representatives from all national committees, and other bodies carrying on leper work on a large scale. Such a committee would be invaluable for the interchange of the latest information available as to treatment, and in pooling experience in actually carrying out work in leper institutions. Missionaries have always been

in the forefront in carrying on leper work, and they will probably still lead. If they are not called upon to form national committees, they must ever be ready to do the work that has to be undertaken, as it is generally recognized that the best leper work in any country is that which is done under missionary superintendence. It needs a man or woman who has been touched by the hand of Christ to a deep sympathy with those who are in the greatest need successfully to carry on work amongst these poor outcasts.

We are challenged to-day with the greatest opportunity that has ever been presented to mankind of actually stamping out this disease which has gripped the world for so long. I would again stress the points that segregation is an effective measure in helping to reduce the incidence of leprosy; that leprosy is not hereditary, which means that we only have the present generation of lepers to deal with; and that we now have a curative treatment which is giving wonderful results wherever it is being used. Humanity calls us to help all those who are in need, and none are more needy than lepers; statesmanlike forethought urges us to do all we can to make the world as healthy a place as possible, while the most important reason of all for the Christian man and woman is that our Lord Jesus Christ gave the command, 'Cleanse the lepers,' and now, for the first time since that command was given, we are in a position literally to obey the injunction. Let the Christian and missionary forces of the world take the lead, and there is no doubt whatever but that a campaign can be immediately launched in every country, so that within a comparatively short time the world may be rid of this age-long scourge.

FRANK OLDRIEVE

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE HISTORY OF MISSIONS IN INDIA

INDISCHE MISSIONSGESCHICHTE. Von JULIUS RICHTER, D.Theol. Zweite Auflage. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1924.

MANY years ago Dr Julius Richter planned a History of Protestant Missions (*Allgemeine evangelisch eMissionsgeschichte*), of which this was the first volume. Other volumes on the Near East and on Africa have since been published, and the learned author is at present engaged on the history of missions in the Far East. It is altogether a gigantic project, such as would have occurred only to the mind of a man of great faith, great energy and great erudition. It would be hard to find another Dr Richter. The present volume is a revised and enlarged edition of the book many of us have used for reference for years past in its English dress.

After an Introduction dealing with the country and people, and their religious and caste divisions, we are guided through the history of the spread of Christianity from the earliest times, past the Roman attempts of Xavier and de Nobili, the Danish and Halle missions and Carey's great work, down to the multifarious establishment of missionary societies in our own generation. The problems that mission work in India has to face are carefully considered, and the difficulties created by the popular polytheistic religion on the one hand and the philosophical pantheism underlying all Indian thought on the other, with the special features of caste divisions, are treated with considerable fulness. An interesting chapter deals with the various recognized branches of mission work: preaching to non-Christians, Bible translation and literary work, educational and medical work (with a special section on work among lepers), and work among women. The results of all this are summed up in a chapter devoted to the growth of the Indian Church, while a final chapter describes the non-Christian or anti-Christian movements that have sprung up within the last century or so: the samajes, theosophy and so forth. A few pages of interesting footnotes, largely concerned with quotations from original sources for the early

history of missions in India, and a threefold index of persons, places and subjects complete the volume.

Dr Richter's book is unique; there is nothing in our libraries to touch it. If you want to know the facts of the growth of Christianity and of mission work in the greatest and most interesting, if not indeed the most difficult, of mission fields, you will find them here. Indeed, the book is an encyclopædia of the history of Indian missions; it is extraordinary how much the author has managed to cram into the limits of a single volume. As a book of reference it is wonderful; but you could not sit down to read it with your feet on the hob; perhaps the author never meant that you should. All the same, parts of it are eminently readable, such as his admirable section on education, which is brought down to the Sadler Report and the Village Education Commission, and the summary in the last chapter of the theosophical movement. But the compression, necessary doubtless in the treatment of so vast a subject, makes wearisome reading sometimes; the history of the foundation and growth of missionary societies in the last century becomes almost a catalogue.

It is unfortunate that this edition had to be prepared while the cramping results of the world war were still affecting mission work everywhere; not that Dr Richter is biased in his treatment of the period through which we have been living, though he would be less than human if he had been able to stand absolutely aloof; but the book is singularly free from prejudice engendered by recent events. Only you feel in reading it that, not having been able within the last ten years to visit India, or having any German missions there to visit, the author has in mind an India that has now altered almost beyond recognition. It is not Dr Richter's fault; he has evidently read all he could on the subject, but all the same the India of which he writes and which is present to his eyes is the India of a long past generation. Indeed, apart from this general outlook, the book is not as up-to-date as one could have wished. An occasional reference to the Census of 1921 hardly outweighs the fact that nearly all the statistics are taken from that of ten or even twenty years earlier. The bibliography is particularly disappointing: some of the most valuable books dealing with India have been published in the last five or six years, yet there are few referred to of a later date than 1915 and none later than 1917. It has not been easy of late years for scholars in Germany to obtain books, but surely the libraries of Berlin are not

entirely impoverished, and in any case the names and contents of the newer books must have been accessible. There are some curious misreadings of recent history, as on p. 267, where the casual reader would suppose that the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh was the cause instead of being the consequence of the terrible murders, tortures and burnings alive of that dreadful spring of 1919. Americans are also represented as being more favourable than British missionaries to the political ideas of Young India, a very doubtful assumption.

Irish missionaries will certainly not homologate the author's scepticism as to the value of farm colonies in creating an independent and self-supporting Christian community, and few missionaries of any nationality would find their experience of orphanage work to be as discouraging as Dr Richter seems to think; on the contrary, some of the very best, and very few of the worst, Indian Christians have come from the orphanages. Perhaps a more serious criticism is that the author has hardly grasped the immensity of the debt the modern missionary movement owes to a single man, Dr Farquhar, whose books are rightly singled out for praise in this history, but whose far greater work in helping to change the whole outlook and method of missionaries in dealing with Indian religious thought might well have led the historian to class his name with those who, like Duff, wrote an entirely new chapter in the history of missionary methods. A few slips, due perhaps to careless proof reading, may be mentioned for correction in the English translation that is sure to follow: Mr C. F. Andrews appears in several footnotes, always with different initials. So does Dr Farquhar. On p. 29 the Abbé Dubois' work is credited to his translator Beauchamp, while two pages later G. M. Roe evidently stands for G. Mylne Rae, and 'Waller of Tinnevely' on p. 515 is evidently meant for Walker. The temple at Pushkar (p. 27) is not the only one to Brahmā in India, there are at least two others. And the Maharaja of Kashmir (p. 473) does not, like the majority of his subjects, profess the Muhammadan religion. On p. 230 the Irish should be the Scotch United Presbyterians. These are trifling misprints, and may be forgiven for the sake of one other, where the title of the life of two eminent missionaries (Scotch at that) is given as 'True joke-fellows,' surely an enviable pen-picture of missionary life!

Such slight blemishes only throw up into greater relief the splendid accomplishment which is enshrined in this great book. Every reader of it should devoutly pray that Dr Richter may be

vouchsafed strength of body and mind to finish the immense work to which he has put his hand, and so lay the whole Church of Christ under a debt of obligation, which it can only pay by continuing to write in deeds of faith and patience the story of which this book gives the opening chapters.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MUSLIM

Islam and the Psychology of the Musulman. By André Servier. Translated by A. S. Moss-Blundell, with Preface by Louis Bertrand. London: Chapman & Hall. 15s. 1924.

Our German friends before the war had produced quite a little shelf of literature on what they called *Islampolitik*. But the problem is not a peculiarly German one, for every nation which has to govern any considerable Muslim population is faced with the not inconsiderable problem of deciding on a policy to be followed with regard to this population, whose allegiance, in the last resort, is never to the governing power, but to the great Church State of Islam. So in English and French and Dutch, and to a lesser extent in Italian, considerable additions have been made, from various points of view, and with varying motives, to this literature of *Islampolitik*.

One of the most vigorous and refreshing volumes on this problem from the French point of view, and particularly with regard to their North African colonies, was a work that appeared some twelve years ago from the pen of M. André Servier, entitled *Le Péril de l'Avenir, Le Nationalisme musulman en Egypte, en Tunisie, en Algérie*. In this book M. Servier drew on the experience of his twenty years of residence among Muslim peoples and his particular acquaintance with conditions in North Africa, to insist with great vehemence that Islam is incompatible with civilization, and that the French policy with regard to Islam must be that of opposing entirely the religious system, while working to the limit of power for the uplift of the indigenous population of Muslim territories.

Last year M. Servier returned to his thesis in a book, double the size of his previous work, entitled *L'Islam et la Psychologie du Musulman*, a book whose English version by Mr A. S. Moss-Blundell has just appeared. In his previous book he had briefly indicated the reason why Islam was opposed to and incompatible with civiliza-

tion, but as his main interest in that volume was with the nationalist movements in North Africa there was no opportunity to develop this point. In this more recent book he devotes all his energies to the elaboration of his thesis that the trouble with the Islamic system is fundamental, and that so long as Islam remains Islam it can never be other than opposed to all the civilizing work of the colonizing peoples of Europe, for the simple reason that Islam is synonymous with barbarism. Tracing in brief summary the whole history of Islam from its birth in the Arabian deserts, through the varying fortunes of Ommayyad and Abbassid caliphates, and on through the Turks to the present day, his conclusion is that Islam is barbarism, conceived in the brain of 'a degenerate Bedawin stunted by a sedentary life' and intended for 'a nation of barbarians,' 'it was and it remains incapable of adapting itself to civilization. Wherever it has dominated it has broken the impulse towards progress and checked the evolution of society.' As a religion, 'it is the adaptation of Judeo-Christian doctrines to Arab mentality. For want of imagination, the Bedawin has failed to animate his belief with any lofty ideal; it is very plantigrade, without horizon, like his own thought. Its ideal is the ideal of a nomad, of a dweller in the desert, of a primitive still floundering in the mud of material things—the poor philosophy of a brute whose mind does not penetrate the causes of things.' And this religion, whenever it has been accepted by any people, 'has lowered their minds to the level of Arab mentality.'

Now this is vigorous writing, and though all who live and work among Muslims and love them, with their many queer ways, will deplore the entire lack of sympathy of M. Servier's book and feel how often his zeal has given an over-emphasis to facts, it cannot be denied that the verdict of history is with him. Among Muslims it is to be feared that M. Servier will only share the reputation of his compatriot Hanoteaux, but in view of the Muslim propaganda in Europe, and particularly in England, one feels that there is the possibility of much good coming from this fresh and vigorous demonstration of the fact, well enough known to scholars but in general quite unknown to the general reader, that Islam has never had a civilization nor contributed anything of first importance to the world's progress. As this writer says: 'After all, the splendour of the rule of the Ommayyads and of the earlier Abbassid caliphs was nothing but the reflection of Greco-Syrian and Greco-Persian

civilization. The Arabs could not hinder the ultimate expansion of this civilization, but they did not contribute to its brilliancy. It was the Syrians, the Greeks and the Persians, Islamized by force, who, in spite of the barbarism of the conqueror, produced the effort that has been wrongly ascribed to the Arabs.' And, as he strikingly points out, even this civilization only flourished when there were unorthodox princes opposed to the religious party; whenever the religious party was in the ascendant civilization was stifled and there was a retrogression of the subject peoples towards barbarism.

In M. Servier's political conclusions and his curious pleading for the Turks, we have little interest, but his book does suggest some spiritual conclusions. Greatest among them all is that his thesis has made it abundantly clear that we need to learn anew the Master's secret of loving sympathy. In the face of the flagrant evils of this Islamic system it is easy for us to follow Him in His denunciations, but with M. Servier's book before us we are called anew to a recognition of the wonder that living under such a system and the heirs of such a heritage, there is so much good in Muslims as there is, and to long for that Christlike sympathy which will enable us to understand, and understandingly to help.

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STUDIES IN AFRICAN LIFE

ASHANTI. By CAPTAIN R. S. RATTRAY. With Illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 25s. 1924.

LA POÉSIE CHEZ LES PRIMITIFS, OU CONTES, FABLES, RÉCITS ET PROVERBES DU RUANDA. (LAC KIVU.) Par le R. P. EUGÈNE HUREL. Brussels: Falk. Fr. 18. 1922.

THE MANTIS AND HIS FRIENDS. BUSHMAN FOLK-LORE. Collected by the late W. H. I. BLEEK and the late LUCY LLOYD. Edited by D. F. BLEEK. Cape Town: Maskew Miller. Oxford: Blackwell. 6s. 1924.

ASHANTI was for many years a name of horror, suggesting what Charles Kingsley called 'a cannibal fiends' tyranny,' which it was the duty of any civilized nation to destroy. Dr Austin Freeman, over twenty years ago, shed an entirely new light on the much-execrated 'customs,' from which it would seem that it scarcely becomes societies still upholding capital punishment as a necessity to cast the first stone. An impartial examination of history, too, shows

that the repeated wars waged on this kingdom were less of humanitarian crusades than one liked to think, and that, so far as they were disinterested, they arose from hopeless misunderstandings. One illustration of this is Sir Frederic Hodgson's demand for the Golden Stool in 1900, which—or the translation given of it by the interpreters—led to another of those 'little wars which have sprung from those mistakes, mistakes made by high-principled men who felt sure they were acting for the best.' Had Sir Frederic been aware of the origin and significance of the Golden Stool, as here detailed by Captain Rattray, how much misery might have been saved. It is impossible, within the short space available, to give any adequate notion of the value and interest of this book. Captain Rattray has been unusually successful in gaining the confidence of the people; he was shown some of their most sacred places, and has given the fullest and most satisfactory account yet published of Ashanti social organization and religious ideas. He shows how the word 'fetish' has been misused in discussing this subject; if used at all it should be confined to the objects called by the Ashanti *suman*, viz. charms, amulets, etc., and never applied to the non-human spirits called *abosom* or 'gods.' (These, again, are clearly distinguished from the Sky God 'Nyame.')

It is gratifying to learn that while, in the past, 'the educated African has been cut off from and out of sympathy with the life of his own people' there has been a change of late years in missionary methods, and the possibility is no longer ignored 'that there might be something in the African's own culture and religious beliefs worthy of retention side by side (for a time at least) with the higher ethical teachings of Christian theology.' A matter which deserves particular attention is the position of the Ohema or Queen Mother—i.e. the senior woman in the ruling clan, who occupies 'the senior stool,' the junior one being that of her kinsman, the Chief. 'The latter has been the only one so far accorded political recognition.' When Captain Rattray, after many years' residence, discovered this fact and 'asked the old men and women why I did not know all this,' the answer was, 'The white man never asked us this; you have dealings with and recognize only the men; we supposed the European considered women of no account, and we know you do not recognize them as we have always done.' Is it surprising then, that the influence of 'these shrewd old women' has quietly, but none the less effectually, been used against us?

Not much has been written in English about Ruanda—one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of Africa. Mr Barns' graphic narrative could not claim to give more than the impressions of a passing traveller, and E. Johannsen's book has not yet been translated. The tales collected by Père Hurel are interesting from many points of view. It will be remembered that this country contains three strata of population: the Batutsi, or pastoral aristocracy, the Bahutu—Bantu, who cultivate the soil—and the Batwa, pygmies (or more probably a mixture of pygmies and Bantu) who are hunters and, curiously enough, potters. The Batutsi probably represent a Hamitic infiltration, which has penetrated to the extreme south of the continent and shows itself in the Herero and—to a less extent—in the Zulus. Now, in this collection, we find two types of story—the animal story, native to Africa, and another kind which approaches the character of our European fairy tales, and resembles, more or less, the Zulu tales collected by Callaway. P. Hurel gives a version of one very well-known hare story ('Le lièvre et la hyène, No. 9 of 'Contes'; it is not very clear wherein the 'Contes' differ from the thirty tales which precede them and which have no common designation, unless we are to suppose that the 'Fables' of the title page applies to them). But in general the stories approximate more to the other type, which is also widely prevalent, side by side with the more primitive animal stories, though I do not think its distribution has ever been fully worked out. One variant of a very favourite theme is No. 10 'Rusarubenga est mariée à une hyène,' and enforces the moral of the girl who refuses all suitors to become at last the bride of a disguised ogre or werewolf. In this case she declares she will only marry a man who can 'spit beads,' a condition which the were-hyena fulfils by a trick. As usual, in this tale, she escapes with her life, but it is a point not hitherto met with that she becomes an outcast 'because she had eaten with the hyenas.' The story of the 'Girl changed into a Churn' (i.e. the gourd used for buttermaking called in the translation *baratte*) recalls, among others, the Kinga 'Die Reiherfeder,'[1] where an envious lad murders his companion for the same reason—because the girls unanimously praise his good looks. But the way in which the Ruanda victim subsequently comes to life is like the conclusion of more than one Zulu tale on what is known as the 'False Bride' theme—the one exemplified by Grimm's 'Goose Girl.' A remarkable example of another widely distributed motive

[1] Wolff, *Grammatik der Kingasprache*.

is 'Le tonneur enlève une jeune fille.' The personification of the thunder suggests Masai and Nandi myths—I have not met with it in any purely Bantu story. Among the Anyanja, Yaos, Wahehe and others we find the incident in a cruder form—the woman promises to hand over her unborn child to a hyena, or an ogre, but the miraculous attributes of the child (Kalikalanje, Kachirambe) and the shifts used by his treacherous mother belong to different sets of ideas. A further point which calls for notice is the way in which Imana—the Ruanda High God—figures in several of the tales. This is almost certainly due to Hamitic influence, perhaps also traceable in Yao mythology, where personal action is frequently ascribed to Mulungu—as in the touching legend of the 'Three Women' given by Duff Macdonald.

The late Dr Bleek and his sister-in-law Miss Lucy Lloyd collected a large amount of folk-lore in the Bushman language, of which much still remains unpublished and untranslated. Miss Dorothea Bleek has now issued a selection of this material, under the title of *The Mantis and his Friends.* The place of the mantis in Bushman mythology has not yet been fully elucidated, and his relationships to various animals and birds are most perplexing. He is, in some sense, the creator: he is also the yellow band in the rainbow, while the red band is Kwammanga, the husband of the mantis' adopted daughter, the porcupine! These stories, while not exactly easy reading, are worth careful study.

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THE STUDY OF RELIGION

The World's Living Religions. By R. E. Hume, Ph.D. New York: Scribner. $1.75. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 7s. 1924.

The Birth and Growth of Religion. By G. F. Moore, D.D. New York: Scribner. $1.50. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 6s. 1924.

Die Religionen, ihr Werden, ihr Sinn, ihre Wahrheit. I. Band. Das religiöse Erlebnis auf den untersten Stufen. By J. W. Hauer. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 1923.

The World's Living Religions appears in the 'Life and Religion Series,' which aims at 'providing concise handbooks for those who, either as individuals or in colleges, in community schools of religion or in Bible classes, desire a proper foundation for the more detailed study

of the Bible or of related subjects.' The book is admirably adapted for its purpose. In the limits of one small volume Dr Hume discusses the nature of religion, describes briefly eleven living religions (including Christianity), indicating summarily the elements of strength and weakness in each, and in a final chapter gives a brief comparison of the eleven religions. So brief an account of so many religions could easily be little more than a dull catalogue of facts or if it avoids dullness do so by generalizations which may be interesting, but are not true. Dr Hume is extraordinarily successful in avoiding both perils. A book so lucid, concise and accurate could only have been written by one who is not only a distinguished student of religion but an experienced teacher, used to audiences who desire at once to run and read.

We may illustrate the method of the book from the chapter on Buddhism. We have a discussion of its place among the world's living religions; a brief life of its founder; a history of the veneration of the Buddha; an account of Buddhist ethics; a statement of the principal features of Buddhism; an account of its sacred scriptures; the history of Buddhism described in two pages. Brief as these sections are, they contain happily chosen extracts from the Buddhist texts. There follow a comparison of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism; a statement of the partial similarities and the radical dissimilarities between Buddhism and Christianity. The chapter concludes with a tabular list of the elements of strength in Buddhism and its elements of weakness.

The book is further adapted to the use of study circles by an appendix containing a list of questions suitable for discussion there. It is, indeed, a triumph of popularization. Its very success is not without its peril. We can picture a certain type of speaker discussing the religions of the world with an assurance unwarranted by his own knowledge but due to his repetition of the judgments provided for him in this book. But, rightly used, it may be of the greatest service, for here, in simplest possible form, is an account of the world's living religions, written with unsurpassed lucidity, by one whose scholarship is above reproach and whose standpoint is at once sympathetic and Christian.

Dr G. F. Moore is widely known as the author of the fullest English manual on the History of Religions. In *The Birth and Growth of Religion* he discusses in the narrow limits of eight lectures Antecedents and Rudiments; Souls and Spirits; The Emergence of

Gods; Morals and Religion; Religions of Higher Civilizations; After Death; Ways of Salvation; Salvation, Religion and Philosophy. Yet the book succeeds in being interesting. It abounds in illuminating comments and forms an attractive introduction to the vast field of research with which it deals. Sometimes its brevity is tantalizing and even misleading. Thus in the penultimate paragraph of the book Dr Moore states that 'Historical Christianity is a cord of three strands: Jewish ethical monotheism, Hellenistic soteriology, profoundly modified by the Jewish element, and Greek philosophy, which not only constituted the formal principle of Christian theology but made large contributions to the material element.' Such a statement may be true of the form, but it seems inadequate as an analysis of the content of Christianity. Nor are we helped by the laconic paragraph with which this book concludes: 'The intellectual victory of Christianity over all the rival salvations of the time was due to the fact that it alone offered not merely a way of salvation but a philosophy of salvation.' Is it possible thus to ignore the problem of the truth of the Christian message?

The book is written with admirable clearness and simplicity. The one criticism we would make of it is that it is clearer and simpler than the difficult and elusive subject with which it deals permits. Dr Moore writes indeed with a scholar's modesty and caution and claims only 'to set forth, in brief, opinions about the evolution of religion formed in the course of a good many years' occupation with the subject,' and has 'not undertaken to enumerate and describe in any detail the phenomena, much less to discuss general theories or explanatory hypotheses.' The inexperienced reader will need to have Dr Moore's aim in mind. Otherwise the dogmatic brevity of the book might lead him to forget that the account of the evolution of religion presented here with such attractiveness, although it comes with the great authority of one of the most erudite of students of religion, yet represents, not a theory proved or generally accepted, but a personal opinion on problems in regard to which certainty is beyond our reach. Thus Dr Moore finds the motive of religion in 'the impulse to self-preservation.' As he recognizes, 'the impulse of self-preservation in itself has nothing religious about it; it is in its lower ranges purely biological. And if man were placed in a world where he was exposed to no strange perils and was unfailingly able to satisfy all his needs and desires, he would find no occasion for religion.'

Very different is the interpretation of religion given by Dr Hauer. If we mistake not, this is the Herr Hauer who was for some time in the Basel Mission at Calicut and who, coming to Oxford, had his brilliant career there terminated by the war. He is at present a Privatdozent at Tübingen. The work before us cannot be accused of excessive brevity, for this big book of 560 large pages is only the first of four volumes, dealing with the *Origin, Meaning and Truth of Religions*. The present volume has, as its subtitle, *Religious Experience at the Lower Stages*. The second volume will be concerned with the evolution from the lower to the higher phases of religion; the third with the experience and idea of revelation in the religions. The fourth volume will give a philosophy of religion based on these earlier researches.

In its fullness of material, this book inevitably suggests to English readers *The Golden Bough*. But its standpoint is different. Hauer in expressing his admiration for and indebtedness to Sir J. G. Frazer's classic work complains that 'it lacks insight for the distinctively religious, and has little understanding of ecstatic experiences.' Hauer's own affinities are with the approach to religion of the two most influential religious books which have come from Germany in recent years, Otto's *Das Heilige* and Heiler's *Das Gebet*, and there is in his book the same appreciation of the uniqueness and reality of religion as marked those great and suggestive books. To Hauer, as to Otto, religion cannot be resolved into anything else. It has in it an irreducible datum, and should be studied as an ultimate fact of experience. Even the lowest forms of religion, with which this first volume deals, are treated not as delusions, or as means to some material end, but as genuine if confused and imperfect experiences of the power of the Numinous, and a witness to that creative spirit which in spite of all human errors leads the race upwards from age to age.

It is impossible, in the space available, to give any adequate idea of the riches of this volume. The reader will find in this book not only a mass of relevant material but shrewd comments on modern theories (e.g. the criticism on p. 345 of the attempt of the Freudians to explain the origin of myths by psycho-analysis and the Œdipus complex).

The book has not only the extensive and fully documentated learning typical of the best German scholarship: it is written with an ease and grace of style we do not often find in German theologians.

It seems too much to hope that any English publisher will have the courage to issue an English translation. That is to be regretted, for here is an approach to religion which is not only learned and critical but religious. It is the work of one who knows what religion is, and can discern, even in its lower phases, the response to that Spirit which has left no race without witness to the reality of the Divine.

SYDNEY CAVE

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NATIONALISM AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

ETHICS AND SOME MODERN WORLD PROBLEMS. By WILLIAM MCDOUGALL. London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. 1924.

OUR EMPIRE'S DEBT TO MISSIONS. By J. N. OGILVIE, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. 1924.

IT is evident from Professor McDougall's recent writings that his main preoccupation and deep concern is the danger of the deterioration of the race through the unrestrained propagation of inferior stocks and the consequent loss of those qualities which have made human progress possible. He returns to the subject in this latest volume and finds one source of the danger in the failure to think out clearly the relation between two divergent codes of ethics which he distinguishes as universal and national ethics. Universal ethics, as exemplified in Christianity, Buddhism and the speculations of most of the leading moral philosophers, are concerned with the individual and lay on him obligations that are universally binding. National ethics, as in the ethical systems of Judaism and Brahmanism, and of China and Japan, are concerned primarily with the duties of an individual to his group or nation. Dr McDougall's book is an attempt to provide a synthesis between these two conceptions. As in his former books, so in this, it is not always easy to understand precisely what conclusions he wants us to draw from his arguments, and the practical remedies which he suggests at the end are far from convincing. He has a habit of indulging in sweeping generalizations which bring to mind a remark of Darwin that a certain book contained on almost every page an assertion the truth of which it would take him the rest of his lifetime to ascertain. Nor are Dr McDougall's facts always accurate, as, for example, when he speaks of Indians swarming into Africa, whereas in reality there is no considerable increase in their numbers and most of those who are there were taken there

by the white man for his own purposes. A great deal of what Dr McDougall has to say, however, is both true and highly important. His insistence on the necessity of facing facts and his endeavour to arouse public opinion to the folly of ignoring innate differences and the realities of historic growth are not incompatible with a desire to promote the highest welfare of mankind and in Dr McDougall's case are prompted by a manifest interest in human progress. He deserves our gratitude for his strenuous endeavours to overcome the existing indifference and apathy in regard to the population question. He is right also in the emphasis which he lays on the value of nationalism as an educative force and on its capacity to call out the best in a man. He intends his argument for nationalism to apply as much to oriental as to western peoples. He quotes with approval a passage from Mr William Archer's *India and the Future*, in which that writer suggests that the most powerful instrument for forming character in India might 'be found in that very idea of India, of the Motherland, which a timorous or merely selfish policy would have us prescribe as seditious. . . . *Bande Mataram* should no longer be the watchword of sedition but should be accepted as the inspiring principle of a great effort of national regeneration. It should be the motto not only of the schoolroom but of the secretariat.'

Dr McDougall's exposition of the value of nationalism is more satisfying than his discussion of universal ethics. He seems to regard Christianity as essentially anti-national and to think that its principles require us to be blind to inborn differences, and to approve of the unregulated intermingling of the races. He asserts that universal ethics interpret human equality to mean that 'all men and all races of men are endued in an equal degree with the same capacities and tendencies, that all alike have by nature the same potentialities.' Christianity in reality makes no such demand. It does not ask of us that we should close our eyes to facts. It does indeed assert the right of every individual to be treated as a person. Its principles also require us to strive that the relations between peoples should be based on equity and fair-dealing, as Dr McDougall also desires. But in regard to political issues affecting the relations between masses of men, many of whom do not profess to be governed by the Christian rule, Christianity does not prescribe any particular programme. It sets before us the goal but leaves it to the Christian conscience to determine what particular measures at any given stage of human evolution will best conduce in the circumstances to human

happiness and progress. It is quite true, however, that too little serious thought has been given by the Church to the bearing of the Christian view of the world on international and inter-racial relations, and Dr McDougall's book may be welcomed as a stimulus to thought on this subject.

Dr Ogilvie's volume has a quite different object from that of Professor McDougall. It is addressed to the average British citizen and aims at helping him to understand the significance of Christian missions through his existing interest in the empire to which he belongs. It would not be easy to find anyone better qualified for this task than Dr Ogilvie. He knows both his audience and his subject and is master of an interesting and readable style. He describes the steps by which missions were gradually given a recognized place within the empire, illustrates their achievements in the advancement of civilization, brings out the supreme importance of their spiritual service, answers some of the current criticisms of missions and shows how they fulfil the very necessary function of stimulating and educating the national conscience in the government of other races. All that he writes on these and related subjects is illustrated from wide reading and is marked by moderation, balanced judgment and sound sense.

While written from a quite different standpoint, Dr Ogilvie's book, like Dr McDougall's, raises the same fundamental issue of the relation of nationalism to the kingdom of God. On the question of basal principle, Dr Ogilvie is quite clear. 'The welfare of the kingdom of Christ,' he says, 'must ever come before the interests of the Empire of Britain.' He recognizes with equal clearness that the glory of empire is entirely subordinate to the use of empire. Unreserved loyalty to these principles is quite compatible with a belief in the value of the British Empire, or, as I should prefer to say, the British Commonwealth of Nations, as an institution contributing to the political progress and general welfare of mankind as a whole. With all its faults it furnishes an example of the achievement of ordered liberty, and it is by far the most important attempt that has yet been made to establish harmony between, and to bind together in a single political system, peoples and races of the most diverse types. The success of such an experiment is an interest of humanity as a whole. Dr Ogilvie's faith in the British Empire as contributing, notwithstanding its shortcomings and imperfections, to the furtherance of justice and liberty in the world is a political conviction which

I whole-heartedly share. Where he does not carry my entire assent is that he does not seem to me to distinguish with sufficient sharpness between those non-competitive and universal human interests, which the British Empire subserves, and the competitive interests of political and economic power in which its advantage may sometimes, though not necessarily always, be the disadvantage of other peoples. Christian missions are concerned exclusively with non-competitive interests, and the essential nature of their aims is in danger of being obscured by any suggestion that they minister to interests of the other kind. It is only here and there in Dr Ogilvie's pages that such suggestion occurs; in the main the book is an attempt, regarding the necessity of which there can be no question, to interpret to his countrymen the Christian obligations involved in their political responsibilities.

In the present condition of the world the relation of nationalism to the kingdom of God has become a question of the first importance in missionary work. In countless ways missionary activities, even where missionaries least desire it, are intertwined with political and economic issues; the danger of these considerations—in themselves a legitimate concern and direct responsibility of Christian people—disturbing the singleness of the missionary aim is always present. A thorough and fundamental treatment of the subject is greatly to be desired.

J. H. Oldham

London

BENGALI HYMNS TO KĀLĪ

Bengali Religious Lyrics, Śākta. Selected and translated by Edward J. Thompson and Arthur Marshman Spencer. Calcutta: Association Press. Re. 1.8. London: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. 1923.

Probably no aspect of Hinduism appears more revolting to the western mind than the worship of Kālī. And yet it was a worshipper of Kālī, Rām Prasād Sen, who gave to Bengal in the eighteenth century some of its most delightful lyrics which are sung to this day throughout the length and breadth of the land. Nearly all these songs are addressed to Kālī the divine Mother. The poet pours into the Mother's ear the story of his woes and begs her to release him from the prison house of the world. He does not hesitate to reproach her with childish petulance for treating him as an enemy rather than as a son, and turning a deaf ear to his prayers. At times he threatens

that he will no longer call her Mother. At other times he says that he is like a child chastised by his Mother, but in spite of all only clinging the closer to her, crying 'Mother, Mother.' This is the deeper note in his songs which so often reminds us of the mingled protest and submission of the book of Job—protest against unmerited suffering, submission to the inscrutable divine decrees. It is this note which partly explains the hold which these songs have upon the hearts of the patient, long-suffering peasantry of Bengal, whose hard lot they depict with so much feeling and such faithfulness.

Rām Prasād was too true a poet to rest in the mere idolatrous externals of Kālī worship. He knew that the image of Kālī was not the Mother herself, and in words that remind us of the Hebrew prophets he rebukes those who are satisfied with forms and ceremonies, forgetting that the best sacrifice we can offer is the sacrifice of our selfish desires.

What have I to do with Kāśī? The Lotus-Feet of Kālī are places of pilgrimage enough for me. . . . The worshipper of Kālī laughs at the name of Gayā and at ancestral offerings there. . . . Devotion is the root of everything and salvation but her handmaid who follows her. From all this pomp of worship the mind grows proud. Worship her (Kālī) in secret that none may know.

What is thy gain from images of metal, stone or earth? Fashion her image with the stuff of mind and set it on the lotus throne of your heart.

Parched rice and plantains, ah! how vainly do you offer these. Feed her with the nectar of devotion.

Why do you bring sheep and goats and buffaloes for sacrifice? Saying 'Victory to Kālī,' sacrifice the Six Passions.

Prasād says: 'What need is there of drums and tom-toms? Saying "Victory to Kālī," clap your hands and lay your mind at her feet.'

Mr Thompson and Mr Spencer have rendered a real service to India and to all who would understand the thought of India in collecting and putting into English some of the best-known songs of Rām Prasād. The translation inevitably sacrifices some of the simple charm of the original, but enough is retained to send, let us hope, those readers who know Bengali to the songs themselves. Missionaries working in Bengal should find the book of very great value. In particular they will note for use those passages in which the singer rises above both the idolatry and the pantheism of India, such as those already quoted on spiritual worship, and those in which he protests against the doctrine of absorption.

What is the worth of salvation if it means absorption, the mixing of water with water? Sugar I love to eat but I have no wish to become sugar.

Besides the songs of Rām Prasād this volume contains a few songs by other Śākta poets. At the end there is a collection of the best-known Āgamanī (misspelt Agāmānī) and Vijayā songs which illustrate in a striking way the thoroughness with which the goddess has been adopted into the Bengali home 'as a kind of divine daughter.'

Mr Thompson writes a valuable introduction in which he deals with the pessimism which seems to lie at the root of much of the Śākta view of life. There is a sketch of the life, writings and thought of Rām Prasād and brief notes on the other poets represented in the body of the book. References in the songs are explained in footnotes which have been kept within reasonable limits and give just the help needed by the reader who has no detailed knowledge of Hindu mythology or religious terms and practices.

An index of subjects and names would have added to the value of the book.

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INDIAN PROBLEMS

Indian Problems in Religion, Education, Politics. By H. Whitehead, D.D. London: Constable. 10s. 6d. 1924.

Bishop Whitehead has gathered up in his book the experiences of a long life in India and has presented us with an eminently readable and illuminating view of the many problems which confront us in relation to India. He calls his book 'Indian Problems' and he is true to the title, for he presents one problem after another and does not attempt to lay down any clear solutions. His book is an interesting parallel to another presentation of India's problems which has recently been issued, *The Lost Dominion*, by Al. Carthill.[1] The theme of the latter is that it is impossible for two different civilizations, such as those of England and India, to be welded together: that the moment we introduced Indians with their different background into the government machine, we had lost India: and that having gone too far in that direction to be able to retreat, the only possible course now, or

[1] London: Blackwood. 15s. 1924.

at any rate the inevitable result, must be for us to give up India. Being a rigid determinist, the writer seems unable to believe in any development of character in a nation other than that which was inherent in the primitive racial qualities with which they started their existence: and with such premisses he naturally reaches the goal for which he started, that a partnership of East and West in India is impossible and that, having given the East a foothold in the Government, the West must inevitably depart. Bishop Whitehead on the other hand does firmly believe in progress and regeneration, and he ends his survey of each problem on a note of hope, if only people will face realities and be true to their ideals. But he is not always very hopeful of either and his method of taking his problems separately seems to lead one to different conclusions. For instance, he points out truly that self-government must inevitably be the result of the British policy in India: but he is convinced that India must fall to pieces unless the executive of the supreme Government in India be responsible to the British Parliament and not to any local authority. There is little doubt that that is true, but it is not self-government in the sense that any of the other Dominions understand it. The great world problem of the twentieth century is the race problem, and he shows clearly that the position of India in the empire and in Africa is the acid test of our statesmanship and our Christianity. He traces at length the struggle in South Africa and in Kenya, and all who want to understand India's position should study these chapters. It was outside his purpose to give the reasoned position maintained by the other side; it is a clash of fundamental ideals. He shows that the humanitarian ideal of the development of the indigenous races in Africa has only just begun to emerge as the decisive factor in the struggle, and has not yet found real expression in the acts of the legislatures. But until it does, the plea cannot be expected to convince India.

Perhaps the least satisfying chapters are those on missionary education. He shows clearly the great need for a fresh study of the subject and for a recognition of the new position. He spends a good deal of space on the question of vernacular *versus* English education. For good or for ill the question was decided long ago. The results, as he shows, are not altogether what was hoped or expected. But whether vernacular education would not have brought a wholly different set of difficulties he does not discuss. We agree that the main task before missionary societies in South India now is the

education of Christians ; but that is solving itself, for as the Christians increase in numbers they tend more and more to fill the Christian schools. In North India the case is different, for the Christians are not so numerous, but we do not consider that a wholesale abandonment of our most effective means of getting into contact with the leading classes of India is a right policy at the present juncture, nor does the Bishop explicitly advise it.

The impression left on our minds by the book is that there is a race between Christian ideals and materialism both in the British and Indian peoples. The author does not despair that even now Christian ideals may win ; but that victory is certain or that mistakes made plentifully in the past will not bring their inevitable result before they can be corrected—of that we are left in doubt, as indeed we must be. But the book leaves us in no doubt of what our duty is and there is no doubt in the Bishop's mind that we shall try to do it.

HARRY MADRAS

ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS

AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLICS IN CHINA

MARYKNOLL MISSION LETTERS. CHINA. VOL. I. EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS AND DIARIES OF THE PIONEER MISSIONERS OF THE CATHOLIC FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY OF AMERICA. New York : Macmillan. $3. 1923.

THIS Review has noted more than once the beginning among American Roman Catholics of an active interest in foreign missions. Here, in book form, is another evidence of that awakening. It is, fittingly, the record of the first few years of the work maintained by the oldest of the American Roman Catholic foreign mission societies, and the dates of these letters—from the autumn of 1918 to midsummer, 1921—show how recent is this new movement. It is significant, too, that this mission should be in China and that it should be in territory once occupied by the Paris *Société des Missions Etrangères*. The young Roman Catholic communities in the United States, with their pioneer days scarcely behind them, but with growing wealth, are beginning to reinforce the continental societies that have been so badly depleted by war and are centring most of their attention upon China.

The letters are by various representatives of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America. During the years covered by them,

thirteen priests were sent out in three annual instalments. Their missions are in Kowloon, in South-western Kwangtung, and in Eastern Kwangsi. In most of the districts assigned to them they found Christians, but because of the war these had frequently been without spiritual oversight for some years. The work of the American priests has been to learn the language, to care for the Chinese who are already Roman Catholics, and to extend the faith among non-Christians. The letters are by those who are looking at China and Chinese missions with the fresh interest and the detachment of new arrivals and so give a better picture than would most letters from veterans. Through the eyes of these young priests one gets a glimpse of French missions in Japan, of Lazarist missions in Peking, of the Jesuits in Shanghai, and of the Paris Society in Kwangtung. One hears how, in the North, the Lazarists gather together the catechumens for three months' instruction before baptism at the expense of the mission, how by this method 57,000 were baptized in 1917, and how most of those so received remained true. A glimpse is given of a fine Chinese priest in Kwangtung who was educated for his office in the seminary in Penang. Through this priest, too, one sees that school, now nearly two centuries old, to which come students from many races and in which intercourse is carried on in the language of the Church, Latin. There is a description of a missionary method by which Christians are gathered together in new, purely Roman Catholic villages on ground purchased for that purpose, a procedure strikingly similar to that employed by the Spanish missionaries in the New World. Much is said about catechists, and it is apparent that most of the initial work of winning and instructing non-Christians is done by these useful assistants; the missionary necessarily has most of his time occupied in those offices which only the priest is competent to perform. In the districts described, Roman Catholic work, in contrast to that of Protestants, seems to be much more successful in the country than in the city. Many features of the letters seem novel to the Protestant—the emphasis upon the baptism of infants who are in danger of death, for example. Out of this, however, grow orphanages and the care in them for children who might otherwise often die from exposure or be sold into virtual slavery. One wonders whether in the instruction of adults more attention is not paid to correct observance of forms and repetition of prayers, commandments and creeds, than to an inner experience and a change of life. It is these features in the training of catechumens and in the lives of Christians which seem to

be most frequently reported. This, however, may well be an unfair and unintelligent criticism. Certainly the Protestant must see in the lives of these missionaries devotion to the cure of souls, courage and faith in God which can call forth only admiration.

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SHORTER NOTICES

The Sanskrit Drama, in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice. By A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Oxford University Press. 21s. 1924.) Recent discoveries of ancient dramatic texts and the progress of history in India enable Dr Keith to bring us very near the final settlement of the problems of the sources and the date of the birth of the drama, and to give us a well-balanced outline of the first millennium of its growth. Half the whole book, which runs to 400 pages, is filled with a historical and critical account of the greatest dramatists and their works. Prose translations of a large number of selected passages bring the reader into a garden of wonderful beauty, fascinating alike by its strangeness and its kinship to European art. The theory and the practice of the dramatic art each receives a chapter. But, for the general reader, the section of the book which is of the deepest interest is the chapter on the characteristics and achievement of the Sanskrit drama. It arose and won all its triumphs among the aristocracy of India, and was thus never popular in the sense in which the Greek and the Elizabethan stage were popular. Further, it was never tragic and never realistic, but had for its heroes ideal characters, and sought by the painting of the difficulties which beset their path and of the means whereby these were removed to produce certain well-understood sentiments in the audience. The doctrine of transmigration and karma involves a view of life which robs the drama of its highest themes and has thus limited the range of Hindu dramatic art most seriously. The drama had a religious origin; and modern observers are well aware of the large place which dramatic representations hold in Hindu life to this day. Dr Keith's masterpiece thus inevitably suggests another volume dealing with the drama, both religious and secular, as it has lived and grown for many centuries in the great vernaculars of India. Dr Keith's book ought to be in every mission library in India. J. N. F.

Documents on Christian Unity, 1920–4. By G. K. A. Bell. (London: Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. 1924.) We are indebted to the writer, now Dean of Canterbury, for this further collection of documents dealing with Christian unity.[1] He has done all students of the problem a great service in bringing together these ninety documents. The majority refer to the Lambeth Conference of 1920; the Appeal it issued and the response made to the Appeal by different Churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, East Africa, the West Indies, the United States, Sweden and China; and the letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Christmas 1923, to Anglican Archbishops and Metropolitans on the Reunion of Christendom. There are also documents on the World Conference on Faith and Order (up to and including the Oxford meeting of the Subjects Committee in 1923), the Roman Catholic Church (including the Conversations at Malines), the Eastern Orthodox Church, and union schemes in Canada, South India and the United States. In addition, the book adds in an appendix information concerning four movements which stand in a category by themselves, as being 'for social, international, or missionary purposes.' They are the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches; the International Missionary Council; the Mürren Conference on the Church and Social Problems, 1923; the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work to be held at Stockholm, 1925. More is not needed to demonstrate the character of this book, which will at once become a standard work of reference for use by all desiring concise and correct information upon the development of any scheme of union to date.

Mahātmā Gāndhī: An Essay in Appreciation. By R. M. Gray and Manilal C. Parekh. (Calcutta: Association Press. Rs. 2. London: Student Christian Movement. 3s. 1924.) This book, one of the 'Builders of Modern India Series,' is a frank, sympathetic and unbiased review of the life of the man who has figured so prominently in the life and thought of India in recent years. It necessarily deals also with the chief political events and currents of to-day in India. Various estimates have been made, both of the events and the man, and few have been sufficiently dispassionate to be fair. In this book feelings have not been allowed, in any degree, to weigh

[1] See the previously issued *Documents bearing on the Problem of Christian Unity and Fellowship, 1916–20.* London: S.P.C.K. 1920.

down the scales of impartiality on either side. We find extravagance neither of praise nor of denunciation. The hand which can hold the balance true in matters where sentiments enter acutely is the one best able to write a record likely to be approved by later generations. We recommend this book to our readers. M. M. U.

Die Geschichte der Berliner Missions Gesellschaft, 1824–1924. By Julius Richter. (Berlin: Verlag der Buchhandlung der Berliner Missions Gesellschaft. M. 15. 1924.) Professor Richter of the Berlin Missionary Society has written the history of its work for its centenary. This monograph ranks with that of Dr Stock on the Church Missionary Society, that of Dr Findlay and Mr Holdsworth on the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and that of Dr Schlatter on the Basel Mission. The story of work at the home base and the development on the mission field are described in an unusually vivid way, being set forth against the background of the history of the period. Valuable character sketches are woven into the narrative. The history of the China and East Africa work would form a separate monograph in itself. No one wishing to follow the development of German missions should fail to read this book. M. S.

Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire. By Persia Crawford Campbell. (London: King. 10s. 6d. 1923.) The part that Chinese coolies have played in building up sections of the British Empire, the economic problems raised by such labour and the political developments consequent upon them are clearly brought to light in this book, which is No. 72 in the series of monographs by writers connected with the London School of Economics and Political Science. It is a rather dry, and sometimes a horrible, accumulation of facts, and the reader is left to think out for himself the wider results, such as the impression of British employment left on the coolies' minds, the influence of the callous traffic in humanity on Anglo-Chinese relations and the consequences of interracial marriages. But the whole history of this emigration contains much of value to the student of interracial, international and economic questions. F. G. S.

Christian Students and World Problems. Edited by Milton T. Stauffer. (New York: Student Volunteer Movement. $2.50. 1924.) This is the official report of the Ninth International Student

Volunteer Convention held at Indianapolis in last December–January. It is unexpectedly complete, to the point of a verbatim record of all the platform addresses and chairman's remarks; even some of the hymns sung are quoted in full. The appendices (relating to the exhibit, convention committees and lists of sailed volunteers from 1914–23) and the index show the same completeness. There is no doubt of the usefulness of such a record for future reference, and one hesitates —especially in the world of to-day—to criticize thoroughness; but one wonders whether so detailed an account, running to 547 pages, was really necessary, especially in view of the price, which could have been substantially reduced by cutting out a great deal that has no permanent value. The convention gave a fuller place to student discussions and speakers than preceding conventions have done. The forum plan also was adopted, and the chapters reporting these sections are perhaps the most interesting in the book.

The Winning of the Far East. By Sidney L. Gulick. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. 1924.) The American edition of this book was noted in the April Bibliography. Dr Gulick was commissioned by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to carry from them to the Christians, Churches and American missions in the Far East a message of greeting, with a view to strengthening the bonds of that international friendship which is the first essential for the abolition of war. The tour occupied ten months, September 1922 to July 1923, and while the greater part of the time was spent in China and Japan, short visits were paid to Korea and the Philippine Islands. By far the most interesting and important section of the book is that containing the chapters on significant movements in China, Japan and Korea, and the closing chapter on final impressions and convictions. Such a survey must necessarily, in so small a book, be rapid, but the author's long and close acquaintance with the Far East enabled him to see and to record exactly those things that needed to be seen and recorded. Therefore the 144 pages—apart from the appendices—of the book are no real indication of its value to a student of modern problems affecting missionary work.

M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. E. W. Smith was formerly a missionary in Northern Rhodesia. He is now Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He is the author of *The Religion of Lower Races as illustrated by the African Bantu.*

Missionsdirektor D.Theol. Martin Schlunk is secretary of the Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund. He is co-editor with Dr Richter of the *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift.* He is the author of *Die Weltreligionen und das Christentum* and other books.

The Rev. J. Stewart Kunkle of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. went to China in 1906, and is now working at Canton in the South China Mission of his board.

The Rev. T. F. Carter was for twelve years a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at Nanhsuchou. He is now Instructor in Chinese Language and Culture at Columbia University.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (India), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Missionsdirektor Dr M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

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XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

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XIV. New Missionary Magazines

REVUE D'HISTOIRE DES MISSIONS. Trimestrielle. Paris: Les Amis des Missions, 52 Avenue de Breteuil. Abonnement annuel, F. 35. Le numéro, F. 10. 1924. *642.*

Part of a large scheme for the systematic study of missions with the object of educating the members of the Roman Catholic Church.

REVUE MISSIONNAIRE. Edité par la Fédération romande des Sociétés missionnaires de Jeunesse. Lausanne: Mission Suisse Romande. Abonnement annuel, F. 2. Le numéro, 60 centimes. 1924. *643.*

This interesting little periodical is the first general Protestant missionary Review issued in French-speaking Switzerland.

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die Evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JIR = *Journal of International Relations*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE BULLETIN

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Proposal for World-Wide Prayer

THE International Missionary Council at its Oxford meeting instructed its secretaries to confer with the national missionary organizations represented in the Council to ascertain if it would be possible to arrange for world-wide prayer on some fixed date, preferably St Andrew's-Tide (Nov. 30th), 1924.

It has now become clear that it is not possible to arrange for a concerted effort of prayer on the date proposed in the Minute or on any other fixed day. In every country, however, the need at this time for special agreement in intercession in view of the world-situation is recognized and there is general readiness to co-operate if satisfactory proposals can be made.

In these circumstances the only practicable scheme is to substitute for one universal day of prayer the proposal for a year of special prayer, national organizations being invited to select any date within the year convenient to the Churches and societies which they represent, and to make plans on the lines most suited to their own constituency. Each national day of prayer would be world-wide in its outlook, and all of them taken together would mean a greater volume of intercession than would arise out of one common day. Each national effort of prayer would be undertaken in the knowledge that it was part of a world-wide fellowship in intercession. The officers of the International Missionary Council are preparing a Statement which will contain a somewhat fuller exposition of the occasion and need for prayer than is contained in the Minute of the Council, to be offered as a basis for intercession in each country. This may be supplemented by such other literature as each national missionary organization may desire to issue for use in its own country.

It is understood that Great Britain will probably adhere to the date proposed in the Minute of the Council. Those countries for which this date is not suitable will, if they wish to co-operate, probably select some date within the year following St Andrew's Day, November 30th, 1924.

Further plans will be announced in the *Bulletin*.

African Education

An important step in the development of education in the continent of Africa has been taken in the appointment by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Great Britain of an Advisory Committee on Education in the Crown Colonies in Africa. Except in the definitely Mohammedan areas about nine-tenths of the whole of native education throughout the continent has been hitherto carried on by missions. The appointment of this Committee is an indication of the increasing interest of governments in the subject of education,

and since missionary interests are represented on the Committee, it provides an opportunity for consultation between the government and missions on educational matters. The Committee as at present constituted includes Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore (the Parliamentary Secretary of State for the Colonies), Sir Herbert Read, K.C.M.G. (Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), the Bishop of Liverpool, Sir James Currie, Sir Frederick Lugard, G.C.M.G., Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.I., the Rt. Rev. Bishop Bidwell, and Mr J. H. Oldham. Mr Hanns Vischer, formerly of the Nigerian Educational Service, has been appointed secretary of the Committee. The purpose of the new Committee is to study the problems of native education in Africa and to facilitate the co-operation of governments and missions in the development of a constructive policy of education on sound lines. It is expected that the Committee will not only study the problems of education in British colonies, but keep in close touch with those who are dealing with similar problems elsewhere, e.g. in the Union of South Africa and the Belgian Congo, and with the educational work among coloured people in the United States. Mr Vischer, the secretary of the Committee, is visiting America to study the work of Hampton and Tuskegee. In the discussions which led to the formation of the Committee, valuable assistance was rendered by Dr Anson Phelps-Stokes, the Chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and by Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, its Director.

Educational Commission to East Africa

It will be remembered that three years ago a commission undertook a study of educational conditions in West, South and Equatorial Africa under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the foreign mission boards of North America and Europe. The report of the commission, entitled *Education in Africa*, is recognized to be the most authoritative and valuable study of the problems of African education at present available. It is proposed that the study of educational conditions in the African continent should be completed by the visit of a commission to East Africa. The commission is expected to visit Abyssinia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa, and to complete its investigations by June. The chairman of the commission will be Dr Thomas Jesse Jones. He will be accompanied by Dr J. E. K. Aggrey, who was a member of the former commission, and also by Dr J. H. Dillard, President of the John F. Slater Fund. Mr Vischer, the Secretary of the Advisory Committee on African Education referred to in the preceding paragraph, will be associated with the commission, as will also Dr Garfield Williams, the Educational Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. The secretary will be Mr J. W. C. Dougall of the United Free Church of Scotland.

Board of Trustees for German Mission Property in Tanganyika Territory.—A Board of Trustees, with its headquarters in London, has been constituted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to hold the property of the former German missions working in Tanganyika Territory. The Chairman of the Board is Mr W. M. M'Lachlan, 22 Queen Street, Edinburgh, and the Secretary Miss M. J. Hunter, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. Similar boards to hold the property of German missions have already been constituted in South India, Bihar and Orissa, Hong Kong, the Gold Coast and Kenya Colony.

The Formation of National Groups

The inquiry into the place of women in the Church in the mission field referred to in the following paragraph is the first illustration of a new method of working agreed on at the Oxford meeting of the International Missionary Council. The stage at which the work of the Council could be efficiently carried on by a small group of officers working towards a meeting in alternate years was felt to be past. Nothing short of continuous collaboration in thought and study between groups in every country seemed likely to suffice for the investigation of the large questions which were arising and claimed consideration in turn. After careful discussion of the situation the following resolution was adopted:

That for the purposes of such work as may be entrusted by the Council to its officers it is desirable that there should be associated with them, for their guidance and for carrying out the work of the Council in the intervals between the meetings of the Council, groups in the different countries, which may in some cases be existing committees of the national organizations. It is understood that all such arrangements are to be made with the consent of the national organizations; that the international secretaries will act, so far as the subjects assigned to them are concerned, in a secretarial relation to such groups; and that they will keep the groups in the different countries in touch with each other through personal visitation as well as correspondence.

The Place of Women in the Church in the Mission Field

When the relations of Church and Mission were discussed at the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Lake Mohonk in 1921, the question of the bearing of the principles arrived at on the place of women in the Church in the mission field was raised. It was realized that the question was a very large one. The ecclesiastical status of men and women varies in the different communions, and in some countries large numbers of educated women capable of leadership are not yet available. Even where there is not yet any immediate prospect of transfer of responsibility from the mission to the Church of the country, a great deal may depend in the future on the lines along which women's work is developed now.

At Oxford, in July 1923, the International Missionary Council had before it two papers on the subject of women's work. Believing that the Christian Church in each country should be built on lines that ensure its continuity and its largest service to the life of the home and nation, and that therefore it must use the contribution of both men and women, the Council instructed its secretaries to institute an inquiry on the relation of women to the Christian Church in the mission field.

After consultation with those interested in different countries a statement of the points on which information and study would be valuable has been prepared, and submitted to the national missionary organizations. It has been suggested that a national group should be formed in each co-operating country to survey the present position in the fields of the societies represented, as far as necessary corresponding with missionaries and with the nationals of the country, and keeping in touch with the office of the Council. If the analysis

of the situation is completed by the end of 1924, a combined report will be prepared for circulation before the meeting of the International Missionary Council in the following year.

This proposal has received general approval in several countries, a representative conference is being held in Great Britain in January, and plans are being developed in North America and on the Continent of Europe. The progress of this inquiry will be noted in the *Bulletin*.

Christian Literature in the Mission Field

Progress has been made during the past three months in co-ordinating the work of the various national councils in their effort to secure a better supply of Christian literature in all parts of the mission field. The secretaries of the International Missionary Council were instructed at the Oxford meeting (Minute 43) to give special attention to this question.

A number of practical proposals were put forward at the recent meetings of the councils in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Holland. On the basis of these discussions and of correspondence with the Literature Committee of the Conference in North America, definite plans were presented to the British Literature Committee at its meeting on the 25th of October. These have now been forwarded to the other councils, and it is hoped that agreement in taking some advance steps may be secured without delay.

An exceedingly encouraging report has been received from the India Literature Fund, which shows that grants amounting to Rs.22,087 have been made to the literature committees and agencies during the past year in such a way as to cover every area in India and to benefit the work of every Church and mission. Five literature workers were subsidized and forty-eight books were published under this scheme. The cost of administration was only Rs.368, or about one-half of one per cent of the total expenditure. Further advance plans for the next year are outlined, and it is hoped that really active literature committees in every language area will be developed in the course of another twelve months under the stimulus of this national committee. Plans have been adopted for the preparation of an English basic text of a Bible Dictionary which may then be translated into most if not all the vernaculars. In this way much duplication of labour may be avoided. At present there are Bible Dictionaries only in Tamil and Telugu.

For China, suggestions are being considered to strengthen the co-operative Literature Council in the hope that in the near future it may be able to function as effectively as the India Literature Fund has begun to do.

For Africa, the publication of the Bibliography prepared under the direction of Rev. C. E. Wilson and Canon Rowling provides the basis for advance in the provision of Christian literature for all parts of that continent. One of the first steps must be the right correlation of all the committees in Europe and America and in the field. Proposals for this are under consideration.

The preparation and publication of the Survey of Christian Literature for Moslems has been a notable achievement. The contents of this report and its literary quality have been highly appreciated by those best qualified to judge. Definite plans for the realization of the proposals outlined in this report have also been formulated for consideration by the committees in Europe and America and by the approaching conferences in North Africa and the Near East.

The Oxford Council and European Countries

The official Minutes of the Meeting of the International Missionary Council at Oxford last July were published in August and have been widely circulated. The meeting was reported in the October number of the *International Review of Missions*, in several of the larger continental missionary periodicals, and in America.

Continental delegates at Oxford expressed a wish for the presence of one of the secretaries of the International Council when the various national councils met to hear the reports of the representatives sent to Oxford and to consider the Minutes adopted there. It was felt that the asking and answering of questions would conduce to fuller mutual understanding and strengthen the bonds of fellowship. It was therefore arranged that the Rev. A. L. Warnshuis (with Mrs Warnshuis) should visit Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Holland and that Miss G. A. Gollock should accompany him.

On 14th September a meeting of the Norwegian Missionsraad was held in Christiania, at which, with Mr Thevdt in the chair, Mr Brandzøg presented his report of the Oxford meeting. After conference with members of the Swedish Council in Stockholm, Dr Warnshuis went on to Finland, which owing to the indisposition of the appointed delegate was not represented at Oxford. In Helsingfors, at two sessions of the Finnish Missionary Council, the Oxford Minutes were carefully reviewed and explained. Two large public meetings were held and meetings with the committees of two missionary societies. An important two-day meeting of the Swedish Missionsraad was held in Stockholm, when Director Brundin and Dr Nyren reported the Oxford meeting, Director Folke being in the chair. There was also a large public meeting in the Immanuel Church on Sunday evening. The Danish Missionsraad had already received the reports of its delegates, Count Moltke and Professor Torm, but called a special meeting for conference and further discussion of the Minutes. Special meetings for the University students and for women were also held in Copenhagen.

At a meeting of the German Missionsausschuss at Halle, under the presidency of Bishop Hennig, reports of Oxford were presented by Dr Würz and Dr Schlunk. Finally, at Oegstgeest near Leiden, the Commissie van Advies (The Netherlands) called a widely representative meeting at which Mr Ouwenaller presided. Baron van Boetzelaer and Dr Schepper had presented a formal report of the Oxford meeting at an earlier meeting of the Commissie, their fellow-delegate, Ds. Lindenborn, to the deep loss of the whole missionary community, having passed to his rest since the Oxford meeting. Ds. Lindenborn and Dr Schepper had also published extensive reports with comments that were exceedingly valuable, and these were in the hands of those present at this meeting. To a small extent in Germany, and to a much larger extent elsewhere, the membership of the national council was enlarged by the presence of men and women actively engaged in various aspects of missionary work both abroad and at home.

Mr Oldham paid a short visit to Switzerland in October. He attended the Conference of the Association Chrétienne Suisse d'Étudiants held at Geneva, took part in a conference of the supporters of the Swiss missionary societies held at Berne and discussed the present missionary situation in Western India with representatives of the Basel Missionary Society and of the Kanarese Evangelical Mission.

National Missionary Councils

[Information furnished by the secretaries of the national organizations in Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland and North America has already been given in the two issues of *Council Notes*.]

THE NETHERLANDS.—A national conference of missionary societies for co-operation in counsel and work has not, owing to special conditions, been established in Holland. But the Commissie van Advies, which is the home base organization belonging to the Missionary Consulate in Batavia, acts acceptably in that capacity. In the Missionary Consulate, founded in 1906, most of the missions working in the Netherlands Indies are represented, the Dutch Bible Society being the pivot of the work. The Consulate, in its ordinary activities, deals with the relation between missions and the government; its work is therefore akin to that of national missionary councils in other lands. The federation of nearly all the missionary societies in joint headquarters at Oegstgeest near Leiden was noted in the first issue of *Council Notes*. Still more progress in co-operation is shown in the Zendingsschool at Oegstgeest, which is now the central missionary training school for all missionaries going out under Dutch societies, and where missionaries from other countries going to Netherlands India are sent first to learn the Dutch language and to catch the Dutch spiritual, social and political ideas.

GERMANY.—The missionary life of Germany is chiefly focussed in about 27 missionary societies, large and small, with which are associated more than 20 affiliated missionary conferences—associations of clerical and lay persons for study and for the promotion of missionary interests—and a few independent bodies such as the Institut für ärztliche Mission, the Deutsche Evangelische Missionshilfe and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Missionswissenschaft. These have all for the last year been united in the Deutsche Evangelische Missionsbund; the old established Deutsche Evangelische Missions-Ausschuss is its executive. The latter therefore constitutes a trusted advisory body for practically the whole of German missionary life. The Missionsbund meets annually and the Ausschuss as occasion demands. The Missionsbund elects the Ausschuss for a term of four years and on important questions is to be consulted by it.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland was constituted in 1912. It now includes 47 missionary organizations in its membership. The Conference meets once a year for two or three days. Its annual budget for co-operative work amounted in 1922 to £5322, including the British share of the budget of the International Missionary Council and grants of £500 each to the National Missionary Councils in India and China. The business of the Conference is carried on by a Standing Committee, which also acts as a Committee on Relations with Governments. There are also committees on the Home Base, Medical Missions, Christian Literature, Christian Education, Recruiting for the Mission Field, the Preparation of Missionaries and Work among Jews. An influential Missionary Press Bureau is also run by the Conference. The United Council for Missionary Education is closely affiliated, and is developing a strong programme of graded literature for use by all the mission boards. United Missionary Campaigns are being initiated by the Home Base Committee and are proving most valuable.

Meeting of the German Ausschuss

It is a sign of the seriousness of the time in Germany that the first formal session of the Missionsbund had to be put off and a meeting of the Ausschuss substituted for it. The meeting was held from October 3 to 5, in the Deaconess House at Halle on the Saale. The delegates of the International Missionary Council instead of meeting the representatives of all the large missionary societies and the co-operating organizations only had conference with eight members of the Ausschuss and a few representatives of missionary societies.

One of the main subjects before the Ausschuss was the report of the German delegates sent to the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Oxford. There was full discussion of the resolutions passed and the conclusions reached there. Drawn together

in so close-knit a circle our discussions could assume a very intimate character. To the joy of us all, the officers of the International Missionary Council spoke in such warm and sympathetic terms of the significance of the Oxford meeting, and of the need of the German missions, that a very close mutual understanding was entered into between them and the members of the Ausschuss. The Ausschuss passed the following resolutions on the Minutes of the Oxford Conference:

That the Ausschuss resolves to confirm the Minutes of the Oxford meeting and awaits further action on the part of Edinburgh House with regard to arrangements for Study Groups.

That should a Study Group be formed on the question of the position of women in the mission field, Dr Würz be asked to be Chairman.

That it appears to the Ausschuss very desirable that a German member should participate in Dr Mott's Conferences in the Near East.

That Edinburgh House be informed that as regards a general day of prayer in Germany the season of Epiphany in the first place, then of Ascension-tide and of Whit Monday are open to consideration.

These resolutions were adopted on the supposition that it will be possible for the German societies to carry on their work and the work of the Ausschuss, a supposition which becomes very doubtful in the light of the terrible developments of the situation in Germany, and considering that the German exchange has in a period of less than three weeks (October 5 to 26) dropped from a matter of reckoning by millions to reckoning by billions. It is naturally impossible for missionary societies, supported as they are by free-will offerings, to procure a corresponding increase in their income from voluntary subscriptions in three weeks. Therefore all charitable institutions are faced with the question as to whether they can continue to exist, unless helped by friends outside Germany. That applies also to the work of the Ausschuss, which was the first body formed to co-ordinate the missionary strength of a nation and which set a standard for similar organizations in America, Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries.

M. S.

Notes and News

Relative Contributions to Missions.—The *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad* has been making good use of the Table in the last issue of *Council Notes* which showed the aggregate contributions for foreign missions received by the societies co-operating in the national missionary organizations represented in the Council. The receipts for Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands, worked out in Dutch currency, are as follows:

Norway, with a Protestant population of 2,500,000, gives to missions each year . . .	Fl. 708 per 1000 people.
Sweden, with a Protestant population of 6,000,000, gives to missions each year . . .	504 „ „ „
Denmark, with a Protestant population of 2,700,000, gives to missions each year . . .	350 „ „ „
Netherlands, with large colonial possessions, gives to missions each year	210 „ „ „

In another form, the *per capita* giving may be stated thus:

Protestant Norway	Fl. ·70 per year per person.
„ Sweden	·50 „ „
„ Denmark	·35 „ „
„ Netherlands	·21 „ „

Conferences in the Near East.—The outbreak of war in 1914 led to the suspension of plans for conferences in the Near East in continuation of those held in 1912–13 by Dr Mott in India, China and Japan. The project has now been revived and plans are nearing completion. Dr Mott on behalf of the International Missionary Council will spend two months (February to April 1924) in conducting a series of regional conferences in North Africa, Cairo, Athens and Beirut, leading up to a general conference at Jerusalem early in April. To this delegates from all the regional conferences will be sent,

The gatherings will be influential and representative but not large. America, Great Britain and several European countries are sending representatives from the home base. Prayer is asked that all the purpose of God for these conferences may be fulfilled.

North America.—The ninth quadrennial conference of the Student Volunteer Movement will be held at Indianapolis from 28th December to 1st January 1924. It is expected that over 5000 students and professors will be present. The vital test of the Conference will be its influence on the offering of students' lives for the service of God. The growth—in number and quality—of American reinforcements for the mission field is encouraging—637 went out in 1921, 595 in 1920, as against an average of 440 for the ten preceding years. The Foreign Missions Conference will be held at Atlantic City from 8th to 11th January 1924. The Rev. A. L. Warnshuis returned to America in November for some months.

Racial Problems.—Problems of racial relationships are receiving attention in many quarters. The National Conference on the Christian Way of Life (129 East 52nd Street, New York City) has a commission on 'Christianity and Race Relations.' The Committee on Christian World Education, also in New York, has issued a discussion course—*Racial Relations and the Christian Idea*—in preparation for the Student Volunteer Movement Quadrennial Convention at Indianapolis. Books on various aspects of race are being written by Dr Robert E. Speer, Mr Basil Mathews and Mr J. H. Oldham.

A New Start.—After a distinguished record of fifty years the *Allegemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* has been discontinued, its place being taken by a new periodical, the *Neue Allegemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, edited by Professor Richter of Berlin and Dr Martin Schlunk of Hamburg. Through special arrangement the price in England for 1924 will be 5s. The publisher is C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, Westphalia.

Publications of the Council.—The last of the publications announced at the Oxford meeting, *Treaties, Acts and Regulations relating to Missionary Freedom*, has now been issued in a large pamphlet of 108 pages. The price is 2s. 6d. (60 cents). Other pamphlets already issued are *Minutes of the International Missionary Council, Oxford, July 1923* (6d.—10 cents); *Missionary Co-operation and Doctrinal Differences*, by Dr R. E. Speer and the Bishop of Bombay (6d.—10 cents); *The Relations of Church and Mission in China*, by E. C. Lobenstine (1s.—25 cents); and *The Relation of Missions and Governments in Belgian, French and Portuguese Colonies* (1s.—25 cents). All these prices include postage. Special rates are quoted for quantities.

The Bulletin of the International Missionary Council (formerly *Council Notes*) is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

Received with Thanks

The United Missionary Conference of Syria and Palestine. Minutes of meeting held at Beirut, April 3–6, 1923. Rules and Byelaws. Secretary-Treasurers: Mr C. G. Naish, Friends' Mission, Brummana, Mount Lebanon; Rev. J. K. Macintyre, C.M.S. Mission, Jerusalem.

Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia; Kafue, July 17–23, 1923. Secretary: Rev. J. R. Fell, Kafue. Acting Secretary: Rev. S. D. Gray, Chipembi.

No. 2 April 1924

THE BULLETIN

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Concerning a World Missionary Conference

HAS the time come when another World Missionary Conference, following that at Edinburgh in 1910, 'can be wisely and effectively carried out'? This was the question put by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America to the International Missionary Council at Oxford last July. The Council gave full and deliberate consideration to the question, but came unanimously to the opinion that the holding of such a conference was not at present practicable. As a substitute, the Council suggested to national organizations in North America, Great Britain and other countries or groups of countries in Europe,

the holding within the next three or four years of separate conferences in these different areas which would have an international character through the attendance of representative delegations from other lands and races, and in which the International Missionary Council would co-operate in shaping the plans and co-ordinating the thought and work.

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, having this resolution before it at its meeting in January 1924, decided to hold an interdenominational Foreign Missionary Conference during the winter of 1924–25. Delegates are to be representative of the foreign mission boards, the Committee of Reference and Counsel having power to enlarge the attendance at their discretion. The closing resolution runs :

That the Conference have a strong international outlook and message through the attendance of representative delegations from other lands and races and the providing of addresses on the programme dealing with the bearing of foreign missions on international questions.

The Call for World-Wide Prayer

PLANS have rapidly matured since the issue of the last *Bulletin*. Over 1000 proof copies of the eight-page Statement prepared by the International Missionary Council have been issued. It contains a record of the growth of the proposal, notes on the large situations which have created urgency, and suggested subjects for prayer. A spare half-page at the end is being utilized for local announcements. Orders are now being received for the final copies.[1]

The following national dates for World-Wide Prayer have been arranged :

North America.—The Foreign Missions Conference has recommended the American Churches, for this year, to designate March 7th—the first Friday in Lent—for this

[1] The price, supplied post free from the Office of the Council, is 2s. for 24 copies ; 3s. 8d. for 50 ; 7s. for 100 ; 33s. 6d. for 500 ; £2 16s. per 1000.

purpose. Inquiry is being made with a view to securing in future years a more unified programme for special days observed by the Churches.

Great Britain.—The Presbyterian Churches and the missionary societies of the English Free Churches have, on the invitation of the Standing Committee of the British Conference, agreed on St Andrew's Tide (the close of November 1924) as the national date, following the practice of the Church of England.

Holland.—The Commissie van Advies in Holland has also selected November 30th as their day of missionary prayer.

Arrangements are not yet finally fixed in the other co-operating countries. It is interesting to learn that the Bishop of Salisbury, Chairman of the Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the Church of England, is to have the opportunity of broadcasting a message in connexion with the special missionary intercession at St Andrew's Tide from the London station.

Missionary Training Schools in the Field

IN accordance with instructions of the Oxford Meeting of the Council, the secretaries are carrying forward the inquiry regarding Missionary Training Schools in the Field. (See Minutes, page 26.)

Copies of the papers on this subject presented at Oxford have been sent to the secretaries of the National Christian Councils in Japan, China and India, to the Missionary Conferences in all parts of Africa and the Near East, Korea and to the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America. Through special correspondence, the fields in Netherlands India, the Middle East, and other parts of the world will be covered.

With these papers a list of questions has been sent dealing with the languages, vernacular or governmental, to be studied ; the provision made, or possible to make, for adequate study of languages in classes for junior missionaries, in vacation schools for junior and senior missionaries, in residential schools at convenient centres ; the relation of language study and examinations to modern methods ; the standards of language and general efficiency aimed at by missionary societies for their missionaries ; the possibility of appointing a director of language studies in large language areas ; the value of the study of phonetics, linguistics and oriental languages at the home base ; the use which could be made of existing non-missionary institutions at the home base or elsewhere.

These questions are accompanied by a request that a report representing the opinion of the missionary conference or other regional missionary organizations be prepared and forwarded to the secretary of the International Missionary Council not later than the end of December 1924.

Relation of Women to the Church in the Mission Field

CONSIDERABLE progress has been made in preparation for the study of this subject since the last *Bulletin* was issued. Groups are at work in North America, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark and Switzerland. A group is being formed in Germany. In Sweden the matter will probably be taken up by the existing Women's Committee. No plans have yet been announced from Holland, France, Belgium or Finland.

In America the Committee of Reference and Counsel has appointed a sub-committee to organize the inquiry. On January 5th plans were adopted for an approach to all the mission boards in Canada and the U.S.A., each board being asked to correspond with their own missionaries. Special conferences attended by board members will be arranged for thorough discussion; these will probably culminate in a final conference to be held in December 1925. The papers on Women's Work presented at the Oxford meeting of the International Missionary Council have been printed for circulation in America with the list of questions which form the common basis of the inquiry.

The British group held a conference on January 25th with secretaries of mission boards and missionaries on furlough. The memorandum and questions issued by the Council were recommended to the attention of the boards. It was strongly felt that men and women, both in home committee rooms and on the mission fields, should co-operate in considering a subject which affects the whole future of the Churches abroad. During the conference numerous instances were given of the increased status and enlarged work of Asiatic and African women in social and political life; there were also encouraging testimonies as to the fuller place being accorded to them in Church and mission.

Notes on the International Opium Situation

AS directed by resolution of the International Missionary Council at Oxford (July 1923), the secretaries by correspondence and by personal interview have been in touch with the national missionary organizations in America, Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland, China, India and Japan, and with missionaries in Persia. The following notes throw light on the international situation:

North America.—The missionary forces in North America have co-operated for several years with others in all that has been done to combat the illegitimate opium trade. They have supported the Government especially in sending representatives to the last meeting of the League of Nations to confer regarding this matter and have rejoiced in the results obtained. This was reported at the meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference at Atlantic City in January. The resolutions then passed, after welcoming the action of the League of Nations, support the proposal that the United States Government should appoint a committee to ascertain the possibility of abolishing the use and manufacture of heroin; and urge mission boards to request their missionaries to aid all legitimate and wise anti-opium efforts in China and to appeal to the Christian forces in India to undertake similar work. The sixth resolution concludes: 'The menace of this evil to the physical, moral and spiritual life of the world is truly great. The time has come to summon the whole Christian Church to withstand this evil in the name and power of God.'

Great Britain.—The Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland has adopted resolutions passed by the London Missionary Society at the close of 1923. These resolutions were cabled to China by Reuter's Agency and published in the press there. In the resolutions regret is expressed at the situation in China, and appeal is made to the supporters of missionary societies and to the Christian Church as a whole to unite in prayer with the missionaries in China that the Christian Church there 'may prove a living witness to the power of Christ and be saved from contamination.' Attention of the League of Nations and of the British Government is also called to the evil.

Switzerland.—The missionary societies in Switzerland have responded to the International Missionary Council's appeal and are actively engaged in trying to secure the long delayed ratification of the Hague Convention by Switzerland.

China.—In China, where at first sight there is the blackest outlook, bright streaks are breaking through the clouds. Dr Graham Aspland, secretary of the International

Anti-Opium Association in Peking, writes on January 2nd, 1924, ' China is not making the slightest attempt at prohibition. The replies from a hundred letters sent to missionaries in the southern provinces regarding poppy planting this winter all reveal a state as bad as, if not worse than, last winter.' Dr Aspland, nevertheless, gives evidence of the growth of public opinion. Dr Chuan, late director of the Chinese Army Medical College and now the opium secretary of the National Christian Council of China, is sharing his office for the purpose of closest co-operation. Together they are preparing a large quantity of literature in Chinese. In November, at a largely attended meeting of the Peking Missionary Association, a unanimous resolution was carried, stating that while recognizing that the present recrudescence in poppy growing and opium sale is largely attributable to the disturbed condition of the country, the conditions are bad in provinces professing allegiance to the Central Government. The latter are therefore asked to formulate action to stop the traffic in the provinces under their control ' in order to recover China's national honour abroad, to vindicate her laws at home, and to save her people from the bondage of a degrading habit.' At Christmas time three thousand Chinese students at Foochow presented a petition to the civil and military governors against the cultivation of opium. In Szechuan the Christian population are agitating against opium growing.

India.—The National Christian Council of India has begun a stringent inquiry regarding the situation in that country with a view to proposing lines of action. Each of the Provincial Councils has the subject under consideration. A strong presentation of the whole matter of the Opium Traffic as it affects India appears in the February issue of the *National Christian Council Review* (late *Harvest Field*).

Malay States.—In the Malay States the anti-opium societies and the white community presented a petition to the chief secretary of the Government asking that there should be a total prohibition of the drug, excepting to those addicts to whom licences are granted. No new licences, it is urged, should be issued, so that in due course the use of opium may entirely cease.

The long delayed Conferences convened by the League of Nations between opium producing countries regarding their trade, and also between countries manufacturing opium derivatives, meet next November. The aim of the latter is to arrive at some conclusion as to the world's medical and scientific needs.

H. W. P.

Expenditure in Various Mission Fields

THE following statistics have been obtained from secretaries of national missionary organizations showing expenditure for missionary work in Japan, China and India. This statement includes only expenditure on current budgets, excluding all money raised on the field and also capital expenditures for property. The figures are only approximate. No report has been received from Australia.

	India.	China.	Japan.
	Rs. £	Mex. $ £	Yen. £
Sweden	506,850 = 33,790	56,538 = 6,282	
Denmark	616,308 = 41,087	332,666 = 36,963	
New Zealand	47,018 = 3,134	47,109 = 5,234	
Great Britain and Ireland	9,300,000 = 620,000	2,925,000 = 325,000	197,610 = 21,000
United States of America and Canada	17,073,000 = 1,138,200 ($5,691,000)	18,647,800 = 2,071,978 ($9,862,000)	6,528,000 = 693,730 ($3,264,000)
Norway	£42,000		

Japan

OF the Continuation Committees in Asia formed as the outcome of Dr Mott's tour in 1913, two have developed recently into the National Christian Council of India and of China respectively. In November 1923, after long deliberation and careful inquiry, the Japan Continuation Committee, which had never been as active as the two parallel bodies in India and China, was succeeded by the National Christian Council of Japan. At the organization meeting 71 elected delegates were present, 41 Japanese and 30 missionaries. Of the missions working in Japan, all were represented, except the Southern Presbyterians, the Southern Baptists, the Lutherans and the Episcopalians; of the Japanese, only the two latter were unrepresented. The Rev. William Axling, D.D., of the American Baptist Foreign Mission, who had acted as secretary of the Promoting Committee, was elected foreign executive secretary of the newly formed Council. A Japanese executive secretary is to be installed at an early date.

The Christian forces in Japan have for many years been grouped into a Federation of Christian Missions (which issues the well-known year book, *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa*) and the Federation of Churches. The latter body has now voted to merge its organization in that of the National Christian Council of Japan. The new Council has already taken over the work of the joint Commission appointed by the Federations to make a survey of the reconstruction needed in view of the earthquake. American Mission boards are actively co-operating, at the invitation of the National Christian Council, in the tremendous task which lies before the Commission. The whole subject was dealt with at length at the Foreign Missions Conference at Atlantic City in January.

Dr J. W. Gunning: 1862–1923

WHEN the Continuation Committee was appointed after the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910, Dr J. W. Gunning was selected as the representative of Holland. Ever since, until his death in November 1923, he was at the centre of missionary co-operation, whether international or in his own land.

Son of a professor of chemistry in the University of Amsterdam, Dr Gunning became a director of the Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschaft in 1896. He qualified himself for administrative service by two tours in the mission field. He took a leading part in establishing the Zendingsbureau and Zendingsschool at Oegstgeest near Leiden, a centre where much of the missionary business and all the preparation of missionaries for the great fields of work in the Dutch East Indies is carried on in co-operation.

Those in other lands who mourn with Holland the loss of so loyal a friend and leader will join in the tribute paid to Dr Gunning by a colleague at Oegstgeest:

> His stupendous capacity for work, his tireless expenditure of physical resources, all the elements of a great personality thoroughly dedicated to his work as the greatest the world can offer—these live on, though the physical life has passed away, as an inspiration to those who follow and carry on the work he so nobly began.

A Liaison Office in Brussels

AN interesting co-operative missionary agency which has developed since the war is the Bureau des Missions Protestantes du Congo Belge which has its headquarters at Brussels. It acts on behalf of most of the American, British and Swedish missions in the Belgian Congo and represents them unofficially before the Belgian Government. M. Henri Anet, secretary of the Belgian Missionary Society, is the Agent de Liaison, and his report of work done during the latter half of 1923 proves the value of his office.

During that period some thirty-eight missionaries representing ten different societies spent some time in Brussels with a view to learning French, accommodation being found for them by M. Anet. Lectures were given on the history of Belgium and of the Congo, and entrance was secured for several to the Tropical School of Medicine. Weekly receptions were given by Madame Anet, at which the missionaries gave short religious addresses in French. Missionaries going to and from the Congo were met by the Agent, passages were procured, and many commercial matters arranged. The Agent is in close touch with the Colonial Office and other government officials, and with the missionary organizations on the Congo. He and his wife have also been able to do much to interest the Belgian public in the work of Protestant missions on the Congo, both by addressing meetings, taking part in the work of various organizations such as the Société belge d'Etudes coloniales, the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and also through the press.

A Pamphlet every Mission should have

AS mentioned in the January *Bulletin*, the International Missionary Council recently published a pamphlet under the title *Treaties, Acts and Regulations relating to Missionary Freedom*, bringing together the more important government regulations bearing on missionary freedom which have up to the present not been easily available. The Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland has issued a letter suggesting that missionary societies might consider it advisable to supply a copy to each of their missions, as in the event of questions arising with the local government it might be of advantage to the mission to have at hand regulations which are in force in other parts of the world. Similar action has also been taken in North America. The pamphlet ranges in time from the Removal of Caste Disabilities Act in India of 1850 to the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923; and includes official pronouncements made between many European, Asiatic, African and American countries and mandated territories on matters nearly affecting missionary work. Rights of entry and residence, religious freedom, taxation and religious courts are some of the subjects dealt with. The price is 2s. 6d. (60 cents), post free.

Other Publications of the Council.—Other pamphlets already issued are *Minutes of the International Missionary Council, Oxford, July* 1923 (6d.—10 cents); *Missionary Co-operation and Doctrinal Differences*, by Dr R. E. Speer and the Bishop of Bombay (6d.—10 cents); *The Relations of Church and Mission in China*, by E. C. Lobenstine (1s.—25 cents); and *The Relation of Missions and Governments in Belgian, French and Portuguese Colonies* (1s.—25 cents). All these prices include postage. Special rates are quoted for quantities.

'All of us are being slowly, very slowly, purged of our particularistic desires. The egotistic satisfaction of giving things is going to be replaced by the joy of owning things together.'—M. P. FOLLETT, *The New Age*, p. 80.

Notes and News

The National Christian Council of China.—The Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council has through its executive group been seeking co-operation with medical groups in regard to industrial hygiene. It is appointing a delegate to attend the British Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (C.O.P.E.C.) at Birmingham in April. Professor Chao and Dr S. P. Chuan, representing the National Christian Council of China, attended the organizing meeting of the National Christian Council of Japan in November, by invitation of the Promoting Committee. This visit was arranged in the hope that new and more cordial relationships between the two nations might be established. The Chinese delegates were able to hand over the sum of Y.3,500 to the Chairman of the Union Christian Relief Association on behalf of Chinese Christians eager to help Japanese sufferers from the earthquake.

The National Christian Council of India.—The Rev. W. Paton is still carrying on the main work of the secretariat single-handed, pending the finding of an Indian colleague. Miss Gordon, who has been lent to the Council by the Women's Foreign Missions of the United Free Church of Scotland, is now on furlough, and will return to India in May to take up work as fellow-secretary with Mr. Paton. The lines of advance planned at the Moga Conference of 1923 have attracted considerable attention from Government, and there are signs that facilities will be given by Education Departments for missions to try new methods both in training teachers and in establishing community middle schools. The possibility of co-operation in theological training is occupying the thought of the Madras Christian Council. The four months' Educational Course in English held at Moga, Mr W. M'Kee's station in the Panjab, has proved highly stimulating. Twenty-four men and women, representing mission schools in the whole of India and in Burma, were in residence.

Conferences in the Near East.—The conferences arranged by the International Missionary Council under Dr Mott's leadership will have already met at Constantine, Cairo and Beirut before this Bulletin is issued. The final general conference meets in Jerusalem from April 3rd to 8th. Owing to unsettled local conditions the proposed conference at Athens or Constantinople has been cancelled. Dr Mott hopes to contribute an article on this series of conferences to the July number of the *Review*.

North American Conferences.—The Foreign Missions Conference held at Atlantic City, January 8–11, 1924, was attended by 207 voting delegates and 147 corresponding members, representing 56 different mission boards and societies. Much important business was transacted. Among the main addresses were three on 'Jesus Christ in the Thinking of the Orient,' by a Japanese, an Indian and a Chinese; 'The Japan Situation' was presented and fully discussed; consideration was also given to 'Religious Education' and 'Christian Literature in the Mission Field'; an open forum was held on the question 'Facing an imperative need for advance in foreign work, how can the forces of the home Church be more wisely and intensively marshalled?' Dr Robert E. Speer gave the closing address.

The ninth quadrennial convention of the North American Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was held a week earlier at Indianapolis. The 5383 registered delegates represented the students and faculties of colleges in every state of the Union and every province of Canada; in addition missionary societies were largely represented. Outstanding characteristics were the large part taken by the students and the corporate thinking done by groups, especially on the subject of race. Since this volunteer movement was organized thirty-seven years ago over 10,000 of its enrolled volunteers have gone out to the mission fields of the world.

Latin America.—The Committee on Co-operation in Latin America reported at its annual meeting at Atlantic City, in January, that twenty missionary societies are now represented in the committee, and that four regional committees have their own offices with full time secretaries. Eight full time secretaries are now employed by the main Committee and its regional sub-committees. The budget for 1924 amounts to $53,000, of which not less than $27,000 is to be used in the production and distribution of

Christian literature. Special attention was given to the Indian population in Mexico and South America, probably numbering four millions, all unevangelized, and even without any translation of the Scriptures. A commission was formed to discover the facts and to suggest lines of advance. A great Congress on Religious Work in South America is to be held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in April 1925: a second congress for the Caribbean section of Latin America will follow in Mexico in 1926. Twelve commissions have been appointed representing both the forces in North America and in Latin America. The reports will be drafted by the commissioners in the field.

Committee of the International Missionary Council.—Advantage will be taken of Dr Mott's presence passing through London early in May for the holding of an informal meeting of the European members of the Committee of the International Missionary Council. A similar informal meeting of the American members of the Committee was held in New York in December.

Missionary Preparation.—An important Conference on the Preparation of Missionaries, arranged by the British Board of Study, will be in session at Kingsmead, one of the Selly Oak Colleges, near Birmingham, from April 22–26. Most of the British mission boards are sending delegates, and in response to a special invitation several of the national missionary organizations on the Continent of Europe will be represented—including Denmark, Finland, Holland, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. Candidates' committees and groups in mission houses, training centres, and universities are preparing memoranda on a 'Syllabus of Topics for Discussion' issued by the Board of Study. North America is actively co-operating in this. The memoranda will be laid before the Conference and will form the basis of a small book to be subsequently prepared. Missionaries of experience will be present as co-opted members. This is believed to be the first opportunity which has offered since 'Edinburgh 1910' for a really international consideration of missionary preparation.

World's Sunday School Convention.—The ninth World's Sunday School Convention is to be held in Glasgow from June 18th to 26th. The previous convention met in Tokio in 1920.

Readers of separate copies of the Bulletin will like to know that the April issue of *The International Review of Missions* contains articles on Nationality in Islamic Lands, by C. R. Watson, LL.D.; The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems, by Arthur Jeffery; The Leader of the Non-cooperation Movement in India, by C. F. Andrews; The Distribution of Christian Forces in India, by Alexander McLeish; The Problem of Management in Indian Education, by W. Meston; Changing Problems in Christian Colleges in China, by J. Leighton Stuart, D.D.; The Trend of Medical Missions Policy in China, by Harold Balme, F.R.C.S.; Moti and Christianity, by Lewis Hodous, D.D.; The Appropriation of Christianity by Primitive Heathen in Central Celebes, by Albertus C. Kruyt, D.Theol.; and Deliverance from Superstition and Fear, by T. W. Douglas James.

Changes in Directory

Australia.—The Rev. G. E. Downton of the Australian Board of Missions (A.B.M.) has been elected Secretary of the United Missionary Council *vice* the Rev. John W. Burton, who has become its Chairman. Address: 242 Pitt Street, Sydney.

The Netherlands.—Dr Joh. Rauws is the Secretary of the Commissie van Advies. Address: Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, bij Leiden, Holland.

The Bulletin of the International Missionary Council (formerly *Council Notes*) is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

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QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

The National Christian Councils at Work

India

MR McKEE of Moga, Panjab, is holding this year a series of conferences on Rural Education, together with demonstration of teaching methods, in Calcutta (for Bengal), in Jubbulpore (for the Central Provinces), at Guntur (for the Telugu country), at Pasumalai, Madura (for the South Tamil country), at Vellore (for the North Tamil country), and in Burma. These conferences are being carefully organized by committees of the Provincial Representative Christian Councils and are being eagerly expected. An article on the four months' course at Moga, referred to in our April *Bulletin*, can be seen in the May number of *The National Christian Council Review*.

An all-India Conference on Industrial Education was held at Allahabad, March 25th to 29th. A summarized report, together with the resolutions passed, appears in the *N.C.C. Review* for May, and a full report has been prepared and issued. A considerable advance was made in thinking out the place of Industrial Education in India, especially in its relation to the other aspects of the Christian education and to the economic life of the Christian community. The lines of work opened up by the conference, particularly the demand for a thorough survey of existing Christian industrial education, of government facilities available and of the economic conditions which need to be met, will call for a good deal of work from the officers of the Council.

As a result of a special meeting held at Serampore at the end of January, a statement was issued by the Secretary of the Council on the situation confronting Serampore College. The matter is now before the leading missions. A study is being made in several provinces of the possibilities of co-operation in theological training in the lower grades.

The next meeting of the National Christian Council, the first to be held under the new Constitution, will take place November 5th to 11th, 1924.

The Provincial Christian Councils are meeting for the first time in 1924 under the new Constitution, whereby in most cases half their members are Indians. The Councils which have been held so far, namely those of Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Panjab, have had, by general consent, more profitable and valuable meetings than was the case last year.

The annual national Day of Prayer for India has been fixed for Sunday, July 27th. A call to prayer has been issued and has been translated into various of the vernaculars.

The Council has at last secured an Indian Joint-Secretary in the person of Mr P. O. Philip, B.A., who has for some years been the General Secretary of the

National Missionary Society. He is a Syrian Christian from Travancore, and was, before becoming the General Secretary of the N.M.S., a missionary of that society. He has recently been acting as Secretary of the Madras Representative Christian Council. The addition of Mr Philip to the staff of the N.C.C. will be most valuable. Miss E. A. Gordon of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Poona, is to arrive in India, after furlough, early in June, and will devote the ensuing two years to the work of the Council. She will be accompanied by Miss J. N. Barbour, who has undertaken to help in the office of the Council in an honorary capacity for one year—an offer which has been very gratefully accepted. Mr W. J. McKee continues to give invaluable assistance by correspondence and by conference. He will leave on furlough in November.

W. P.

Japan

Further information has come to hand of the launching of the Japan National Christian Council in November 1923, and of its programme of activity. The co-operating bodies number thirty-eight, of which sixteen are Japanese groups and twenty-two American and British missions. Five commissions have been set up, to make surveys along the lines of Evangelism, Education, Social Service, Christian Literature and International Relations ; a full time Japanese secretary, Mr K. Miyazaki, has been appointed and a monthly bulletin is being published. Among the activities planned for the near future are the launching of a two years' Special Evangelistic Campaign, and the securing of a building in Tokyo to serve as a centre of the Christian Movement in Japan. A special committee of the Council is at work on the subject of suggested federation in theological work in Tokyo.

China

During January several retreats were held under the auspices of the National Christian Council of China. Their influence on those who were present, in giving a new insight into the possibilities of a corporate waiting upon God, has been great. Plans are being made for a series of similar retreats to be held during the year, with a view to doing some consecutive thinking on the deeper issues of the common task in China. The Commission on Church and Industry hopes to arrange a series of special conferences during the next twelve months, leading up to a national convention on lines similar to those of the Conference on Christian Politics, Education and Citizenship, held in England.

Also under the auspices of the National Christian Council a Conference on Religious Education was held at Shanghai, March 29th to 31st. Some important recommendations were made to the China Christian Educational Association with regard to Bible teaching in schools and colleges. The home, the community, the Sunday school, as centres for religious education, were all surveyed. The need for training teachers, the provision of literature and the claims of rural work were fully recognized.

Opium in China.—The Secretaries of the National Christian Council have information which shows, only too clearly, that the growth and sale of opium is on the increase. The crop is so profitable that people burdened with taxation turn to it as a means of raising money. The anti-opium work of Dr Chuan calls for the prayerful support of the Christian world.

The Near East Conferences

DURING February, March and April five conferences were held, at the desire of the International Missionary Council, in the Near East. Of these, four were regional, the first three being limited in each case to sixty or seventy delegates, and the fourth to eighty-one. They were held at Constantine for Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia; at Helouan for Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia; at Brummana in the Lebanon for Syria and Palestine, including Transjordania; at Bagdad for Mesopotamia, Arabia and Persia. The first three and the General Conference were presided over by Dr John R. Mott and the last by Dr Zwemer.

At Jerusalem, on the Mount of Olives, a General Conference was held to which delegates came from the regional conferences already held, and in addition delegates came from the other areas of the Moslem world, Turkey and the Balkans, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia, Central Turkestan, North India, the Dutch East Indies and China. They included representatives of American and British home boards and special visitors like Dr Margoliouth, Professor of Arabic at Oxford University, who went out specially for the Brummana and Jerusalem conferences to give expert guidance.

The conference blended intensive work of special commissions creating findings on the different main problems of the Moslem world with conferential discussion by the whole group. The findings constitute a most comprehensive presentation of the relation of the Christian missionary enterprise and the Moslem world, and will be placed before the mission boards concerned on the continent of Europe, in America and in Great Britain, through the National Missionary Councils of those areas.

A Conference on Missionary Preparation

THIS residential conference, called by the British Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries, met at Kingsmead, one of the six colleges at Selly Oak, Birmingham, from April 22–26. The conference was international in its constitution and outlook. Of the seventy members some thirty were officially appointed delegates from British mission boards, eleven were representatives sent by the national missionary organizations associated in the International Missionary Council. Mr J. H. Oldham was Chairman, Miss G. A. Gollock and the Rev. W. Sutton Page were secretaries of the conference. A syllabus issued some months in advance gave opportunity for careful preliminary work by individuals and groups working in North America, on the Continent of Europe, in mission houses and training centres in Great Britain, and even in the mission field. More than thirty memoranda were available for the use of the conference. The whole of this material, unique in its record of thought and experience on a vital question, has been placed at the disposal of the editors of the *International Review of Missions*, who publish an article based on it in the issue for July 1924.

The subjects proposed in the syllabus and taken as the programme for discussions at the conference included the new situation in the mission field as bearing on the presentation of the Eternal Gospel; the qualifications requisite in candidates accepted for training at the present time; the development of character and living Christian personality during training; specialized missionary preparation—before the candidate goes out, during the first term on the mission field, during furlough—with reference in particular to language study; and the qualifications required in those who select and train the missionary candidates—at home or on the mission field.

The unity of spirit, freedom of thought and reality of fellowship manifested in a body of workers so diverse in national, ecclesiastical and missionary heritage and tradition were impressive. Specially noteworthy was the contribution made by the continental delegates, M. and Mme. Anet of Belgium, Rev. E. Morthensen of Denmark, Rev. K. Paasio of Finland, M. Paul Barnaud of France, Dr Westermann of Germany, Dr Fokkema of Holland, Miss Hoyem of Norway, Miss Reuterskjöld and Dr Sandegren of Sweden, and Dr de Benoit of Switzerland.

Aid for German Missions

MISSIONARY circles in all countries have desired to conserve, as far as possible, the work of the German and Basel missions. The help given has in some cases enabled the societies concerned to keep their own missionaries in the field; elsewhere money has been given to enable missionaries of other nationalities to carry on the work until German missionaries were permitted to return, or other permanent provision was made. The following statement shows the extent of this assistance given in the year 1923 in so far as the Council's officers have been able to secure information. This statement does not include aid given to churches and missions in Germany.

Scandinavia:	
Church of Sweden Missionary Society—	
For Leipzig Mission in India	Kr. 360,000
For suffering German missionaries	2,000
Church of Sweden Missionary Society—	
For Lutheran Mission in South Africa	6,000
	Kr. 368,000
Danish Missionary Society	Kr. 20,250
Holland:	
(Various Sources)—	
For Rhenish Mission in Sumatra	Fl. 240,000
For Moravian Mission in Surinam	60,000
	Fl. 300,000
France:	
Paris Evangelical Missionary Society—	
For Basel and Baptist Missions in the Cameroons	Fr. 270,000
Belgium:	
Belgian Evangelical Missionary Society—	
For Mission in Ruanda	Fr. 52,663
Switzerland:	
Comité Suisse de Secours pour la Mission Canaraise Evangélique	Fr. 190,575
Great Britain:	
United Methodist Church Mission—	
For Neukirchen Mission, Tanganyika	£1,010 0 0
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society—	
For Basel Mission, Nilgiris, South India	1,203 2 6
For United Provinces, India	678 9 4
London Missionary Society—	
For Basel Mission, South India	300 0 0
Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee—	
For Tanganyika	3,065 0 0
United Free Church of Scotland—	
For Gold Coast	5,764 0 0
For Tanganyika	2,367 0 0
For Basel Mission, South India	625 0 0
	£15,012 11 10

NORTH AMERICA:

Reformed Church in America—			
For Basel Mission, South India			$2,500.00
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—			
For Basel Mission, South India			2,500.00
American Moravians—			
For German Moravian Missions			49,122.72
Evangelical Synod of North America—			
For Basel and Barmen Missions in China	$1,000.00		
For Barmen Mission	592.99		
For Basel Mission	549.65		
For Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem	1,917.93		
			4,060.57
Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and other States—			
For Hermannsburg work in India			40,000.00
Reformed Church in the United States—			
For Rhenish Mission, South China			5,000.00
Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Iowa and other States—			
For Leipzig Mission, Tanganyika Territory	$211.64		
For Rhenish Mission in China	165.83		
For Gossner Mission, India	19.60		
For Hermannsburg Mission, South Africa	361.00		
For Rhenish Mission, New Guinea	$68,874.29		
			69,632.36
Augustana Synod—			
For Leipzig Mission, Tanganyika Territory			30,000.00
National Lutheran Council—			
For Work in China—			
For Berlin Mission	$27,000.00		
For Breklum Mission	4,875.00		
		$31,875.00	
For Work in Africa—			
For Hermannsburg Mission, South Africa	$17,249.99		
For Hanover Free Church Missionary Society	1,500.00		
		18,749.99	
For Work in India—			
For Gossner Mission		27,750.00	
			78,374.99
United Lutheran Church			37,731.00
Congo Inland Mission			174.42
			$319,096.06

SUMMARY

Reckoning the rate of exchange as that prevailing on December 31st, 1923, the figures above amount to the following totals:

Scandinavia	Sweden . Kr. 368,000	£22,439 0 5	
	Denmark . Kr. 20,250	843 15 0	
			£23,282 15 5
Holland . Fl. 300,000			26,315 17 0
France . Fr. 270,000			3,176 10 0
Belgium . Fr. 52,663			548 11 6
Switzerland . Fr. 190,575			7,700 0 0
Great Britain			15,012 11 10
North America . $319,096.06			73,864 15 0
			£149,901 0 9

Assistance to German missions has been given also by Norway, by the Churches in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, but these figures have not been received in time for publication.

A. L. W.

German Missions

THE Government of India has granted permission to Pastor and Mrs Sengle, former workers of the Basel Mission, and Pastor Streckeisen, a young Swiss missionary, to go to Malabar under the supervision of the London Missionary Society to help in the work of the Malabar Church.

Up to the present nothing has been done for the work of the former German missions in the part of the Cameroons mandated to Great Britain, beyond occasional visits from representatives of the Paris Society which is caring for the former work of the Basel Society in the French part of the Cameroons. Permission has now been obtained from the Government for the return to this field of two young Swiss missionaries, whose work will be under the general supervision of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.

The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland has addressed a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies asking that the general bar against German missions in the British Empire should be withdrawn and that it should be open to the Conference in the future to submit applications on behalf of German missionary societies for inclusion in the list of 'recognized' societies, as is now done in regard to societies in other countries on the Continent of Europe. A reply to this communication had not been received at the time of going to press.

African Education

THE Education Commission to East Africa has visited Abyssinia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa, and has received a cordial welcome both from the government educational authorities and the missions. Dr Dillard had to return home after visiting Kenya. The other members of the Commission are expected to arrive in London during July.

The members of the Commission expect to be present at the conference on African missions to be held at High Leigh, near London, from September 8th to 13th. The conference has been arranged by the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain to give missionaries on furlough the opportunity of discussing their problems with workers from other African fields, and of coming into touch with some of the larger questions affecting the future of missionary work in the African Continent which are at present engaging the attention of the home boards. The main subject of the conference will be a consideration of the problems of Christian education in Africa, with special reference to the conclusions of the Education Commission to West and South Africa three years ago and of the Commission which has visited East Africa this year. Invitations to send representatives to the conference have been heartily accepted by missionary organizations in Belgium, France, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. It is hoped also that some of the missionary boards in North America may be able to send representatives.

Australia, Africa and Fiji.—A long cable in an unrecognized code puzzled the I.M.C. Office lately. When deciphered it proved to be an urgent order from an Australian Methodist missionary in Fiji for six copies of the Report on African Education. What did he want with them ? A letter following the cable says : ' The African Education Report is the best thing of its kind. I cabled for copies because of certain deliberations here in which the Report will be of great service. We have a complex educational problem with 80,000 native Fijians, for the most part Christian, and 60,000 Indians, mostly non-Christians. The need for adaptation which is so strongly expressed in the Phelps-Stokes Report is a pressing one, as is the whole question of native education in the South Pacific.' Thus, via an Australian missionary, the Commission sent by an American Fund to study education in Africa is serving the cause in Fiji. Truly the world is one !

The Day of Prayer in America

FOR the past five years the Women's Missionary Societies in America have observed a special day of prayer for missions, and since 1922 it has been the first Friday in Lent. This year 110,000 copies of a two-page card containing a Call to Prayer, and 90,000 copies of a programme for a service of intercession were purchased by the missionary boards for use in their constituencies. These figures show the extent to which the day was observed. At these prayer services an offering for home and foreign missions is received, and incomplete returns show that $15,000 has been received and more is coming in each day. The gifts for foreign missions were designated this year for the Union Christian Colleges for Women and for Christian literature for women and children. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America decided to recommend that this year the American observance of the Day of Prayer recommended by the International Missionary Council should be on the same day, March 7th. The Call to World-wide Prayer was circulated among all the boards with the request that it be given publicity in all the church periodicals. It is not possible to say how much this call added to the observance of the day already arranged for by the Women's Boards.

Notes and News

Committee of the Council.—The European members of the Committee of the International Missionary Council met at Edinburgh House, London, on May 6th, with Dr John R. Mott in the Chair. Various matters of importance were informally discussed. The members present were: Baron van Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam (Netherlands), M. le Pasteur Couve (France), Dr Schlunk (Germany), Dr Torm (Scandinavia); and from Great Britain: the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Forgan, Dr Lankester, Rev. F. Lenwood, Mr K. Maclennan, Mr J. H. Oldham (secretary) and, by invitation, Miss G. A. Gollock, Miss Underhill, Miss Gibson and Mr Basil Mathews.

Three Books on Race.—The last quarter has seen the publication of three books on Race—*Christianity and the Race Problem*, by Mr J. H. Oldham (London: Student Christian Movement, 7s. 6d.); *Of One Blood*, by Dr Robert E. Speer (New York: Missionary Education Movement, 50 cents); and *The Clash of Colour*, by Mr Basil Mathews (London: United Council for Missionary Education, 2s.). All are reviewed in the current issue of the *International Review of Missions*. The first is written for serious students of the question, the second is preliminary to a large work by the same author shortly to appear; the third is intended for young people.

National Dates for Days of Prayer.—The dates selected by various countries for participation in the Year of World-Wide Prayer initiated by the International Missionary Council are as follows: In 1924—Egypt, October 1st; Finland, November 16th; Great Britain, Holland, Palestine and Australia, November 30th; in 1925—Germany, January 8th; South Africa (Dutch Reformed Church), Whit Sunday, May 31st; India, July 26th. Plans are in process of consideration in several countries, including Switzerland and Northern Rhodesia; the matter is also coming before the Council of the General Missionary Conference in South Africa. In Great Britain some 22,000 copies of the pamphlet issued by the International Missionary Council have already been ordered.

The Canadian Contribution to Missions in India, China and Japan.—In our April issue (p. iv) the United States of America and Canada were grouped together in a table showing missionary expenditure. We are now in a position to give the separate sums approximately expended by each, as under:—

	India.	China.	Japan.
United States . .	$5,383,793	$9,345,937	$2,937,078
Canada . . .	$ 307,207	$ 516,063	$ 326,922

Literature in Africa.—By publishing the *Bibliography of African Christian Literature*, compiled by Canon F. Rowling and the Rev. C. E. Wilson, the Conference of British Missionary Societies has rendered a real service in promoting international co-operation in the preparation of more and better Christian books and tracts for use in Africa. This list shows the need for many more books in every major language in Africa; it also supplies invaluable information which must be the basis of wise and effective co-operation. The Literature Committees of the British and American Missionary Conferences are now considering plans for the preparation of basic standard texts, which may be used in the preparation of books in any language in Africa. Many of these texts will be issued also in French and Portuguese, with a view to being printed with native languages in diglot editions, for use in the respective colonies.

Higher Education in China.—The China Association for Christian Higher Education was organized at a conference called for this purpose in Nanking in February, 1924. Between two hundred and two hundred and fifty men and women, Chinese and foreigners, all engaged in Christian colleges, were present. Twenty sectional meetings were held during the three days of the conference for the fuller discussion of various aspects of college work. It is significant and encouraging to note that the sectional meeting on Religious Education was the most largely attended of all. The constitution of the new Association, the membership of which includes all Christian men and women engaged in the work of higher education in China, provides for biennial meetings. There is to be a Board of Reference, composed of delegates appointed by the institutions belonging to the Association, to which questions of larger importance will be referred; and a smaller Council which will act as an *ad interim* Executive Committee. Through this Council the Association will be related to the China Christian Educational Association. The organization of this Association is a long step in advance in carrying into effect the recommendations of the Educational Commission.

Those who receive separate copies of Quarterly Notes will be interested to learn the contents of the July number of *The International Review of Missions*. It includes articles on The Outlook in the Moslem World, by John R. Mott, LL.D.; Some Missionary Activities in Relation to Governments, by James L. Barton, D.D.; The Growth of Roman Catholic Missions in Africa, by Dom Maternus Spitz, O.S.B.; Narayan Vaman Tilak, by N. Macnicol, D.Litt.; The Present Outlook on the Preparation of Missionaries, by G. A. Gollock; The Problem of Finance in Indian Education, by W. Meston; Mission Work among Primitive Peoples in New Guinea, by Christian Keysser; and The Charm of the Arab, by P. W. Harrison, D.Sc., M.D.

Changes in Directory

Egypt.—Mr George Swan has been appointed chairman, Dr C. R. Watson vice-chairman and Mr Wilbert B. Smith secretary of the Egypt Intermission Council. Address: Y.M.C.A., Sharia Nubar Pasha, Cairo.

India.—The office of the National Christian Council has been moved from 5 Russell Street to 111A Russa Road, Post Office Elgin Road, Calcutta.

Japan.—The office of the National Christian Council is at the Tokyo Misaki Tabernacle, 4 Itchome, Misaki-cho, Kanda, Tokyo.

Quarterly Notes, being the Bulletin of the International Missionary Council, is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

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QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

The National Christian Council of China

THE second annual meeting of the National Christian Council was held in May. Full reports of extensive work were laid before the Council, and it was clear that the work done during the past year had been appreciated in different parts of the country, and that thought and action had been stimulated, especially in relation to the following matters: The country church and rural problems, the Christian home and the industrial situation in China.

A marked advance has been made in the extent to which Chinese Christians are taking the lead and accepting responsibility for the work of the Council. Although the sum actually received in the first full financial year from the Chinese Church was very small, the result of the effort made has already nearly reached $5000, and no doubt much more could have been secured if it had not been for one or two special circumstances during the past year.

Among all the claims on thoughtful prayer and effort in the coming year two stood out as of special importance, the enriching of the spiritual life of the Church, especially in rural areas, and the strengthening of the anti-narcotic movement. With regard to the first there is a prospect of obtaining the services of two able Chinese for a year's study and work among country churches, and with regard to the second the Council asked Dr S. H. Chuan and Mr T. Z. Koo to be their unofficial representatives at two conferences on the narcotic drug traffic called by the League of Nations to meet in Geneva in November 1924. The Council is giving special thought to the campaign against the use of opium and its allied drugs. The situation is critical and intensely difficult. There seems to be nobody to take the lead unless the Christian Church will do so, and even since the meeting of the Council it is gratifying to find various individuals and organizations rallying around the Council as it begins to lay its plans for a nation-wide movement in regard to this evil.

Questions relating to industry, Christian home life, literature and religious education were also considered.

The Rev. E. C. Lobenstine has joined the secretarial staff of the Council in an honorary capacity, giving half his time to the work of the China Association for Christian Higher Education, and half to the work of the Council. Bishop Roots has had to return to diocesan work in Hankow while giving part of his time to work for the Council. It is hoped that Dr C. Y. Cheng will join the staff in the autumn. The resident secretary at Shanghai for 1924–5 will be the Rev. K. T. Chung.

The Council has published in English a pamphlet entitled *Modern Industry in China* (6 cents) by Miss Lung. It contains the factory legislation of March 1923 and other recent information in regard to labour conditions in China.

Church and Mission

AT the Lake Mohonk meeting of the International Missionary Council, after a full discussion of the relations between the Churches and the missions on the foreign field, a series of questions were proposed for the consideration both of the missionary boards in the West and of the Churches and missions on the field. Although no attempt has been made to obtain a complete report showing the results from the discussions awakened by these questions, which have been widely circulated, there is considerable evidence that the action of the Council has increased the earnest attention that church leaders and missionaries are giving to the subject of these relationships. Some of this evidence was briefly summarized in papers laid before the Oxford meeting of the Council.

An interesting and suggestive example of new regulations governing these relationships is contained in the 'Church Order' recently approved by the Finnish Missionary Society and adopted by the Synod of the Churches established through the work of the missionaries in Hunan Province, China. This Synod is a part of the Lutheran Church in China. By this Church Order there is established a Church Council which has jurisdiction over all church affairs, excepting only the personal relations of the missionaries to their home board and the property of the Society. This council is composed of three Chinese and three missionary members. District councils are also established, composed also of equal numbers of Chinese church members and missionaries. The congregational councils are composed of the pastor and elders. 'To the latter in all congregations there must be added elderly godly women to take personal care of the younger Christian women. These have the same voting power as the men.' Provision is made also for a Church Assembly which meets every third year, and to which the congregations appoint representatives in proportion to the number of their adult membership. Pastors, Chinese and foreign, and the foreign principals of schools are *ex officio* members. This Order was drafted during the visit of Director Tarkkanen to China, after he had attended the Council meeting at Lake Mohonk. He carried its report with him, and discussed its questions wherever he had opportunity to do so in China, and especially with the Churches and missionaries with which his society is connected.

Another example of similar importance is found in the Constitution recently adopted by the Berlin Society for the government of its mission and Churches in South China. By this action the control of all the work of the Churches is vested in the Chinese Church, with its organized congregational, diocesan, and general church councils. The Society in Berlin allocates to the Missionary Conference certain funds for the maintenance of its missionaries, and other funds to the General Church Council to aid in the work of the Church. In the church councils the Chinese are naturally a large majority, and provision is made that half or more than half of the membership of standing committees shall be Chinese. A suggestive regulation for the purpose of stimulating self-support divides the congregation into three classes. The third or lowest one is composed of small, weak congregations, not electing elders and unable to give more than an average of 60 cents per communicant per annum for general church expenses in addition to providing for all their local current expenses. These third grade churches are not allowed to send delegates besides their own preacher to the diocesan synods. The first or highest class is composed of all congregations able to pay all their own expenses, the salaries of their preachers and teachers, and also to make a contribution to the general church fund. These churches

are entitled to choose their own pastors. No missionary has a seat in their church meetings. They are independent congregations and privileged members of the diocesan and general synods. All other congregations belong to the second class. These have their own elders. Besides paying their current local expenses, they must give not less than an average of 75 cents per communicant per annum to the General Council's funds. The salaries of all preachers and teachers are paid by the General Church Council, excepting only the salaries in Class I congregations.

Out of the many reports that have been received in the office of the Council showing the progress that is being made in transferring authority from the foreign missions to the native Churches, it is possible here to refer to only one more. The Arcot Mission, India, of the Reformed Church in America, arranged last year for a conference of all the Indian church workers and the missionaries. This conference ended in a proposal practically to abolish the mission and to unite permanently in an Assembly composed of both Indians and Americans, which will administer all the work previously done under the mission and all other activities necessary to the establishment of the Church and the uplift of the Christian community. The salaries and allowances of the foreign missionaries are determined as heretofore by the board in New York, but all other funds for use in the field are administered by the Assembly. The Assembly recommends the stationing of the missionaries and the assignment of work to them.

The secretaries of the Council will be glad to receive reports of other plans that are being developed for the better relations between churches and missions, and they will endeavour to supply all information within their possession to those who are concerned with these questions and who apply to them. A. L. W.

The Work of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America

THE American Section of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America officially represents thirty different mission boards which it brings together to discuss problems connected with their work in Latin America. It furthers co-operative enterprises which would otherwise languish. It maintains helpful and broadening contacts with missionaries on the field, represents the Evangelical Church in many international movements which might otherwise overlook the importance of the Christian forces, and supplies the press, schools, business concerns and individuals with information concerning Latin America.

The Committee continues to enlarge its relationships with some in other lands interested in Latin America, such as leading publishers in Spain, and the leaders of the evangelical movement in France, and an extensive correspondence has been carried on with leaders of intellectual life in Latin America itself.

In reviewing the eight years during which the American Section has been active, the following outstanding developments may be cited: An enlarged emphasis on evangelical missionary work in Latin America, which has meant also an enlarged interest in the churches at home that support this work; an enlarged conception of the meaning and opportunity of mission work in these southern countries; closer co-operation among the missionary forces—an understanding as to the responsibility for the occupation of territory has been

reached in practically every one of the twenty Latin American countries. A large number of union institutions on a federate or united plan have been developed as well as many other institutions. Probably the greatest gain of all has been in the spirit of unity which so widely pervades the mission boards at home and the workers on the field. A new emphasis is laid on literature; the Committee has furnished the organization through which the missions have been able to work for the propagation of the Gospel. The publication of an organ, *La Nueva Democracia*, represents Christian opinion worthily before the Spanish-speaking world. The missionary enterprise has secured a new place in the building of international friendship.

A few incidents may be selected out of many which illustrate the great opportunities offered to the American Section of the Committee on Co-operation to lead in the new social movements in Latin America. As a result of a conference of Chilean students, held under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association, the students of the university requested the missionary who was teaching English in that institution to organize a Bible class. Students in that same conference have organized a social settlement in the slums of their city. In Brazil, the government has invited the help of the Committee on Co-operation in the gathering of statistics and in the solution of the Indian problem. In Mexico, the Director of the Union Press has been appointed as official lecturer on temperance by the government and is furnished with railroad passes and entrée into all the schools of Mexico. In Argentina, the literary editor of one of the great daily papers has recently become a secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association. In Colombia and in Mexico, evangelical ministers have been invited with remarkable results to work with the labour unions. In Guatemala, the new government has called a Protestant educator to the portfolio of education. In Peru, the Inca Indians, worn out with the persecutions from their landlords and officials, appealed in a body for help to the agent of the Bible Society. In Cuba, the citizens of several towns have raised funds for the purchase of school property which was given to the missionary societies. The Educational Secretary in his trip through South America in 1923 found remarkable opportunities for helping government educators and also for presenting the spiritual message to leaders of Latin America through lectures in universities and in other ways.

S. G. I.

Montevideo Congress.—The American Section of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, in co-operation with the British Committee of a similar character, is arranging for a Congress on Christian work in South America to be held at Montevideo March 29–April 8, 1925. It will be attended by some 200 delegates representing the national Churches, missionaries in South America and boards at the home base, and will consider the task before South American missions in view of the great changes of recent years.

Co-operation in Christian Education in India

THE work of co-operation in higher education continues to claim a great deal of attention. Concrete schemes for co-operation in a United Christian College and a United Christian High School in the Panjab and a United Christian High School for boys in Bengal are being worked out, and requests for study and survey have come from Burma and the Central Provinces. There is a growing conviction, both among Indian Christians and among missionaries that the rapidly changing conditions under which education in India is carried on, as

well as the needs of the Christian community, demand concentration. Special problems have arisen in North India in regard to the apparent disparity between the quality of education given to Christian boys and that given to Christian girls, and strong feeling has been aroused among members of the Indian Christian community—issuing in an appeal for improved methods of educating Christian boys.

Education Commission to East Africa

ALL the members of the Education Commission to East Africa, with the exception of the Chairman, Dr Jones, reached England before the end of July. Dr Jones remained a few weeks longer in South Africa and is due to arrive in England in the latter part of August. The members of the Commission are expected to take part in the Conference on Missions in Tropical Africa arranged to be held at High Leigh, near London, September 8th–13th. (*Quarterly Notes* must go to press before this Conference takes place.) The main subject of the Conference will be problems connected with missionary education. The accommodation at High Leigh does not permit of more than a hundred being present at the Conference. Applications have been received considerably in excess of this. The available places have been allocated to the different missionary societies. All the British societies working in Africa are sending representatives, and delegates are also expected from Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. The Conference will include workers from practically every mission field in tropical Africa. Four days will be spent in the consideration of the issues raised by the Education Commission to East Africa and related subjects bearing on the Christian education of the peoples of the African Continent.

Religious Education in the Mission Field

MR OLDHAM'S article on 'Religious Education in the Mission Field' in the October number of the *International Review of Missions* is stated to be based on several small conferences held with missionaries and with those at home interested in religious education, and in especial on a meeting with Dr Weigle of Yale University, the Chairman of the American Joint Committee on Methods and Materials for Religious Education in the Mission Field. These meetings in turn were based upon a Minute of the International Missionary Council at its Oxford meeting (July 1923), directing the institution of an enquiry into the whole subject, after consultation with the national missionary organizations. A statement prepared by the officers was laid before the Council, adducing evidence for the need for such an enquiry and suggesting topics for investigation. Owing to the heavy claims of other work arising out of the Oxford meeting some months elapsed before definite action was taken, but matters are now moving forward on fruitful lines.

After preliminary discussions in four centres in England and Scotland in order to gain a background of the experience of one country, arrangements were made to hold a two-days' international conference during the meeting of the World's Sunday School Convention in Glasgow in June 1924. Among those present for the whole or part of the time were: from North America, Professor D. J. Fleming, Professor McAfee, Dr H. H. Meyer, Rev. H. C. Priest, Professor Luther A. Weigle; from Great Britain, Mrs Parker Crane, Miss Hammer, Rev. A. S. Kydd, Miss Mackenzie, Miss McKerrow, Rev. E. W. Sara, Mr Stanley Sowton; from the Continent of Europe, Dr Westphal and M. de Haller; on behalf of the International Missionary Council, Mr J. H. Oldham and Miss G. A. Gollock. Opportunity was found also for interviews with three mission field experts on religious education, Mr E. A. Annett of India, the Rev. E. G. Tewkesbury of China and Dr Scherer of Syria.

Discussion ranged over the whole vast subject, a mass of valuable information was elicited, and by interchange of view and experience the principles of religious education

were laid bare. Steps are now being taken to put matters in train for action and a Statement will shortly be issued on behalf of the Council for consideration and use—if approved—by the national missionary organizations. The *International Review of Missions* will be used during 1925 to further enquiry on a subject so central in missionary work.

Missionary Preparation

THE Vacation Course arranged by the British Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries (July 26th to August 9th) was enriched by the international element both in its membership and in its staff. Professor McAfee of Chicago took part in the earlier meetings. Professor D. J. Fleming gave four memorable lectures on 'Barriers to Approach with the Christian Message.' Germany had a place on the programme and Switzerland was represented by M. Henri Junod who lectured on 'The Analysis of the Animistic Mind.' The main topic of the Course was 'The Christian Approach to Men of Other Creeds'; under this general heading were included a strong Language School with a daily session, and lectures on the Mind of the Animist, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, Moslem, and westernized Oriental. The lecturers included Professor J. N. Farquhar and the Rev. E. W. Smith, whose literary and anthropological work are known in every country. A special feature was three lectures on the New Psychology in relation to Morals and Religion by Dr J. A. Hadfield.

The Removal of the Discrimination against German Missions

THE British Secretary of State for the Colonies has announced that he has decided to remove the discrimination against German missionary societies in regard to missionary work in the colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories under the supervision of the Colonial Office. German societies will in the future be placed in a position similar to that of missionary societies in other European countries in regard to the admission of their members to these territories and it will be open to the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland to recommend them for 'recognition' by His Majesty's Government under the existing arrangements.

Applications have been granted for the return of missionaries of four German societies to work in Tanganyika Territory, and other German societies are considering the possibility of applying for permission to resume work in other parts of the British Empire.

Some Conferences Past and Future

North America.—The Report of the thirty-first meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America has appeared. It is a volume of 398 pages, containing, besides the programme and proceedings of the Conference, papers on such subjects as Religious Education for Children and Youth in the Mission Field; Jesus Christ in the Thinking of the Orient; Christian Literature on the Mission Field.

A great interdenominational Foreign Missionary Convention is being arranged from January 28th to February 2nd 1925, to be held at Washington, D.C., by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. The five thousand delegates nominated by mission boards and societies will include officers and members of foreign mission boards (men and women), pastors and officials of churches, laymen and laywomen in equal proportions, theological and college professors, foreign missionaries on furlough, and student volunteers and other candidates. It is suggested that the delegates appointed should be under thirty-five years of age. Provision is also made for representatives of mission field churches and of the national missionary organizations of Great Britain, Continental Europe, South Africa and Australasia, from which also some of the speakers will be drawn.

The Convention will be an educational, not a deliberative or legislative assembly. It will not deal with questions or problems of administration on the mission field, but its messages will be designed to enlarge the interest and deepen the conviction of the Christians at the home base as to their responsibilities and opportunities for world-wide evangelism and the establishment of Christian ideals.

The approaching Congress on Christian Work in South America is referred to on page iv.

Great Britain.—The thirteenth annual meeting of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland was held at Swanwick, Derbyshire, from June 12th to 14th 1924. The main subject was the challenging character of the missionary situation and what it demands from the home Church.

The Conference on Christian Missions in Tropical Africa to be held from September 8th to 13th is referred to on page v.

Germany.—The eighth Herrnhut Missionswoche of the German Missionary Associations and Mission Conferences will be held from October 6th to 10th. Devotional addresses, surveys of mission fields and problems at the home base have a place on the programme. A report will appear in the January *Quarterly Notes*.

Scandinavia.—A conference of the Northern Missionary Council, with international representation, is planned for the autumn of 1925, in Stockholm. A meeting of the eight members of the Council was to be held at Helsingfors, September 23rd to 27th, to draw up the programme and decide on the lines for the 1925 conference.

Notes and News

The Missions Building at Shanghai.—The Church in China is to be congratulated on the acquisition of a six-storey building in Shanghai, to serve as the headquarters of the National Christian Council and about a score of missionary or associated societies. The land is the gift largely of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; the building was given by a China missionary and his sisters in memory of their father.

Post-graduate Medical Work on the Field.—The British Advisory Board on Medical Missions has had under consideration the question of the provision on the field of post-graduate work for junior medical missionaries. The results of the enquiry are published in the July 1924 issue of *The Edinburgh House Bulletin*, to which those interested in the matter should refer. Copies of the *Bulletin* can only be obtained from the offices of the various British Missionary Societies.

World-Wide Prayer.—The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia has chosen November 1924 as the date for its share in the year of world-wide intercession initiated by the International Missionary Council.

The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland is issuing (at 45s. per thousand) a pamphlet by the Rev. Edward Shillito which is intended for use by ministers and leaders in connexion with meetings and services of intercession.

The National Christian Council of China is including topics issued by the International Missionary Council in its arrangements for the Annual Week of Prayer.

The World's Evangelical Alliance will hold its Annual Week of Prayer from January 4th to 10th, 1925. One day of the week is set apart for prayer for missions.

Missionary Contribution from Australia.—The secretary of the United Missionary Council in Australia informs us that it is estimated that the various missionary societies in Australia contributed to missions in 1922 the sum of £197,625 in addition to the sum of £18,391 to the British and Foreign Bible Society. This helps to complete the table given on page iv. of the April *Bulletin* of the International Missionary Council.

New Missionary Reviews.—We would call attention to the *Revue d'Histoire des Missions* issued quarterly by 'Les Amis des Missions,' 52 Avenue de Breteuil, Paris.

(Annual subscription F.35, single copies F.10.) This new quarterly is part of a large scheme for the systematic study of missions with the object of educating the members of the Roman Catholic Church.

We also notice a little periodical, the first general Protestant missionary review issued by French-speaking Switzerland, *Revue Missionnaire*, edited by the Fédération romande des Sociétés missionnaires de Jeunesse, Mission Suisse Romande, Lausanne. (Annual subscription F.2, single copies 60 centimes.)

Dr Zwemer in India.—Following on the Regional Conference for Iraq and Persia held at Baghdad in April (see July *Quarterly Notes*, p. iii), Dr Zwemer passed on to a tour in India, where he met with and addressed a considerable number of those engaged in work among Moslems, and had opportunities also for speaking at large meetings of Moslems. Encouraging accounts of the work he has done have been received at the Calcutta offices of *The National Christian Council Review*, and a new impetus has been given to missionary work for Moslems in India.

Report of the Near East Conferences.—Under the title of *Conferences of Christian Workers among Moslems*, 1924, a brief account of the Conferences held in February-April of the present year has been published by the chairman of the International Missionary Council, from whose office (347 Madison Avenue, New York), or from 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, the report can be obtained. It contains the findings of the Conferences and lists of the members present. All missionary boards which have work among Moslems, and all individual missionaries to Moslems, should make a point of reading it.

The Committee of the International Missionary Council.—An informal meeting of the American members of the Committee of the Council was held in New York City on June 25th, under the presidency of Dr Mott. The members present were Dr Chamberlain, Dr Franklin, Dr North, Mr Speers, Mr Turner, and Dr Warnshuis (secretary), also Dr J. L. Barton and Dr de Schweinitz as visitors.

Plans are being made for a meeting of the Committee of the Council in 1925; and the question of the next meeting of the whole Council is under consideration. An announcement will be made as soon as a decision has been arrived at.

The contents of the October number of the *International Review of Missions* are as follows:—The African Continent: A Survey of Ten Years; Religious Education in the Mission Field, by J. H. Oldham; Social Anthropology and Missionary Work, by E. W. Smith; Missions and Culture, by Martin Schlunk, D.Theol.; The Re-Grouping of Missionary Forces in Canton, by J. Stewart Kunkle; The Three Dimensions of a Christian Civilization in China, by T. F. Carter; The Modern Chinese Woman: Her Work and Problems, by Anna Kong Mei; China the Eternal, by Pearl S. Buck; C.O.P.E.C. and the Missionary, by Edward Shillito; and Ridding the World of Leprosy, by Frank Oldrieve.

Change in Directory

China.—The office of the National Christian Council has been moved to The Missions Building, 23 Yuen-Ming-Yuen Road, Shanghai. Cable address: *Chinatcil, Shanghai.*

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